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PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE

ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

OF

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

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XXXII.

1932.

Nos. 1—338.

WITH PLATES A—M.

Published by
THE ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE, 52, UPPER BEDFORD PLACE, LONDON, W.C.1.
General Agent: FRANCIS EDWARDS, 83, High Street, Marylebone, W.1.
New York Agents: Messrs. G. E. STECHERT & Co.
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A CLOISONNÉ STAFF-HEAD OF GOLD FROM CYPRUS

From a water colour painting by J. Des Meules.

M A N

A MONTHLY RECORD OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL SCIENCE

PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE
ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

XXXII, 1-42. JANUARY, 1932.

All communications printed in MAN *are signed or initialled by their authors, and the Council of the Institute desires it to be understood that in giving publicity to them it accepts no responsibility for the opinions or statements expressed.*

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ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

With Plate A.

A Cloisonné Staff-head from Cyprus. *By L. H. Dudley Buxton, Stanley Casson, and J. L. Myres.*

1 During a visit to Cyprus in 1925, under the auspices of the Percy Sladen Trust, my attention was called by the Keeper of the Cyprus Museum, Mr. M. Markides, to a very fine piece of ancient gold and enamel work which was transferred to the Cyprus Museum about twenty years ago.[1] The circumstances of the find were as follows. A peasant digging in a field near the Church of Hagios Armenis at Episkopi, the ancient Curium, discovered the object under discussion together with two bronze tripods, the handles and rim of a circular vessel and fragments of a large bronze vessel, to which the rim possibly belonged. That at least is the story. There seems no reason to doubt that the objects came from Episkopi, whether they were found together or not is uncertain. Efforts were made to export the treasure, but it was seized by the police, and remained for some years in the Custom house at Larnaka. Mr. Markides has shown that there is no reason to doubt that the bronzes are Mykenæan in date. As, however, the evidence of the association of all the objects together is quite uncertain we cannot rely on this point for the dating of the staff-head. Peasants in Cyprus are often in the habit of hoarding antiquities together of a widely different date until the opportunity comes of selling them at a good price. I have seen such a hoard, in effect of no particular value.

The staff-head is about seventeen centimetres in total height. It consists of a hollow cylinder of gold surmounted by a cloisonné sphere on top of which two birds, almost certainly hawks (but see below) are standing. The point of contact between the cylinder and the sphere is ornamented by what may be described as two rows of a fullround turned moulding. The cloisons on the sphere are formed by a series of semi-circular gold bands so arranged that the point of junction of two semi-circles in each row is exactly at the highest point of a semi-circle in the row below. It is not certain what the original colours were, at present they seem to be alternating rows of white, lilac, and green. The body feathers of the birds are indicated by similar, but much smaller scales, the wing and other large feathers by long parallel strips. The whole is a very fine piece of craftsmanship and indicates very considerable skill both in working the gold and in the technique of enamelling. The gold technique is to me strongly reminiscent of the "fly" necklaces from Arsos, although the smaller is of coarser work. These necklaces can be dated with some degree of exactitude as belonging to the seventh century B.C., as several statues were found on the same site wearing two or three exactly similar necklaces. The necklaces, however, are not enamelled, but are ornamented with pendants consisting of a semi-precious stone set in gold. They are in the Cyprus Museum, unpublished.

[1] M. MARKIDES : Annual of the British School at Athens, XVIII, 1911–1912.

No other enamel work seems to have been reported from Cyprus. On the basis of the evidence from Cyprus alone there seem to be two possible dates, first Mykenæan, if we accept the association of the other finds with it, but for this the evidence is purely presumptive, and secondly, seventh century or a little later on the grounds no less uncertain that the technique is more advanced than the Arsos necklaces.

L. H. D. BUXTON.

2 From these facts it will be seen that the date at which this splendid work of art was made is not easy to fix. We are forced to establish its period mainly from the internal evidence provided by technique, colour, design and style. Any conclusions so reached must, therefore, be subject to revision in the light of more satisfactory evidence of a circumstantial kind. If, for instance, a similar work of the goldsmith's art is discovered together with concrete evidence showing its date and origin, then any suggestions made here must of necessity give place to such scientific and systematic information.



DAGGER HILT OF GOLD INLAID WITH LAPIS-LAZULI AND CRYSTAL. FROM MYCENÆ, SHAFT-GRAVE IV. (*Scale* ½.)

The only substantial reference which we have been able to find to this work is that in a footnote in Mr. O. M. Dalton's "Treasure of the "Oxus" (1905, p. 25, n. 3). Here it is described as "a gold sceptre-head (?) "terminating in a globe surmounted "by two birds . . . Both the sphere "and the birds are ornamented with "fine imbricated cells containing what "appears to be true enamel in several "colours." Mr. Dalton is of opinion that it is "of extreme interest as an "instance of cloisonné enamel of the "finest kind at a period anterior to "the sixth century B.C."

For the object as a whole there is no parallel. The length of the gold tube which supports the sphere seems too much for a sceptre, which could more easily, on technical grounds, have had a solid handle attached to the sphere. The tube is clearly intended to encase a long handle of non-metallic material such as ivory or wood. It would, therefore, be wiser to consider the gold ornament as the business end of a *staff* of some length.

The birds upon the sphere are almost certainly hawks. In any case they are not eagles. The method by which a clear distinction is made between the upper feathers on the

shoulders and the lower feathers along the wings by means of contrasted horizontal and vertical lines is a convention which is derived from the East and first appears in Hittite sculpture in a modified form, as on the Sindjirli sphinxes. It is not found in Egyptian gold work, but continues into Hellenic art, mainly in metalwork, and lasts down to Byzantine times, where it becomes a regular formula. Close parallels can be found in a gold bird from the Oxus Treasure (Dalton, *op. cit.* No. 147), and in a very fine sparrow-hawk formerly in the collection of Lord Carmichael of Skirling. (Burlington Fine Arts Club Exhibition, 1924: subsequently sold at Sotheby's in 1926. Catalogue, June 8, No. 348).

From the stylistic point of view the clue to the date of the staff seems to lie in the enamelled cloisonné scales. In shape and arrangement these scales resemble very closely the incised coloured scales which are common on proto-Corinthian pottery of the seventh century B.C. Aryballoi are so decorated more than other vessels of this period and style. The colours on the enamelled scales also resemble in their tones those used on the proto-Corinthian aryballoi, where pale shades of mauve, purple and brown are usual.

There is a still earlier parallel of some interest from Mycenæ. It is a dagger-hilt in the form of a tubular haft surmounted by a dragon-shaped ornament in which the blade was fixed. The tubular haft is made of flowers whose petals held lapis-lazuli insertions, the spaces between the flowers being filled in with rock crystal. The part which held the blade is decorated by a series of scales, graduated in size, which were similarly filled. This object comes from Shaft-grave IV (Nos. 294–405). Schliemann *Mycenæ*, fig. 451–2; Karo *Athenische Mittheilungen*, xl, 1915, pl. xix. 3: *Die Schachtgraeber von Mykenai*, 1931, pl. lxxxvii-viii. But in Mycenæan art there is no parallel for the hawks, nor yet for the shape and general character of the staff.

The bird from the Oxus treasure can hardly be earlier than 500 B.C. It is probably Persian, and in any case is certainly not Greek. The Carmichael sparrow-hawk is, on the other hand, Greek, probably of the fifth century.

The application of enamel to cloisons or reserved spaces in gold jewellery was not uncommon in the sixth, fifth and fourth centuries in Etruria and Greece, and the petals of flowers are often so adorned (*see* B.M. *Catalogue of Jewellery*, p. xxxi and p. lvi).

But this Cypriote example appears to be the earliest yet known, for, to judge from the enamelled scales and their general proto-Corinthian character, it can hardly be later than 600 B.C. It must, however, be remembered that the scale pattern persists into the 6th century in Corinthian pottery. We must thus extend our possible dating to the early part of this century, and maybe earlier. But what is chiefly remarkable about the staff is that there is no element in its shape or decoration which can be established as un-Hellenic, and, whatever its purpose may have been, we can at least be certain that it formed part of some royal regalia, perhaps that of the kings of Curium.*

S. CASSON.

3 Mr. Casson's comparison with the "contrasted vertical and horizontal lines" of wings in Hittite sculpture and Egyptian gold work[1] does not quite do justice to the treatment of the wings of these birds. For while their primary and secondary pinions are represented by bars (as he describes), the wing-coverts, like the breast plumage, are rendered by scale-pattern, not so regular as on the globe below, but quite recognizable. On Phœnician monuments this rendering is normal[2]; it occurs also at Tell Halaf[3], and sometimes in Hittite sculpture[4] and also in Early Greek work.[5] But these objects are not precisely dated. On the Nimrud ivories, of the ninth century, scale-pattern

* Since the above was written Mr. H. Payne's book *Nekrocorinthia*, (Oxford, 1930) has been published. I read there (p. 19, n. 2): "The suggestion has often been "made that the incised polychrome patterns of this "style, i.e. late Proto-Corinthian, are imitations of "bronzework inlaid with enamel, and, although Greek "enamelling of this kind is almost unknown, it is at "least possible that the suggestion is correct." The gold staff-head obviously provides an example of the work presupposed by this theory of the origin of the scale-pattern. S. C.

[1] Compare also Garstang, *The Hittite Empire*, 1929, Pl. xlix, 1, 2 (Sakje-Geuzi) and Bossert, *Alt-Kreta*, 1923, No. 352 (Sphinx of Rameses III).

[2] S. A. Cook, *The Religion of Ancient Palestine*, 1929, Pl. viii, 1, (Am-el-Hayat.)

[3] *Syria*, xii, 1931, P. 91, Fig. 2.

[4] Pottier, *Syria* II, 1921, P. 13, Fig. 44; Pl. iv, 50, 51.

[5] Brit. Mus. *Exc. Ephesus*, P. 163, Pl. xxi, 4; xxxi, 1; Brit. School Athens, *Annual XIII*, P. 79, Fig. 18, *b*; = Poulsen, *Der Orient und die Frühgriechische Kunst*, Berlin, 1912, Fig. 109, 189.

coverts occur,[6] but are sometimes replaced by roundels or dots[7]; and this treatment goes back in Sumerian art to the third millennium[8]; it also recurs in Phœnicia and on the bronze shields from the Idalan Cave in Crete.[9] In Minoan art, on the other hand, wing coverts are usually rendered by spirals.[10] I omit detailed reference to the patternless coverts which are fairly common in all these styles except Minoan.

There is thus: (1) nothing Minoan about the wings on this staff-head: (2) nothing specifically Assyrian of the Nimrud phase; but (3) close correspondence with certain Hittite sculptures, with Phœnician sculpture of uncertain dates, and with Orientalizing Greek work, as Mr. Casson has observed. On the whole, I am inclined to date this masterpiece rather earlier than he does, on the ground of style, while admitting that this isolates it as a piece of enamel technique.

JOHN L. MYRES.

Sociology. **Dowdall.**

The Psychological Origins of Law. *By His Honour Judge H. C. Dowdall. Summary of a paper communicated to the British Association for the Advancement of Science. September* 29, 1931.

The exact problem with which we are concerned is a special aspect of the general problem of the relation of the individual mind to the group mind; and we cannot hope for any clear notion of the nature or origin of law until the relevant problems of the individual and the group mind have been at least clearly envisaged.

Every man lives in a world of ideas which—however strongly it may resemble that of others—is exclusively his own: for ideas are based on experience, and each man's experience is his own. We can at best only approximately guess at what others are thinking and at what they mean to do. This world of ideas includes *agenda* as well as *data*—projects as well as knowledge; it makes a man what he is, and largely determines how he behaves as he does in the various circumstances of life; for ideas are the organs of the mind by means of which a man appreciates the significance of circumstances and by which he directs his conduct to the desired end.

It is necessary to dwell at once on the importance of circumstances, for not only is a man's world of ideas in a sense circumstantial, but he is continuously confronted with a continuously moving concrete physical situation in which he moves and which, by his own movements, he to some extent moves. There is, however, this important difference between the world of ideas and the physical world, namely, that, though attention is limited, a man's world of ideas is more permanently with him and much more under his control. Interests abide; action must await opportunity. A man may nurse wrath against his enemy night and day; but he cannot knock him down until he appears upon the scene.

The immediate requirements of physical life and safety demand perpetual adjustments: but a man soon acquires facility in dealing with a familiar situation, so that the claim made on his attention in doing so may be very slight. He acquires a settled disposition to act in a certain way whenever he judges that certain circumstances have arisen. Such dispositions are the bed rock of law; for every law (whether of physical nature or of political institution) is a matter of "If this: "then that." Though each man's world of ideas is his own, no law could prevail in any society of men unless the normal members of it possessed certain dispositions upon which reliance could be placed. Such reliable dispositions are due partly to heredity and partly to education whereby a man is taught to accept and, unless he is critical, does accept a certain current interpretation of facts and acquires a habit of reacting in a certain way in certain circumstances whenever they occur.

Let us now turn to the group mind. It has often been observed that those who co-operate in collective action ordinarily perform tasks which are not similar but complementary one to

[6] Layard. *Mon. Nineveh. II.* Pl. 62B; = Perrot-Chifiez. *Hist. de l'Art.* II. Fig. 219.

[7] B.M. *Exc. Ephesus.* Pl. xxviii, 2. Layard. *Mon. Nineveh.* I. Pl. 90. Fig. 21 = Perrot. II. 535. Fig. 249. Poulsen. Fig. 23, 29.

[8] Henzey. *Découvertes en Chaldée.* Pl. 44, 2; = King. *Hist. Sumer and Accad.* P. 76. Fig. 29 (Tello.)

[9] Perrot III. Fig. 73; Halbherr-Orsi. *Museo Italiano II.* 1888. Atlas. Pl. i, vii, ix; = Poulsen. Fig. 77, 78.

[10] Bossert. *Alt-Kreta.* 1923. Nos. 76, 228–31, 261, 311*k*, 317*d*, 320*f*, 321 *b*, *f*, 324*e*.

the other. It is, however, generally assumed or stated that a common motive is necessary, although obviously it is not. Of course, each must intend to play his part, but the motives may differ to any extent. Soldiers, for instance, may do their duty, some for love of country, some for pay or booty, some from fear of court martial, some from fear of making themselves ridiculous, and so forth.

What is involved in social action is not that men should act from a common motive, but that their relevant interests should articulate in the social end. If their interest in the social end is direct, I call them *fellow members*. If interest in performance of their social duties is induced by sanction, whether of punishment or of some reward other than the accomplishment of the social end, I call them *subject members*. But in either case a man has got to know what he has got to do before he does it, and for this purpose, whenever collective action is involved, his task must be allotted to him either by general *law* or by particular *command*, that is to say, either by general provisions which, because they are general, must necessarily refer to types of occasion whenever they happen, or by commands specially made on occasion as it arises.

The psychological question of the group mind is fundamentally identical with the question of the " reality " of corporate personality which was so hotly debated by German, French, English and American lawyers some thirty years ago, and which is still much discussed, though without any accepted or orthodox conclusion. The failure to reach agreement is partly due to a failure to distinguish the two opposite uses of the word person, namely, when it is used to signify an official position or part played, as in *unus homo sustinet plures personas*, and the use which has been predominant for 1,500 years where ' person ' does not refer to the *plures personas* but to the *unus homo*. But if it is true that the unity of a society lies in the articulation of interests to an end, then collective action is collected at the end rather than the beginning, at the objective rather than the subjective end of experience, and the attempt to make a real person out of a society is absurd. The answer is usually made on these lines. " We have agreed to call a society a person, and a society is a real entity: " therefore, it must be a real person." I have suggested that it would be better to drop the ambiguous word ' person ' and to describe a society as an estate, because that is what it is, that is to say, a number of interests subjected to a single government. A man governing his own ordinary legal interests is called a " natural person " : when he turns to the government of some official interests he is called a juristic person or corporation sole; if he makes his business interests into a separate estate he is called a juristic person or a one-man company: if he is governing the interests of an estate for others he is called an executor, administrator or trustee. But, as a person in the ordinary sense of the word, that is to say as a man, he is no more natural and no more artificial in the one case than the other; he is attending to different interests, and the unity of the legal entity is not in the man, but in the interests subjected to a single government. A society knows men not as men, but only in their relation to the particular society or estate. The State for instance, makes me pay my dentist's bill and makes me pay for my place at a concert; but it cares nothing for my toothache or whether I enjoy the concert or not.

Having briefly discussed the psychological nature of law in the light of legal theory I turn with some diffidence to the anthropological aspect of origins.

When anthropologists speak of law they use the word in a wider or in a narrower sense. By " law and order " Dr. Malinowski means what Dr. Marett calls " social organization " : for Dr. Marett (no doubt basing himself on the orthodox Austinian theory of law) restricts " law " to the establishment of organized machinery for the enforcement of certain social obligations. As an English lawyer, I suppose that I ought to side with Dr. Marett, for Austin is still much esteemed in the profession and taught in the schools; but, in fact, my sympathy is in this matter entirely with Dr. Malinowski. There must be a social organization before you can protect it, and it is only by means of a social organization that it can be protected. The ordinary connotation of the word law is regularity, and it is going rather far to say, as Austin does, that it is " improper " to use it in accordance with the perennial usage of civilized Europe. But however that may be, I take it that we are here to discuss the psychological origins of law in the larger sense of the word, which I shall now proceed to do, not omitting to discuss the special problem of law in the narrower sense.

If a small company of men is attacked by a pack of wolves, they are all of them interested in repelling the attack; they need no imported sanction to persuade them to do their best to that end,

and, if we regard them as a society for that purpose, I should call them fellow members. If the wolf at the door is hunger the case is much the same. Problems multiply as numbers increase and, subject to certain reservations, it is generally agreed that civilization develops with the size of the social unit; so that I imagine that the first problem with which an anthropologist would confront a lawyer would be that of a small society fighting for existence, and the organization necessary to that end. The beginning of language was not like the invention of Esperanto, and I imagine that the earliest forms of social organization were discovered rather than invented. Ingeniously, but on the whole more by good luck than by device, a system emerged by means of which a living was found for each through the co-ordinated efforts of all. Everyone was interested in the results of the whole undertaking, but unable to understand the relation of the parts to the whole or to discriminate what was essential from that which was not. In Greece the *meros* of each was the *moira* appointed and sanctioned by fate. The corresponding conception in the ancient Hindu civilization is that of *dharma*, derived from *dhri*, to maintain: each man's duty to society being his maintenance, and the sanction religious. The scheme is not critically examined. The same point is observed by Malinowski in reference to the customs of the Trobriand Islanders.

If we examine this from the psychological point of view the process will be found to be very similar to that by which animals adapt themselves to their environment by means of subjective selection. A particular reaction is found to give satisfaction and is therefore repeated, and the exercise of the function in course of time carries an improvement of the structure with it. But, of course, in the case of men the process is much more subtle and intelligent and is promoted by the use of language and an educational tradition. The point is that the foundation of the law in such a primitive society rests on acquired experience rather than premeditated experiment. The process of legislation (so to call it) is the hardening of usage to a point at which by common consent definite duties arise in definite circumstances. "If this: then that." There is not usually much difficulty about evidence because the people live at close quarters and what everyone does is generally known by all. If anyone fails or offends in his duty he is disliked, ostracized and possibly expelled. Magical influence of a kind which frightens him is brought to bear on him, and if he offends so greatly as to bring the wrath of the gods on his tribe he is liable to something like lynch law.

Law in the narrower Austinian sense seems to arise somewhat differently as the result of a more or less deliberate effort to meet a certain requirement of the social life, namely, the settlement by the community of private differences which disturb its peace; and the, perhaps unforeseen, result is to secure private rights by the action of the community and so to throw open the way of civilization.

Everywhere the initial difficulty is the same, namely, to get the parties before the tribunal and to bind them by the decision. Distraint and outlawry are common expedients. Sometimes the aggrieved party adopts a procedure which will bring misfortune on his opponent unless he appears. He may fast on him as in ancient Irish law, or sit dharma on him—a practice which till recently survived, and I suppose still survives, in India; or he may lay hands on him as in the relatively late Roman law of the Twelve Tables. When the parties have been got before the tribunal and pledges or oaths given to abide by the decision, a decision becomes necessary. And here we have occasion for intelligence in the full sense of the word, i.e., subjective selection not automatically based on hereditary disposition or tradition, but a deliberate choice between explicit alternatives. The decision may be indicated by *diké*, and the chief or the wise men may have no doubt what it should be, but it is an authoritative and deliberate choice between competing claims, and, in course of time, a tradition will be formed, first in the tribunal and then among those whom its traditions affect. Thus we get judicial legislation capable of adaptation to all the new occasions and disputes which arise in an increasingly complex social life, the decisions controlling the development and establishing the course of civilization. In this way we arrive ultimately at elaborate legal systems such as those of Roman or English law.

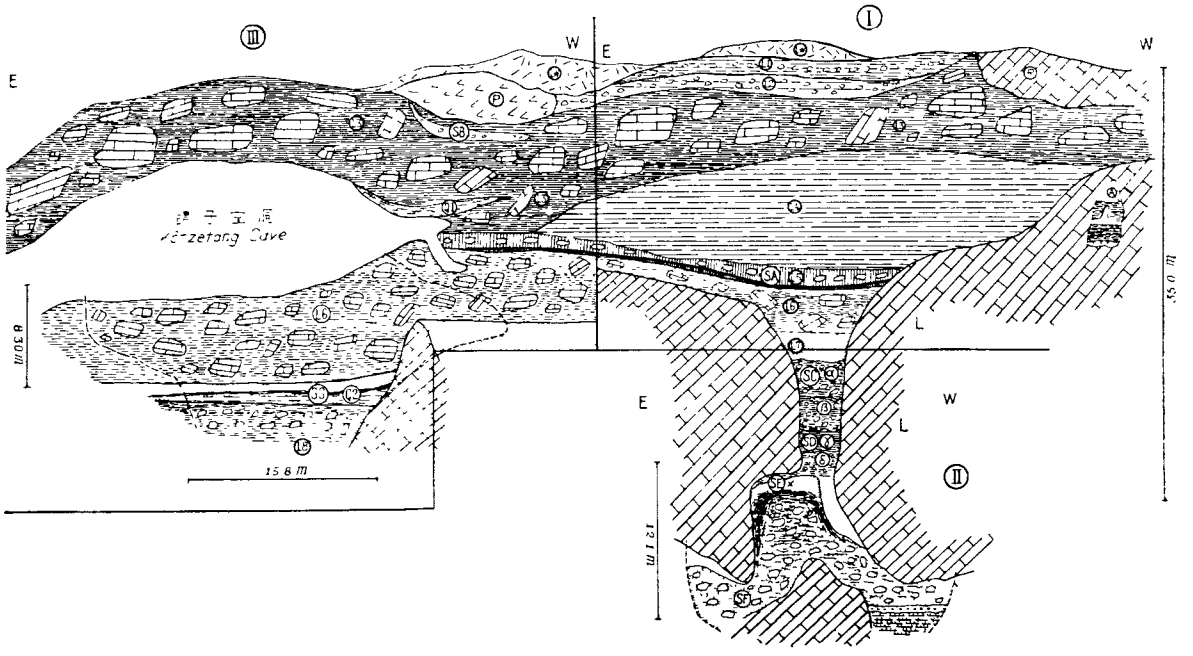
Lastly, comes the period of statutory legislation—thesmoi, nomoi, leges, statutes, etc. By these, general provisions are made in terms of type for events which are apt to recur, and the duty of the judge is to find out what has happened and to decide whether the particular event conforms to the type provided for. The selection here used by the legislature is in the highest degree intellectual. It is not merely the choice between two competing claims, but the selection in advance of a general

course of action. It is not like a habit of getting up late, but like a resolution to get up early, and it is effective because those who make it are effective, and later, because, as is always the case, individual interests vest in accordance with the established usage. For all human laws are merely an expectation that certain people will, in certain circumstances, intend to behave in a certain way, and this expectation is based on the interdependence of their interests. H. C. DOWDALL.

Prehistoric. **Elliot Smith.**

The Industries of Sinanthropus. *By Professor G. Elliot Smith, M.D., F.R.S.*

In communications to the Geological Society of China on 3rd November, of which I have received advance reports, Professor Davidson Black and Mr. W. C. Pei announced the discovery of cultural remains associated with Peking Man. In the second cave at Chou-Kou-Tien, evidence of the use of fire and a large quantity of stone implements, said by Mr. Pei to be of quartz and quartzite, have been found in a sand and clay layer on the surface of which have been recovered actual fragments of mandible and parietal bones of the genus *Sinanthropus*. We now know that *Sinanthropus* actually lived in the cave in which his remains have been found, as it had been inferred by Father Teilhard de Chardin and Dr. C. C. Young in 1929. **5**



MR. W. C. PEI'S SECTION OF THE CAVES AT CHOU-KOU-TIEN.

SA, the spot where in 1927 the tooth was found, on the evidence of which the genus *Sinanthropus* was created by Professor Davidson Black.

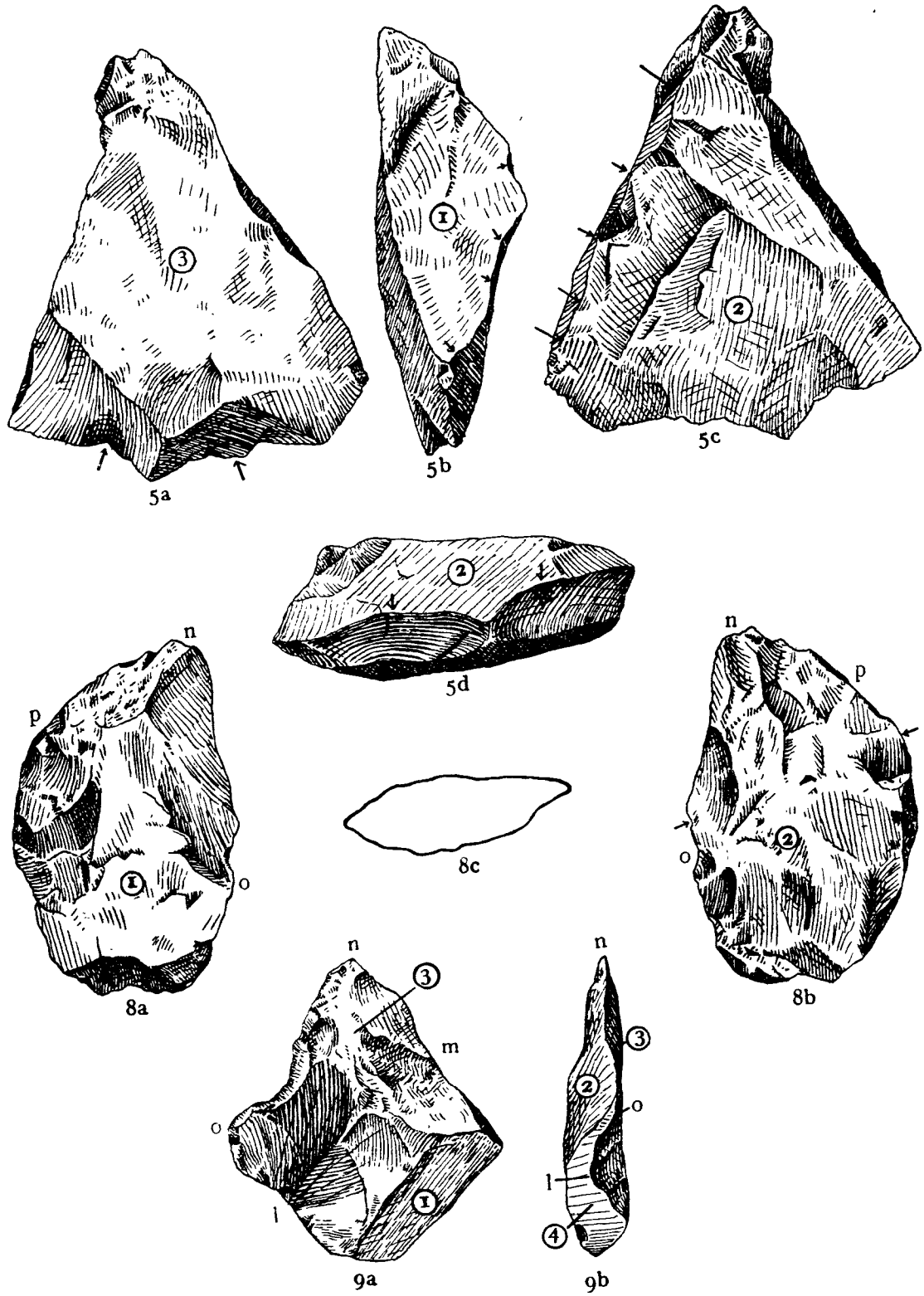
SB, the site of the discovery of a fragment of jaw in 1928.

SC, SD and SE, where the important skulls were found in 1929, E being the place of the almost complete brain case.

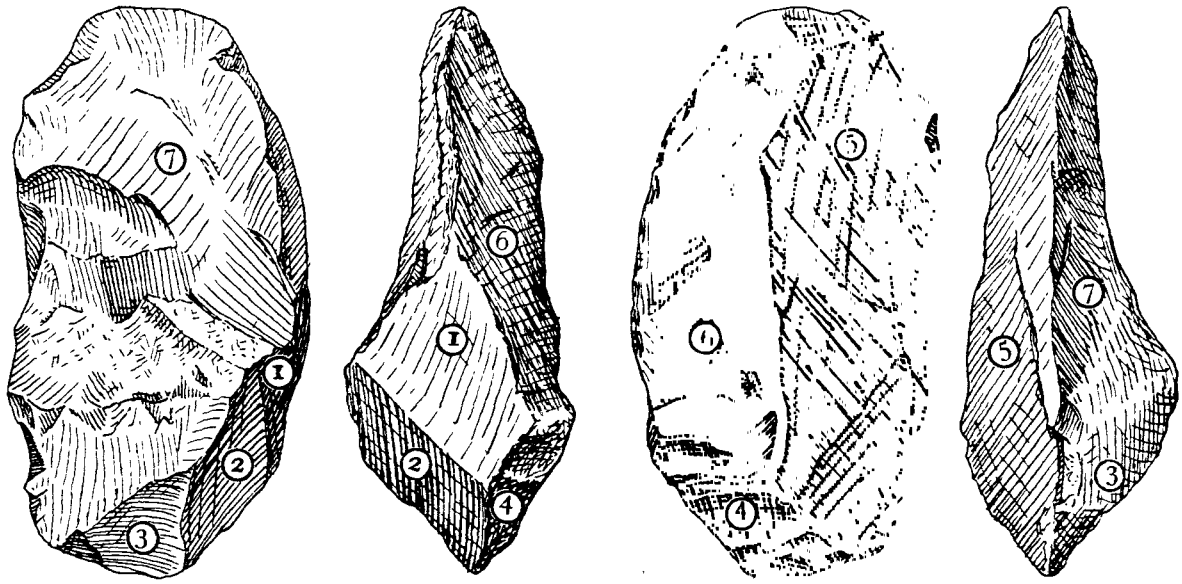
SF, the spot where a fragment of jaw was found in 1930.

SG, the situation in the floor of Ko-Tse-Tang cave where two large jaw-fragments and three pieces of brain case were found in association with stone implements and large collections of pieces of alien stones, worked and unworked (Q2 and in the roof Q1).

The possibility of finding human remains was first suggested by Professor Gunnar Andersson when he found a piece of alien quartz in the fossiliferous bed, but until now the most thorough search during the last four years had failed to reveal any evidence of the working of stone to make implements.

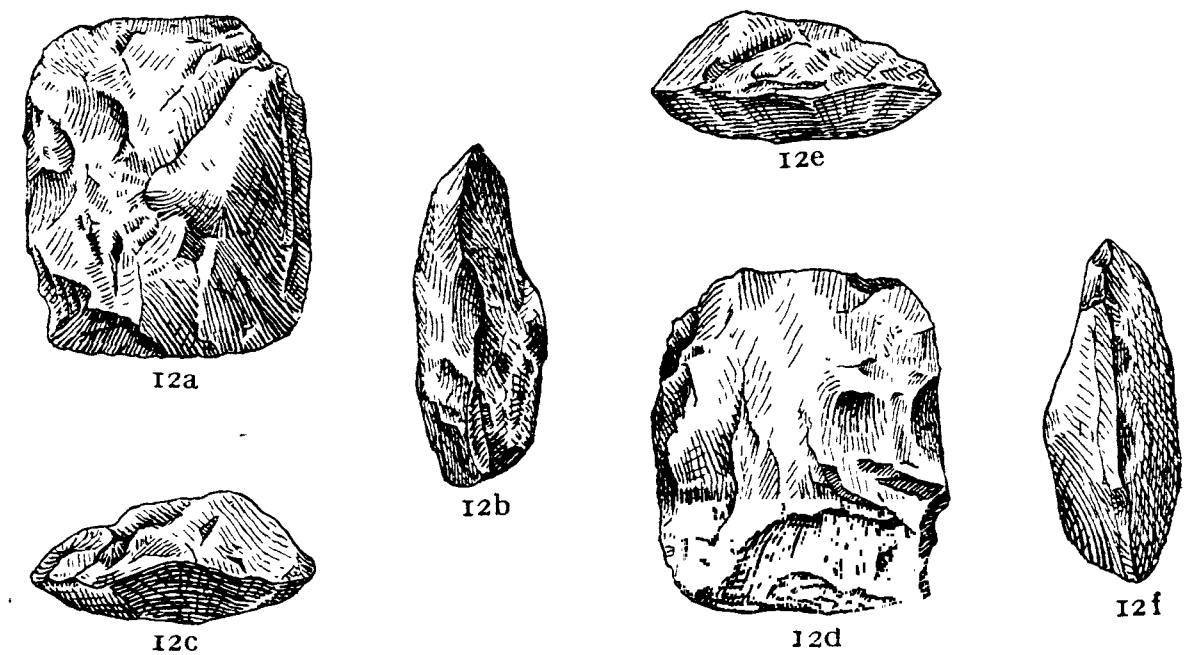


QUARTZ FRAGMENTS FROM THE CAVES AT CHOU-KOU-TIEN. NATURAL SIZE.
From drawings supplied by Mr. W. C. Pei.

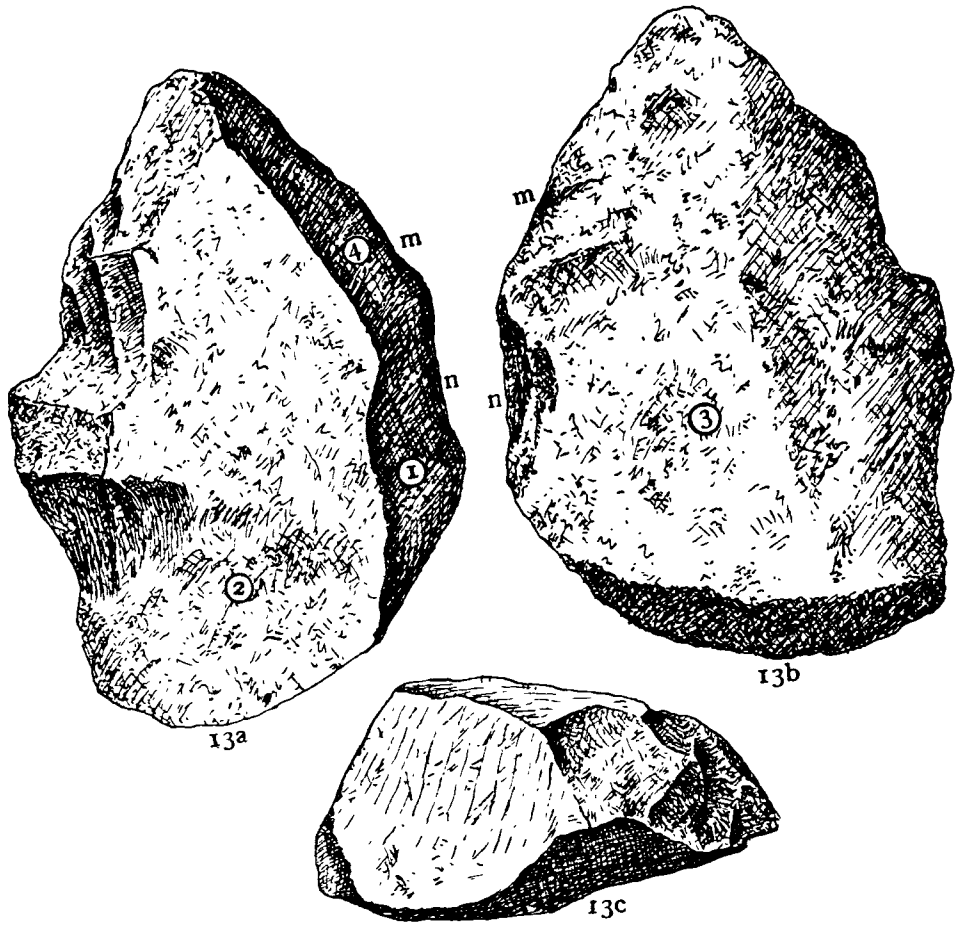


QUARTZ FRAGMENTS FROM THE CAVES AT CHOU-KOU-TIEN. NATURAL SIZE.
From drawings supplied by Mr. W. C. Pei.

When the excavations were resumed in the first cave in the spring of this year, Mr. Pei had the good fortune to discover a deposit of quartz (Q. 1.) in the loose material accumulated on the surface previously excavated. In July, another deposit (Q. 2.) was found in the second (Ko-Tse-Tang) cave which adjoins the site where the first remains of *Sinanthropus* had been found. In addition to a number



QUARTZ FRAGMENTS FROM THE CAVES AT CHOU-KOU-TIEN, NATURAL SIZE.
From drawings supplied by Mr. W. C. Pei.



QUARTZ FRAGMENTS FROM THE CAVES AT CHOU-KOU-TIEN, NATURAL SIZE.
From drawings supplied by Mr. W. C. Pei.

of artefacts of bone and worked antler, more than 2,000 fragments of unworked quartz and other alien stones have been recovered, together with charcoal and a quantity of ashes in the deposit of fine sand and clay. Although only a relatively small number of the stone fragments had been fashioned into implements there is no doubt that these had been deliberately worked, for they are not crude eoliths but specimens of a flake industry including points, choppers and blades. Large hand axes are apparently lacking. The line drawings here reproduced, which have been recently received from Mr. Pei, suggest resemblances to Lower Palæolithic flake industries in Europe, but no significant comparisons can be made until the actual material has been investigated. The Abbé Breuil, who has recently returned to Europe, was impressed by the advanced character of the working, and we hope that his opinions may be announced in the near future. G. ELLIOT SMITH.

Congress. **Myres.**

An International Congress for Anthropology and Ethnology. *By Professor John L. Myres, D.Litt., D.Sc., F.B.A.*

6 When the new International Congress of Prehistoric and Proto-historic Sciences was established in May, 1931, it was obvious that, as its scope was deliberately limited, there was room—and, indeed, *need*—for an independent alternative Congress for Anthropology and

Ethnology: and there was some informal conversation on this project, during the conference at Bern (MAN, 1931, 137, p. 133).

Accordingly the British Joint Committee for Anthropological Research and Teaching was informed that, the question of an international organization for prehistoric studies being thus settled, the Royal Anthropological Institute was making preliminary inquiries with a view to the establishment of a similar International Congress of Anthropology and Ethnology, in the hope that it might be possible to hold the first meeting of such a Congress in 1934. On 7 July, 1931, the Institute's Council resolved (1) that immediate steps should be taken, by correspondence with leading anthropologists and ethnologists abroad, to ascertain what support the Institute would receive, if it took the initiative by summoning an informal conference with the object of establishing a new International Congress of Anthropology and Ethnology: (2) that such a Congress should meet once in four years, with a two-years' interval between its sessions and those of the new Prehistoric Congress, which is to meet first in 1932: (3) that the executive of the Americanist Congress should be consulted as to the extent and mode of cooperation which is desirable between the new Congress and the Americanist Congress, which it is hoped may meet in London in 1934. The Council further commissioned its new President, Mr. T. A. Joyce, with Dr. C. G. Seligman and myself, to make preliminary inquiries as to the best mode of procedure.

The Royal Anthropological Institute was, indeed, already committed to such an inquiry, by agreement with the survivors of a former committee appointed after the Americanist Congress in 1912, the proceedings of which were published in MAN, 1912, 71 and 103, and are summarized in MAN, 1931, 94, §.x.

A chance visit of Dr. Eugen Fischer to London, during the summer of 1931, facilitated conversations as to the needs and wishes of German anthropologists: and Dr. Fischer has rendered to our Institute the great service of discussing the whole question with his colleagues, with the result that on 17 November, 1931, he wrote, on behalf of all the full Professors of Anthropology in Germany, to express their concurrence in any arrangements which the Royal Anthropological Institute might be able to make: *so legen wir also alles Weiteres in Ihre Hand.* In particular, they welcomed the suggestion that a Congress should be established on the same international basis as the new Congress for Prehistoric and Proto-historic Sciences; with similar statutes: organized in two sections, for Anthropology and Ethnology: employing four languages in its proceedings; and meeting once in four years, in those years when the Americanist Congress meets in Europe.

This last point is of some importance, because the new Prehistoric Congress is already arranged to meet once in four years (at London in 1932 and at Oslo—it is hoped—in 1936), that is to say, in those years when the Americanist Congress meets in America: this alternation of dates best suiting the convenience of American colleagues.

It happened also that the Royal Anthropological Institute had already invited Dr. Georg Thilenius, of Hamburg, to deliver its Huxley Memorial Lecture in September, 1931. As this lecture was given during the Centenary Meeting of the British Association, there was then in London an unusually large concourse of British and foreign colleagues, and accordingly, an informal meeting was held, at which the prospects of an International Congress were explained and discussed, and Dr. Thilenius very kindly undertook to make inquiries among German ethnologists. He now writes that most of those whom he has consulted favour the establishment of an International Congress for Anthropology and Ethnology. A few have doubts, on account of the financial situation, and others express the hope that the first session may not be so early as 1932, the year suggested in his circular. Dr. Thilenius reports this result as thoroughly favourable (*durchaus günstig*) and agrees that the year 1932 which he had tentatively proposed, would not be convenient.

Encouraged by these preliminary inquiries, and by many other expressions of individual opinion, the Royal Anthropological Institute now invites, formally, the collaboration of anthropologists and ethnologists in all countries, to establish a new fully International Congress for Anthropology and Ethnology, to meet once in four years, and normally in the years when the Americanist Congress meets in Europe.

As the first such occasion will be in 1934, there is time enough to discuss, as thoroughly as will certainly be necessary, the plan and scope of the new Congress; and for this purpose arrangements

are already being made for a preliminary conference early in 1932, like the conference of Bern which established the Prehistoric Congress last May. Invitations to this preliminary conference will be issued as soon as the place of meeting has been determined.

Obviously, the first and most important business of this preliminary conference will be to discover whether anthropologists and ethnologists are willing to co-operate in establishing a single Congress, constituted so as to include all the necessary sections; or whether the practical necessities of these two groups of studies are so different that they would be better organized separately, in two distinct congresses.

There is clearly much to be said on both sides. An overcrowded Congress fails of its primary function, which is to make it easy for colleagues to meet and confer. If there are many sections, difficulties arise as to accommodation and time-table. And, if the range of subjects is too wide, it becomes difficult to provide topics for general discussion which will interest everyone.

On the other hand, a single Congress will certainly be less costly than two, especially for those whose studies attract them to both. And though Anthropology and Ethnology are admittedly distinct sciences, in practical field-work the same explorers are concerned in both, and there are many points where each illustrates and supplements the other. The fundamental question of their proper relations to each other cannot be discussed at all, unless both parties are present to explain their own point of view.

Our British colleagues have been, for many years, a "happy family" within a single Institute, and are accustomed, like most of our countrymen, to a few large composite congresses, divided into several sections: and they would probably prefer to support a single Congress for Anthropology and Ethnology combined. Most of us, indeed, would have preferred to have only one Congress for Anthropology, Ethnology, and Prehistory. But we realize that continental opinions and experience are different; and, further, that the separate establishment of the Prehistoric Congress has set a precedent, and established a frontier, which must be carefully observed. In our preparations for the London Congress, this summer, we are already gaining valuable experience, and appreciate the greater significance which is attributed abroad to these questions of system and grouping.

It is, therefore, in the hope that the Institute's initiative may in the first place encourage all who have experience and opinions on these matters to express them freely in collaboration, that this preliminary and quite tentative announcement is made. JOHN L. MYRES.

Kinship. **Evans-Pritchard.**

The Nature of Kinship Extensions. *By E. E. Evans-Pritchard.*

In MAN, Nov., 1929, I wrote a paper on "The Study of Kinship in Primitive Societies," and Mr. Hogbin took exception to the views expressed there in a letter to MAN, June, 1930. I would like, therefore, to return to the point which I had wished to emphasize since it appears that it was not clear to everyone, certainly not to Mr. Hogbin.

I pointed out the lack of attention paid to the complicated influences which determine social attitudes towards members of both the restricted family and the kindred. By attitude is meant an enduring, stereotyped, and socially-compelled behaviour pattern, together with its concomitant psychological processes both in the conscious (sentiments) and in the unconscious (complexes).

I suggested that when we want to understand a person's attitude to a relative we must take into consideration the attitude of other members of his family towards this relative. I instanced that the attitude of a youth towards his mother in Zande society could be understood in its entirety only by an understanding of the reciprocal attitudes of husband and wife, and of father and son, in this community; and, again, that the attitude of a boy towards his mother's brother could be grasped satisfactorily only by first knowing the reciprocal attitudes of brother and sister, and of husband and wife's brother.

Mr. Hogbin considers this view to be an incorrect one. He holds that the extension of intra-family sentiments to persons outside the restricted family group is a simple and direct one. Thus, in Tonga, a sister's son "regards his mother's brother as a sort of male mother," while in Ongtong Java, the father's sister "is treated as a mother, with, of course, the distinction that she is not a real

" mother. The child has taken over the pattern of behaviour which he applied to a member of his " family and applied it to someone outside it, entirely uninfluenced by the behaviour of his parents." Again, Mr. Hogbin writes : " I think that the mother's brother - sister's son behaviour has not been " influenced by either of the parents."

Now, Mr. Hogbin's point of view is quite as unintelligible to me as mine was, apparently, to him. I am, therefore, going to state my ideas, based on field-work observation, about the manner in which kinship extensions are actually made in savage life and I hope that he will do the same.

About the primary formation of sentiments within the small family group I propose to say very little, since on this point we seem to be agreed. It will make the development of my thesis clearer, however, if we consider the manner in which the intra-family sentiments are formed. A baby is not born with them, but builds them up slowly. A new-born baby is conditioned by a stream of situations in which its mother, and later, its father and brothers and sisters, satisfy its biological and psychological needs. To the child these persons become intimately associated with the satisfaction of its needs for food, warmth, movement, company, and play. Now, I hold that the first attitudes of children towards other relatives than those of its inner family circle are also built up by a process of situational conditioning, which is largely dependent on the mode of social distribution, and that they are formed under the purposive direction of members of their family. The formation of these attitudes is much easier than the building up of the intra-family ones, because in the first place they are not so deep, vital, and complex, and in the second place, they are derived from, and built up on, the already-existing sentiments to father, mother, and other members of the household. I cannot for a moment agree with Mr. Hogbin that a child " has taken over a pattern of behaviour which he applies to a " member of his family and applies it to someone outside it, entirely uninfluenced by the behaviour " of his parents." On the contrary, I am convinced that these extended patterns of behaviour are not only influenced by parents and brothers and sisters, but that it is they who initiate and guide their formation in the first place.

I will illustrate this contention by quoting from my note-books two passages in all their original crudity which were taken down directly from a Zande informant in the field.

" Next to the mother and possibly elder sister or grandmother, who always carry it, the child " first commences to know its father and elder brothers and sisters. The father cares for the child " in child wants (as a rule). He takes it on his knees and talks to it, saying, ' *Ako wili mi du nga bamu* ' " (Oh, my child, it is I; I am your father), etc., and when it is crying the mother gives it to him and he " talks to it and blows in its ears to calm it. It looks at him and in time gets to know his voice and " face and smell and becomes quiet. The Azande say that those whom a child first gets to know " are those who always carry it. Other relatives who come more ocasionally, of either sex, will be " shown to it (and they will tell it) ' that's your father,' ' that's your mother,' etc., but the child " makes no approaches to them, is often frightened of them, and, if they attempt to nurse it, will " struggle in their arms till it is removed to familiar arms—*i ininga fua ni te* (they don't know his " (her) smell——."

" Its slightly older playmates of 5, 6, 7, of both sexes, teach it sounds. They say to it, ' You call " so-and-so,' and when he utters the name in child language they laugh and pronounce it properly " for him and tell him to keep on trying or he will never know Zande. It is they especially who teach " the child the names of its elder brothers and sisters and the relationship in which he stands to them. " They say, ' You name that elder brother, father's younger brother, elder sister, etc., over there,' " and if he does not know the name they will tell him it and get him to repeat it and laugh at his " efforts. These other children can understand the baby language and talk to him or her in it. Its " mother and father also teach it names of things and people—thus, the word for grandparent, *tita* " (*tata* to baby), is impressed on it by the little rhyme they chant to it as they swing it backwards " and forwards . . . "

These quotations show at once the types of situation which condition a child's attitude to its kin. Every field-worker must have seen the struggles of a baby passed from its mother to its mother's sister and told, " Let your mother nurse you "; or a frightened and tearful child introduced to a mother's or father's brother for the first time. How, then, can patterns of behaviour be extended to relatives outside the family " entirely uninfluenced by the behaviour of its parents " ?

Attitudes to particular relatives vary in intensity according to the degree of contact which they have with Ego, but they are all intentionally and persistently imposed in the first place by members of his inner family circle. Now these primary attitudes persist, but they are subject to considerable modification and revision as the conditioning situations which mould them alter. For just as the primary sentiments to father and mother are built up in a long series of situations in which their child has intimate contact with them and are subject to great modification as the type of contact changes, so, after the child has enveloped its near kindred, through their direct association with its mother and father, within its *terra cognita* of persons and things, its later attitudes towards them will be conditioned by great diversity of influences, age, sex, social status, and above all by the particular modes of local distribution, authority, descent, inheritance, and succession, which obtain in his community. Individual attitudes are never fixed; they are never uniform and consistent, but subject always to change, growth, and decay. Also, in the domain of kinship, extensions of sentiments from their primary objects to secondary ones are never complete transferences but only partial ones. Nor are they made easily and immediately, but involve difficult mental readjustments. The ability to make simple extensions of behaviour-patterns to clan members seen for the first time is a very late development and is acquired only when a boy or girl is old enough to understand the social affinities of its parents and the implications of a clan system.

A note in MAN does not allow me to expand this point of view any further, so I must conclude with a short reaffirmation of the argument of my earlier note. Surely no one would deny that a sentiment towards one person is affected by a sentiment towards another. When a child is born, the father, even where physiological parenthood is not recognized, reacts towards it with a strong feeling of endearment, as Malinowski has shown us, and this feeling is no doubt due in part to his sentiment towards his wife. At the same time, his feelings towards his baby deeply affect by a reciprocal action his attitude towards his wife, whom he now regards as the mother of his child, a change of attitude marked often by the new name she receives or by some similar conventional recognition. To take another example: in Zande culture a small child has no feelings of deep respect or fear for its father, and it is from its mother and elder brothers and sisters that it derives its later attitude of subservience, partly from observation of their behaviour to its father and partly from their direct admonition. A boy's attitude towards his mother and sister becomes more clearly defined as he falls more under his father's influence, though it only reaches a full and stable development when he understands the nature of bride-wealth and the legal principles involved in it. The behaviour of a man towards wife and daughter is only one of the influences which condition a boy's attitudes to mother and sister: awakening masculine pride, self-interest, division of social and economic activities between the sexes, and so on, all condition his behaviour patterns. But the attitude of his father towards these people is nevertheless a very important moulding influence.

In the same way, outside the family a boy soon begins to observe that his father holds quite different positions in respect of his elder and younger brother, and it is upon his father's pattern of behaviour among the Azande to *unvurëmi* (my elder brother) and *tamere* (my younger brother) that he builds up his own pattern of behaviour towards *unvuru fu buba* (my father's elder brother) and *tame buba* (my father's younger brother). His pattern of behaviour towards his father's brothers is enforced by social rules, but it is formed in the first place within the family by a number of conditioning elements, one of the more important of which is the father himself. I certainly think that the formation of an attitude towards the mother's brother is also largely conditioned by the father's attitude towards this person, though my belief is based less on the evidence which I have collected among the Azande, among whom there is an extremely one-sided patrilineal bias in all matters pertaining to residence, authority, descent, succession, and inheritance—and among whom the importance of kindred and clan has been eclipsed by political development—than on material such as that collected by Malinowski in the Trobriands. On the evidence of his elaborate and detailed descriptions one may suppose that in such a community the attitude of father to wife's brother must have very considerable influence in the formation of the sister's son - mother's brother sentiments, complexes, and patterns of behaviour

After all, the family springs from a union of two persons and it is the sentiments of a child towards these two persons, father and mother, which are the strongest and most enduring sentiments in the

life of an individual. Consequently, we might expect the attitudes of Ego towards all members of his mother's kin to be coloured by his sentiment towards his father, and his attitudes towards all members of his father's kin to be coloured by his sentiment towards his mother, for sentiments are not completely watertight compartments of emotional feeling, but flow freely together, sometimes harmonizing, sometimes contending, but always seeking a compromise which will enable a man to live in peace of mind and maintain social equilibrium. E. E. EVANS-PRITCHARD.

New Guinea. **Thomas.**

Immolation of Widows in New Guinea. *By E. L. Gordon Thomas, Local Correspondent, Buka, New Guinea.*

8

The following record of a Central Court case, held in Rabaul, Territory of New Guinea, in December, 1930, describes in some detail the immolation of a widow, a prevailing custom on the South Coast of New Britain.

The photograph will show the type of native resident in that particular district. Note the binding on the head of the child for the lengthening of the head—another old-time custom on the South Coast of New Britain. The ornaments worn by the men are clam-shell: the *mal* about their waists, of *tapa*.



NATIVES OF RABAUL, NEW GUINEA.

(*From "The Rabaul Times," December 5th*, 1930.)

Before His Honour the Chief Judge.

Among the cases heard during December sittings of the Central Court (Rabaul) the cases of the King *v.* Wudlil, Pedio, Liwa and Awipi: the King *v.* Aiang and Lelio; and the King *v.* Iangin and Kaiak, were of special interest as instances of the killing of widows on the death of their husbands. In the first case the accused were charged with the wilful murder of the native woman Eihangom, a widow of a deceased native named Sikut. In the second case the charge was the wilful murder of Eihami, another widow of Sikut. In the third case the accused were charged with the wilful murder of Lalmaran, the widow of Teihang. The offences were committed in Gasmata.*

The evidence in each case showed that at the request of the native woman her brothers or near relations strangled the woman, who assisted them in every way. After her death she was buried with her husband. The evidence of Angul shows what took place in one case. Similar evidence was given in the other cases.

"I belong to Lapanam, Gasmata, New Britain. I "know the four defendants. . . . About two months ago "I accompanied Tuhudil and Mekeap, my luluai (chief), to "the hamlet of Memau, and on entering a house there saw "a male native named Sikut lying dead. I also saw the "wife Eihangom outside the house and heard her say to "the defendant Wudlil: 'Why are you delaying? Why "'don't you hurry and let me go with Sikut?' I saw her go inside the house and return with a *mal* "(cloth; probably a loin-cloth of cheap print material or native *tapa*), and after stretching it across her "throat from ear to ear, to mark the position of knots, handed it to Wudlil, who knotted it in three "places. She also said: 'You're like a woman; if I were a man I would kill you.'

* The district of Gasmata lies on the South coast of the island of New Britain, and is distant some 180 miles from Rabaul.—G. T.

"Wudlil handed the *mal* back to Eihangom, who placed it in position with a knot under each "ear and twisted it over her head, and held it there. She then demanded her brother, Wudlil, to "strangle her quickly. Wudlil then stood behind her and took hold of the *mal* and called on his "brother Pedio to assist him. Both defendants then held the *mal* and placed their knees on "Eihangom's shoulders and twisted the ends of the *mal*. Wudlil then told her two younger brothers, "Liwa and Awipi, to assist and they also held the *mal*. All defendants then pulled on the *mal* while "Wudlil and Pedio at the same time pressed Eihangom's shoulders downwards with their knees and "caused her instant death.

"Wudlil then gathered fresh shrubs and decorated the body of Eihangom and he and Pedio then "placed it in the grave in the house with Sikut and his other wife Eihami. The four defendants then "filled in the grave with ground.

"I told them not to kill Eihangom and warned them that if the District Officer or the Patrol "Officer knew of it defendants would be punished, but Wudlil said: 'Never mind; what has she to "live for now? let her go with her man.'"

His Honour the Chief Judge found all the accused guilty of wilful murder, and directed sentence of death to be recorded.

E. L. GORDON THOMAS.

India: **Simcox.**

Gelert in the East. *By A. H. A. Simcox.*

Near the northern end of the Sahyadri range I was pursuing a cattle-raiding panther, aided by willing Bhils. On a day when the panther proved too elusive, my party found itself crossing a rocky pass, at whose foot lay huddled a little group of huts. The pass was called Kuttar Bari or Dog's Gorge, a name I thought suitable enough to the vileness of the track. But the name had a history. To my surprise, the huts contained Vanjaras, or gipsies, an isolated colony of them in the Bhil country, and on a knoll beyond them stood an ancient monolithic Hindu temple. Naturally I went to inspect it, and a new surprise awaited me, for instead of an idol the shrine contained a rudely carved, but unmistakable dog in basalt. His breed might be uncertain, but his age and respectability were beyond doubt. The Vanjaras were not in the least ashamed of him, but seemed eager to tell me his story.

"In days of old, Sahib, we Vanjara folk used to be carriers of merchandise. We owned herds "of sure-footed oxen, and on their backs we brought up salt from the sea coast, and took down grain "and oilseeds from the highlands. Wherever the roads led through the mountains, so that carts "went not, there we Vanjaras carried the goods. Even now if you would find our people, look for "our villages at the foot of every pass. Some of us prospered, but this was ever but a little byway, "no smoother then than now, so that our fathers were as poor folk as we are. Yet we were in good "favour with the merchants, for the tale of sacks delivered to us above arrived below complete, "both in number and in weight, however bad the weather or rough the path.

"Now in those days Govind was our Naik, or headman, and he had a daughter growing up, "who must needs be married. Therefore he went to his patron Keshavji, the banker at Saundana, "even where the Sahib's tents now are pitched.

"'O Sheth,' said he, 'my daughter is marriageable.'

"'That is a day of calamity, O Naik, which comes to all fathers.'

"'True, O Sheth. So great is my misfortune that the Vanjaras will eat not less than two hundred "rupees at my house.'

"'It is good that thy money jars are so full. May they quickly be replenished.'

"'Nay, I have not so much as an empty jar, O Sheth. Yet mine honour demands that I spend, "therefore I am come to thee.'

"'One hundred rupees is a vast sum to spend in a starving Vanjara's hut.'

"'But I, O Sheth, am Naik, and command men and beasts, therefore I said two hundred. "'Have ever thy bags of salt been diminished, or thy sesamum seed been delivered but in full tale?'

"'It is truly said, O Naik, and therefore the rupees shall be one hundred and fifty. Also the "interest shall be such as is fitting. Also at the entering of the pass, when bags be many and oxen

" few, the bags of Keshavji shall not fail to be carried, seeing he is the protector of poor Vanjaras.
" But what security dost thou offer ? '

" ' Mock me not, O Sheth. Well thou knowest that of land we have none, our oxen are worth
" but little, our houses are sticks and straw. Yet to our bonds we are faithful, is it not so ? '

" ' Truly ye Vanjaras are honest folk. Yet for so great a sum there should be some pledge.'

" ' Take then my hound Moti. Verily he is a pearl among dogs. I will charge him that he guard
' thy house, and well he will watch it. Thou shalt need no hired spearmen. But on the day
" ' I redeem my bond I will take him, for I love him well.'

" ' It is good, O Naik. Take thy rupees, and leave the dog with me. I trow that if I loose his
" ' rope, he will run straightway home.'

" ' Not he, if I show him thy house and charge him well.'

" So Moti remained at the banker's house to guard it. And it happened that a company
" of dacoits heard of his wealth and came to despoil him by night. So fearsome were they that ten
" armed guards would have slunk away. Not so Moti, who was well used to raiders of Govind's
" camp. They holed the wall after their custom, but as many dacoits as thrust arm or leg through
" the hole, withdrew it torn and bleeding. In the morning Moti nosed out the trail of their blood,
" so that the townsmen caught them and handed them over to justice. Then was Keshavji well
" pleased, and said to Moti : ' In truth thy master owed me many rupees, but thou hast saved for
" ' me much more, both wealth, honour and life. Go in peace to him, for I have forgiven him his
" ' debt for thy sake.' So Moti returned home, and lay down in a corner to sleep, being weary and
" bloodstained.

" Now Govind knew naught of this, but coming in, and seeing Moti downcast and smeared
" with blood, made sure that he had escaped after fighting with the banker. Therefore he said in
" his anger : ' O vilest of dogs, now shall my debt be doubled upon me, now is mine honour turned
" ' to shame by thee. Couldest thou not have stayed yonder, eating bread and drinking milk ?
" ' Die then '—and lifting his moon-axe, he smote off Moti's head. Anon came the banker, having
" good news and praising the hound, but he lay dead.

" Now it is a saying among us that to one man a carved stone is but a stone, to another it is the
" image of a God. The banker was assured that though Moti had seemed but a dog of the dogs,
" there had been in him something God-like. Therefore he fashioned the dog thou seest, Sahib,
" and built for it a temple, that Moti may guard our village for ever, even as Maruti guards the villages
" of the plains. And from that day we worship at Moti's shrine, and our road is named the Dog's
" Pass, in proof that what we have told thee is none other than the truth." A. H. A. SIMCOX.

ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE: PROCEEDINGS.

Benefaction from the Rockefeller Foundation.

The Rockefeller Foundation has most generously placed at the disposal of the Royal Anthropological Institute the sum of 10,000 dollars, payable during the years 1931–1936 in diminishing annual instalments. The gift is to the general funds of the Institute, and unconditional : and the Council of the Institute hopes that in this way by well-considered expenditure, especially on library and publications, the membership and income from sales may be increased until the Institute is able to sustain this higher outlay from its own resources. 10

The Royal Anthropological Institute gratefully acknowledges this liberal and most opportune recognition of its work, all the more welcome because it enables the Council to persevere in the policy of development which the previous subsidy from the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Trustees enabled it some years ago to initiate.

Ordinary Meetings of the Institute.

Grave Posts of Melville Island. *Summary of a communication presented by C. W. M. Hart; 10th November*, 1931.

11 There are already two accounts by anthropological observers of the elaborately carved and painted posts which the Tiwi of Melville and Bathurst Islands alone amongst Australian tribes erect over the graves of their dead. These accounts were written in 1912 and 1914 by Dr. Basedow and Sir Baldwin Spencer respectively. But neither account is satisfactory to the modern student of comparative sociology. Basedow answers the question "What is a Tiwi grave post?" in terms of lines and angles and colours; Spencer the question "How do the Tiwi carve, paint, and erect a grave post?" The post-war anthropologist wants to know not only the answers to these questions, but also why the posts are used at all.

Ultimately the question of why a certain institution or custom is found among a certain people can only be answered historically, and that, in a region such as Australia before white influence, means it cannot be answered at all. But whatever custom is brought into a society by an accident of history will not remain in that society as an integral part of the culture unless it satisfies some need of the society; and it is with this question, of discovering the needs that underlie customs and institutions, that social anthropology is concerned to-day. This paper is an attempt to show that Tiwi grave posts are a specialised method of satisfying the need, which all societies feel, for every individual in a society to give public proof of his sorrow at the death of any member of that society.

Obviously when a person dies the persons most affected will be his closer relatives. But the feeling of permanence felt by a society, especially by a small society such as an Australian tribe, is damaged by the death of one of its members, and society insists that some recognition of that damage be shown by every member of the community. The closer relatives will feel sorry and show their sorrow by fasting, weeping, lamentations. The members of the society not closely connected with the deceased may not feel sorry but they must express sorrow outwardly at least. Various societies adopt various means to allow such outward sorrow to be expressed. The Tiwi adopt grave posts which can only be prepared for the funerary rites by men who are neither related to the deceased nor have hitherto shown any sorrow for him by fasting, etc. When a Tiwi dies, the rest of the tribe fall into three main groups—(*a*) close relatives who must fast and lament, (*b*) people not connected genealogically to him at all who must *not* fast nor lament; and (*c*) an intermediate group who may or may not fast or lament according to choice. But the important point is that the people responsible for cutting the posts are group (*b*) together with those members of group (*c*) who have neither fasted nor lamented.

Music in the Southern Sudan. *Summary of a communication by Dr. A. N. Tucker:* 24 *November*, 1931.

12 Southern Sudan music is quite different from Arab. The classification of tribes as "Nilotic" (Shilluk, Dinka, Nuer) and "Nilo-Hamitic" (Bari, Bari-speakers, Latuko) roughly holds good for their music also. Zande music seems to be of another class, though material is still scanty. Songs, even solos, are antiphonal, and rhythm is well marked. Natives often croon to themselves, without moving, but the songs are usually dance songs or fragments of them. Nilotic and Nilo-Hamitic people have a common "scale," though Nuer usually sing in a minor key and Shilluk in major; and mission boys of each tribe make the same mistakes in European hymns. No native, however, sings a scale as such, nor can give the fundamental note of a song; nor does a tune (unless in minor key) usually end on the tonic as in European music. The Nilotic "scale" (like our black-note scale) has two notes less than the European.

Musical instruments include (1) lyre (*thom, tom*) among the Shilluk and Nuer, the Western Bari and Bari-speakers, and some Congo tribes: (2) mandoline harp (*tom* in Bari-Lokoya area, and among Golo, *kundi* among Azande, and throughout the Congo); the Bari harp has four strings, all others five; (3) one-string violin, among Kaliko, reported also among Acholi; (4) "Congo musical-box" (*sanza, marimba*) introduced from the Congo, only in south-west Sudan, in two varieties: (*a*) *gwögwöni* with six bamboo lamellæ in a half-gourd, played with the thumb, among Mundu and Baka, who have taught it to Pöjulu and Kakwa; (*b*) *lekembe* (also *kundi*) among Zande, with eight lamellæ, often

of metal. (5) flute and whistle, played by herd-boys, among Acholi and Latuko, with scale different from the Nilotic; (6) horns, for use at dances, seldom of more than two notes.

Experimental use of African tunes for mission purposes demonstrates the limited range of native "scales," and the brevity of the tunes. Though individuals croon sitting or at work, a group must express the rhythm with bodily movement. Hitherto no mission permits more than hand-clapping. Native instruments being for individual singing, the people will not bring them for congregational use. If African music is to be used in the churches, it must be applied in African manner, not in European.

Anthropological Explorations in Australia. *Summary of a Communication presented by Dr. H. Basedow: 30th November,* 1931.

13 The Mackay Exploring Expedition visited the Wongapitcha and Western Aluridja tribes west of Lake Amadeus. Most of the groups had never before seen a white man. Dr. Basedow's knowledge of the Aluridja dialect facilitated his investigations and gave the natives confidence in him. He saw several initiation ceremonies, but on one occasion came into serious conflict with the tribe as a whole, owing to a breach of etiquette by one of his assistants during the most sacred stage of the ceremony.

Dr. Basedow's latest expedition was to the rough and precipitous interior of Arnhem Land. The natives were so scared that they fled into the jungle and perched in the tree-tops. One of the largest tribes of the high tablelands is the Rembaranga. The religious cults of the Arnhem Land natives are more striking than those of any other Australian tribe. Essentially Nature-worshippers, they also recognized, among numerous deities, a God of thunder, lightning, and rain, who goes by the name of Namarruwan. His form is human, but he has neither mouth nor nose. When the occasion demands, he draws out of his head two horn-shaped processes from which he pours thunder-clouds upon the earth. He has a wife called Namandi. They have many sacred *tjuringas* of both sexes, some of very great dimensions. The tribal groups obey strict laws of morality. Young men are required to live apart from the married people's and women's quarters, in very large bark-covered huts. The women are zealously protected, and should by chance any one of them default, she is either killed on the spot or has several fingers chopped off, which are kept in a wallet of bark, stitched along its borders with split cane: the object is richly decorated with coloured ochre-designs, and is known as *murdyin*.

Many of the caves are covered with countless designs. Human figures are neatly executed and artistic. The internal features are drawn as well as the external form: not only the head, arms and legs, but the heart, liver, lungs, stomach and intestines. The accuracy of these designs shows that the artists must have considerable experience in dissecting human bodies. These tribes prepare an alcoholic beverage, *kambui* or *wagorru*, from *Pandanus* fruit which is roasted, bashed with stones, and macerated in water. There is evidence of totemism and phallic worship. A prehistoric, fossilized skull of Pliocene age, discovered in association with *Genyornis* and other extinct creatures at Tennant's Creek in North-Central Australia, has been placed in the Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons and will be described by Sir Arthur Keith.

The lecture was illustrated with a film, slides, and gramophone records of ceremonial chants.

A New Mesolithic Industry; the Natufian of Palestine. *Summary of a communication presented by Miss D. A. E. Garrod: 8 December,* 1931: *cf* MAN. 1931. 159.

14 Until recently the true Mesolithic was unknown in Palestine, although certain industries found on surface sites were wrongly called Mesolithic by local workers.

In 1928 the British School of Archæology in Jerusalem undertook excavations in the cave of Shukba, in Western Judaea. Here was found a layer containing a microlithic industry without pottery, resting on the eroded surface of a Mousterian breccia.

In 1929 the School started work in the Valley of the Caves, an important site at the western foot of Mt. Carmel. A large cave, known as the Mugharet el-Wad, yielded a microlithic industry closely related to that of Shukba. In this case it was separated from the Mousterian by four Aurignacian layers.

Two subdivisions could be recognized in the Mesolithic at the Mugharet el-Wad, of which the more recent was practically identical with Shukba, while the older differed from it in some respects. Many bone implements and two remarkable carvings were found in the lower layer.

This industry is so distinctive as to require a name of its own, and I have called it Natufian, from the Wady en-Natuf at Shukba.

Many burials were found in the Natufian layer at the Mugharet el-Wad, and in three cases head-dresses of shells and bone beads were found in place on the skeletons.

On the terrace of the cave the Natufian layer rested on bedrock, and here we found a remarkable series of "constructions," including rock-cut basins, a pavement of limestone slabs, and a rough stone wall.

The Natufian would appear to antedate the first appearance of pottery in Palestine. Since, by cross-dating with Egypt, we know that pottery was being made in Palestine at least as early as 4500 B.C., we may date the Natufian at 5000–6000 B.C.

Excavations at the Cave Mugharet-el-Kebarah, near Zichron Jakob, Palestine. *Summary of a communication presented by F. Turville Petre :* 8 *December*, 1931.

15 The Mugharet-el-Kebarah is situated in a limestone cliff overlooking the coastal plain and the Mediterranean near the southern end of the Carmel range.

Excavations carried out in the early summer of 1930 showed that below a mixed level (A) containing remains of all periods from the First Bronze Age to recent Arab was a Mesolithic occupation, level (B) typical of the newly discovered Natufian culture. Below this was a second Mesolithic level, (C) overlying Middle Aurignacian deposits.

Level B yielded very numerous flint sickle blades, and microlithic implements among which crescents predominated : there was also the usual series of scrapers, gravers, etc. Further, there was a great quantity and variety of worked bone objects including points, fish hooks, harpoons, pendants, etc. Of special interest was a complete sickle-blade haft decorated at the handle with a carving of a goat's head, and three other similarly decorated handles. Associated with this level were a number of human burials.

Level C contained a large number of microlithic implements, among which a very elongated triangular form greatly predominated. Normal sized scrapers, gravers, etc., occurred but in small quantities : the flint series does not seem to resemble very closely that from any hitherto known site. Probably to be attributed to this level are the remains of a number of cremated human skeletons.

Hopi Agriculture and Land Ownership. *Summary of a Communication presented by Professor C. Daryll Forde :* 15 *December*, 1931.

16 Hunting and gathering have played little part in Hopi economy, while the herds of sheep they have reared since Spanish times are relatively unimportant compared with those of the Navajo. Dependence on agriculture, despite the desert conditions, is possible on account of the peculiar character of the flood water run-off from the mesas. Flash floods following the storms descend the canyons and scarps, fan out over the lower land forming washes, without cutting a definite channel. Apart from the gardens at springs there is no irrigation, merely the planting of patches of ground likely to be flooded, although erosion may be arrested and flood water held up on small patches in narrow gullies by erecting low dams of stones and brush. In recent years, however, definite channels or arroyos have been cut across some of the washes, seriously reducing the flooded area and destroying much valuable land. This may in part be due to overgrazing of the mesas by the Navajo and Hopi flocks promoting more rapid run-off, but other factors may be operating, since cycles of arroyo cutting have occurred in the past. One, indeed, appears to coincide with the abandonment of many Pueblo sites in the south-west at the end of the Great Pueblo period.

Arable land is, therefore, rather rigidly restricted, and there are definite, although disputed, boundaries between the lands of each village. The village lands are parcelled out into major areas nominally owned by the clans, and marked by boundary stones roughly incised with clan symbols. The clan lands are not concentrated in one place but subdivided into several lots in different parts of the village territory. Each family has field patches within several of its clan's lands. This

produces a superficial resemblance to open-field systems and distributes the risk of crop failure, as all fields are subject to a double hazard, i.e. of being washed out by too fierce a flood, or of receiving no water in a particular year.

The matrilineal clan organization is reflected in the control of land. The family plots are theoretically controlled by women, the older women disposing of fields to their daughters as they marry and have need of them. The actual cultivation and all field work except at harvest time, is undertaken by men, the husbands and unmarried sons of the clanswomen, who may have no personal lien on the fields they cultivate and, indeed, in the case of husbands, are not themselves members of the clan. The clan leaders may apportion fields if need arises, handing over some of those of dwindling families to others which are growing in numbers and have more labour to cultivate them. Certain fields are also reserved for the chiefs of societies: these are cultivated on behalf of the chiefs by working parties drawn from appropriate societies.

In practice, the matrilineal inheritance of land is not strict. Men frequently cultivate fields in their own clan lands, received from their matrilineal relatives, for the benefit of their own families, which do not of course belong to their clan. Such fields may not, however, be passed on for the use of the man's sons without permission of the owning clan, and such use would only be given for life without right of bequest. Women may similarly in practice acquire the use of fields in the lands of the father's clan. These practices, which are recognized as inconsistent with the theory of clan ownership, are rarely interfered with by the clan leaders, and serve to compensate for inequalities in the size of the lands of various clans and families.

Magico-religious practices are of great importance at every stage in cultivation. Agricultural objectives are prominent in several of the major ceremonies (e.g. the Katcina initiations at the beginning of the year); the summer may be prolonged and rain produced at the great ceremonies during the year or by small groups gathering for the purpose. Plant growth is stimulated by sympathetic magic practised by individuals and by working parties in the fields. The individual cultivator has a shrine in his field and by prayer-offerings endeavours to protect his plot and ensure its fruitfulness.

Open Public Lectures: *For Lectures I, II, III, of this course see* MAN, *1931, 272-4.*

iv. Hillmen and Head-hunters in Northern India. *By Colonel T. C. Hodson: 2 November,* 1931.

The lecturer described the racial and linguistic elements in N. and N.E. India; summarized the social structure, educational system and general mode of life, past and present of the head-hunting tribes of those areas, among them the Garo, Khasia, Kachari, Rabha, Naga, Kuki, and Wa; and examined the complexity of motives, individual, religious and economic, to which the practice of head-hunting owes its vitality. A right understanding of these factors, and an intelligent handling of them, are essential to the future welfare of these virile peoples. **17**

v. From Pariah to Brahman in Southern India. *By F. J. Richards, M.A., I.C.S.: 9 November,* 1931.

After a brief survey of the geographical, historical and racial factors operative in S. India, Mr. Richards sketched in rough outline the social organization, from the lowest to the highest grade, of the five chief nations of S. India—Maratha, Kanarese, Telugu, Tamil, and Malayalam. In general pattern these national systems are similar, but they differ from each other in the position and status assigned to the communal units of which they are composed, and in structural details. In essentials these systems owe little to the Vedic tradition of Upper India, but that tradition has played a part in giving them their final impact. The impact of Western ideas has accentuated social cleavages, and in present-day India "communal sentiment is the one stable factor in political life."

vi. Historians and Painters of the Mughal Court. *By J. V. S. Wilkinson, M.A.: 16 November,* 1931.

The historical importance of Mughal painting is quite distinct from its æsthetic value. It is an art, professedly, of illustration, chronicle, and portraiture. It was given its direction by the personal tasks of the early emperors. But the artists had a natural talent for observing and recording the life around them, and for seizing character. It thus forms a unique commentary on the copious written history of the time, though it cannot be said to take the place of written history.

It was stimulated at first, in technique, by Persian masters and examples, and later gained much from imitating European realistic devices—shading, modelling, perspective. Indian appreciation of European art is illustrated by the interest shown by all classes in a Madonna shown by Jesuits in Agra, under Akbar.

Mughal painting illustrates every detail in the lives of the emperors, their court and their armies; the personalities of all the chief men of the time, in separate portraits; the spiritual side of life: to some extent the life outside the court orbit, of the common people, agriculture, trades and professions; everyday life and articles of common use.

Dr. Goetz's recent study traces a clear process from primitive vigour to maturity and decadence, merely from pictures of the material culture of every day.

PROCEEDINGS OF SOCIETIES.

ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE.

Research Committees.

18 The Council of the Royal Anthropological Institute has decided, in response to influential representations from the Fellows, to constitute "Research Committees" for more intensive study of particular branches of Anthropology or particular regions.

This is an important advance in the same direction as the Indian Research Committee, which has been at work for some years, and now takes rank as one of these.

It is a necessary precaution that the establishment of a Research Committee should be contingent on the willingness of some individual to act as convener and secretary, and make arrangements for its meetings, in consultation with the Assistant Secretary, who is authorized to defray postage Other expenses will only be defrayed by the Institute if previously authorized by the Treasurer.

Meetings will, as far as possible, be arranged for afternoons. Notices of Research Committees will be inserted in MAN (cover, p. 2), and on the post cards announcing general meetings of the Institute.

Meetings will be open to all Fellows, but postal notices will only be sent to Fellows who desire them. Meetings will be reported to the ensuing meeting of Council, and summarized in MAN, and in the *Journal*.

Research Committees are established forthwith for Human Biology (convener, Miss Tildesley), Sociology (Dr. Driberg), Africa (Mr. Malcolm), India (Mr. Hocart).

Wellcome Gold Medal for Anthropological Research.

19 The Council has given public notice that the date before which essays must be submitted for the competition of 1932 has been postponed from December 31, 1931, to March 31, 1932.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE FOLKLORE SOCIETY.

The Lime, Rice-Straw, and the Convolvulus in Indian Primitive Practice.

20 *Summary of a communication by R. E. Enthoven, C.I.E.: 18th November,* 1931.

The use of limes in India for warding off evil influences at birth or marriage, and as vehicles for the removal of disease-spirits is well established. In the special rite of *muthmārane* ("The Folk Lore of Bombay," p. 241) a charmed lime is sent to the house of a victim and causes his death. Reports from the Central Province Police state that where the use of poison is suspected, a lime is usually found near the body of the deceased. In such cases it is not certain whether poison or fear of witchcraft by *muthmārane* is the true cause of death.

Rice-straw is used as a form of prohibition by laying a spell on the parties to a dispute. A quarrel regarding the ownership of a mango tree in the Ratnagiri district of Bombay was recently dealt with by binding a knotted wisp of straw to the tree and to the persons involved in the dispute; when this had been done, the tree could not be touched until a *Kaul* or omen from the local village deity had been obtained. In some cases the decision of a magistrate is now accepted instead of a *Kaul*.

The convolvulus, *Ipomœa biloba* known as the *maryadvel*, which grows on the sandy shore of Ratnagiri Bay, is one of some 226 marriage guardians or *devaks* which regulate the inter-marriage of numerous caste sections in the Bombay Presidency. The significance of these *devaks* was discussed, and recently, theories regarding their meaning and origin.

Some Pyrenean Folk Customs.

21 *Summary of a paper by Miss Violet Alford: 16th December,* 1931. *Illustrated by original lantern slides and by gramophone records of local music.*

This survey embraced the northern slopes of the entire range, from French Catalonia (Rousillon) to the Basque country. On this western end of the chain as far as the province of Viscaya, Spanish Basque customs also were discussed. Catalan carnival customs are punctiliously carried out, notably the "Bear Hunts" of Vallespir, wonderfully complete fertility-cult rites, and the "Bail de la Posta" at Prats de Mollo—a public judgment on the behaviour of the girls during the year. The Death of Carnival can hardly be better seen than in this valley. A gramophone record of the Catalan Cobla band was performed, and the monstrous hobby-horse, the "Poulain de Pezenas," was shown. Further west, the French Basque

" Mascarades " with Hobby-horse and Man-woman, begin their " Cavalcades " with rough music and end with a glorified " Riding the Stang " in punishment of bad conduct. Records of Basque Txistu band-music were given. Other ceremonies are the Fête Dieu (France) and the Corpus Christi (Spain) processions with their petticoated dancers, the Spanish–Basque sword-dances, the so-called " witches'-dances " in the Central Pyrenees, and a Mummers Play found in Barèges.

INTERNATIONAL CONGRESSES.

Second International Congress of Linguists: Geneva, August 25th to 29th.

22

This Congress was much more largely attended than the first one. There was a list of over 200 members, from 28 countries, Switzerland, France and Holland contributing the biggest groups. The absence of some of the German members on account of the financial crisis was much regretted. The opening meeting was attended by a representative of the Government of Geneva, who welcomed the members on behalf of the Government. The Royal Anthropological Institute was represented by Dr. C. O. Blagden.

The principal questions discussed in the general meetings were the improvement of technical aids to research and publication, such as an agreed terminology, bibliographies, the classification of material, and the like; the part played in the evolution of language by unconscious phenomena and deliberate volition, respectively the advisability and practicability of an auxiliary international language; the need of which was fully recognized, and was indeed obvious in the circumstances; phonetics and phonology; and the relations of the Indo-European family of languages with other families of speech. All these matters were discussed, some of them in considerable detail. An account was also given by Mr. P. Scheuermeier of his experiences in collecting dialect forms in Southern Switzerland and Northern Italy, which illustrated many practical points arising in the course of such research and disclosed the diversity of speech which is sometimes to be found even within such a small group as a single family.

The other subjects considered were distributed among five sections, viz., general linguistics, phonetics, Indo-European origins, Indo-European languages, and non-Indo-European languages, a grouping which illustrates the disproportionate attention still given to the Indo-European family at the expense of all the others. The inevitable division into sections, precluding as it did attendance at more than a fifth of the sectional meetings, was to some extent mitigated by the distribution of abstracts of the papers, which were mainly of a technically linguistic nature. But among the others may be mentioned papers by Messrs. W. Doroszewski on sociology and linguistics, S. Feist on the spread of the Indo-European family of languages over Northern Europe in prehistoric times, H. Maspéro on the relationship of the languages of Eastern Asia, A. Nehring on linguistic palæontology, and Sir Richard Paget on the gestural origin of language. It must be added that the sectional programmes often left very little time for discussion of the points raised in the papers. In the evenings and afternoons there were several receptions and excursions. Careful preparations had been made for the Congress by its permanent committee and the local organizing committee. It is intended that the next Congress should be held in Rome.

Thirteenth International Congress of Orientalists: Leyden, September 7th to 12th, 1931.

23

At this Congress the Royal Anthropological Institute was represented by Dr. C. O. Blagden, who has communicated the following report :—

The number of members exceeded 700, of whom the greater part attended the Congress, though the absence of many German members was noticed and regretted. Leyden being a small town, a good many people had to stay at the Hague or at Noordwijk, which involved some extra expenditure of time. Apart from individual members, 35 countries were represented by delegates of their governments, academies, universities, or learned societies There was a very full programme, distributed among nine sections, viz., Assyriology, Egyptology, Western and Central Asia, the Far East and Indonesia, India, Semitic languages and peoples, Old Testament and Judaism, Islam, and Papyrology, a new addition. It would be out of place to enumerate here all the papers included in the programme. Among those of general anthropological interest the following may be mentioned: P. Koschaker, " Das Verbot " der Geschwisterehe bei den Hethitern und seine " Beziehungen zum Mutterrecht," C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, " Die zoomorphe Junktur an vorarmenisch- " chaldischen, etruskischen und chinesischen Bronze- " geräten als Merkmal kulturgeschichtlicher Bezie- " hungen," K. S. Sandford, " Recent developments " in the study of palæolithic man in Egypt," H. C. Gallois, " Influences mutuelles entre la céramique " du Proche-Orient et celle de la Chine à l'epoque " des T'ang et avant," R. von Heine-Geldern, " Urheimat und früheste Wanderungen der Austro- " nesier " (mainly on the prehistoric evidence, which will have to be correlated with the cultural, linguistic, and other data), R. P. Masani, " Customs, ceremonies " and superstitions connected with the naming of " children in India, as compared with those pre- " vailing in other countries," C. A. Ariens Kappers, " The anthropology of the Near East," and M. A. Canney, " The anthropological approach to the Old " Testament."

The general meetings were confined to an opening session and a closing one, in which a number of resolutions were passed having reference to the promotion of various branches of Orientalism, and it was decided to hold the next congress at Rome.

During the week the members were invited to a special Government reception in the Ridderzaal at the Hague (on which occasion the Prince Consort was present and the Minister for the Colonies delivered an address), and to a municipal reception in the Lakenhal Museum at Leyden. Government delegates were also specially summoned by the

Queen to her country seat, where she was then in residence, and personally received them. There were a number of excursions and amusements, among which may be mentioned a very successful dinner at Noordwijk, honoured by the presence of the Prince Consort; and a performance of a Javanese shadow play, followed by a scene from a Javanese drama with real actors, and preceded by a lecture on Indian music with vocal and instrumental illustrations by Professor Sambamoorthy, all of which aroused much interest. The week concluded with a visit to Amsterdam and its fine Koloniaal Instituut. Professor Snouck Hurgronje, who called to mind that he had attended the Sixth Orientalist Congress at Leyden in 1883, made a most efficient president. The success of the Congress was largely due to him and to the admirable organization which had prepared it. Its enquiry stall was of great assistance to visiting members, who will not forget its pleasant and polyglot efficiency, nor the kindly hospitality extended to many of them by the Leyden residents.

REVIEWS.

Primates. Yerkes.

The Great Apes, a Study of Anthropoid Life. *Robert M. Yerkes and Ada W. Yerkes. New Haven, Yale University Press. London, Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1929 Pp. xix, 652 illustrations. Price £2 5s.*

24

This comprehensive treatise on the Great Apes is a wonderful achievement. Not only does it comprise original contributions by the authors, but a review of the entire literature of the subject with many important extracts translated from the Russian. Unlike many comparative works it never leaves the reader in doubt as to the relative reliability of the authorities quoted. A very careful summary in tabular form of the more important physical characters and physio-biological features of the groups studied is a further aid. The attitude of the authors is strictly scientific; generalizations are avoided, or only made after careful statement of the limitations of the data from which they are drawn. Thus there is no dogmatism as to instinct and habit, an act is looked upon as a particular pattern of behaviour, and is found to exhibit "both structurally given and individually acquired "habits." The literature concerning the great apes in a state of nature is carefully scrutinized, and it is seen that our knowledge is scanty, but the anthropologist must be grateful for the reliable arrangement of such observations as have been made. Thus nest building has been reported in trees for the orang-outan, chimpanzee and gorilla, while the latter usually constructs nests on the ground; nests are used as sleeping places, those of the chimpanzee are the most elaborate, yet they are generally occupied for one night only as the group moves on in search of food.

Valid evidence, enabling us to appreciate the social organization of the apes is still almost lacking. For instance, only of the chimpanzee, and that in captivity, is it certain that menstruation is monthly with a period of sexual activity following it, while we do not know for certain whether in any of the apes there is a tendency towards seasonal mating. Even the period of gestation is only "said to be "nine months" in the three great species.

The size and organization of the natural living group of the great apes is a subject of the greatest interest to the social anthropologist, but unhappily our knowledge is scanty. The orang-outan is the least gregarious; adult males are usually found alone; females may be seen two or three together with a few offspring, but are said to go off alone to bear their young. The latter are thought to leave their mothers at about three years, and to become mature at about eight years, but nothing seems to be known of their adolescence or courtship. Of the chimpanzee rather more is known; here social cohesion seems to be much greater, the father being associated with the family, but there is no evidence for monogamy. "During late "childhood the chimpanzee achieves independence "of parents and presumably also of other adult "members of the social group. Simultaneously "it tends to shift allegiance from the initial family "connection to the band of immature individuals. "There are no observations at present to indicate "whether the latter type of group is usually "constituted by children, adolescents, or both. "Presumably, shortly after the attainment of "sexual maturity the individuals tend to rejoin "the original group or to constitute new family "groups." The authors do not bring forward evidence for the presumption that the mature individual returns to the parental group (it is not stated that the groups of adolescents live in close touch with the parental group) and the alternative suggestion is *prima facie* more probable. The former course would raise a number of questions of the greatest social interest: would the young know the parents after years of separation; would they again submit to authority, and how would the social and sexual re-groupment work? In a group observed in captivity by Sokolowsky, consisting of one old and one young male and two females, the old male was completely dominant—the young male only achieving copulation when the senior was asleep.

Females in captivity have shown normal sexual behaviour during gestation but no sexual activity during lactation. If this holds good in the wild state it should have important bearing on the formation of the social group.

As many as nine gorilla sleeping nests have been observed together, and this seems the only indication of the size of the gorilla group.

Statements as to monogamy and polygamy have been made and there seems some evidence to suppose that the lowland gorilla of the Cameroons may be monogamous, while the mountain variety may be polygamous.

Detailed observation of behaviour in the great apes has so far only been possible in captivity and under experimental conditions, and of that, and of the results of experiments on the senses, the authors give a wealth of interesting information. Here it can only be mentioned that great personal variation in response is noted among individuals of the same species. The temperaments of the species, however, conform so much that the chimpanzee can definitely be called extravert and the gorilla introvert. The chimpanzee is considered the most emotional of all the apes and his extravert nature makes him an excellent subject for experiment. He is quick to imitate and shows much curiosity. The gorilla, on the other hand, appears weak in imitative impulses, and his curiosity is limited to interest in things that directly concern himself, but his attention appears as good as that of the chimpanzee and he often shows real insight in the solution of problems under experimental conditions. The authors attribute the common failure to keep the gorilla in captivity not to any greater delicacy of constitution but to lack of adaptability to new foods and environment on the part of the animal and failure to overcome this on the part of keepers. BRENDA Z. SELIGMAN.

Africa: Archæology. Leakey.

The Stone Age Cultures of Kenya Colony. 25

By L. S. B. Leakey, with Appendices by J. D. Solomon, C. E. P. Brooks, A. T. Hopwood, H. C. Beck and M. Conolly. Pp. xvii + 283. Cambridge: University Press. 1931. 25*s.*

The work of the East Africa Archæological Expedition has rightly aroused intense interest both for the prospect it holds out of linking to the better known European series the Stone Age cultures of South Africa and because of the reported discovery of industries, normally associated with *Homo sapiens*, in a geological horizon considerably below the first known appearance of the species in Europe. We are therefore very grateful to the Expedition's leader for this preliminary account of its results to date. Though the book supersedes and corrects earlier reports, it in no wise represents the full publication of the explorer's data, without which it would be unfair to judge his inferences. At the same time with its geological and palæontological appendices and abundant illustrations of artefacts, admirably reproduced in half-tone and also in excellent drawings by Mrs. Burkitt, it furnishes illuminating material for digestion.

The geological data that provide a chronological framework are exposed in the second chapter and in an appendix by Solomon, while Brooks in his section, in which he attempts to reconcile Simpson's deductions based on the cycle of radiation with the inferences from the laws of atmospheric circulation alone, suggests correlations between East African pluvials and northern glaciations. Leakey distinguishes two major pluvials and two post-pluvial wet phases. The first, very long, is now termed Kamasian and is compared with the Günz and Mindel glaciations of the Alps and a warm wet Günz-Mindel interglacial. *Hipparion* and other pleistocene fossils occur in Kamasian deposits. The latter were subjected to erosion, faulting and volcanic action, in a prolonged dry period equated with the dry Mindel-Riss inter-glacial.

Then comes a second major pluvial, the Gamblian, with two maxima during which the local lake-waters rose respectively 700 and 510 feet above their present levels with an intervening retreat to a 300 foot level. The Gamblian maxima are compared to the Riss and Würm glaciations respectively. Gamblian deposits yield an essentially modern fauna but include at one site extinct bovids and equids. They were overlaid by æolian sand and superficially reddened in a subsequent dry phase (equal to the Aachen retreat). Above the sand Leakey finds fresh formations laid down in a moist period, the Makalian, during which the lakes rose 375 feet above present levels. Brooks equates this moist phase with the Bühl advance and the northern climatic phases to the end of the Atlantic: the change from Boreal to Atlantic is regarded as purely local. Fresh deposits of æolian sand mark a return to dry conditions, compared to the Sub-Boreal phase of the North after which in the Nakuran wet phase, equated to the European Sub-Atlantic, the lakes again rose to 145 feet above present levels.

In late Kamasian deposits Leakey found *rolled* lava tools of Chellean types (hand-axes often made on flakes) and unrolled implements of Acheulian type. Typologically considered as a direct continuation of the Kenya Acheulian and therefore assigned to the first interpluvial, is an industry in lava, termed Nanyukian, not so far discovered in a significant geological context. The industry includes triangular hand-axes, ovates and cleavers, as well as side-scrapers and rough points showing resolved flaking (but not apparently prepared striking platforms) and stone balls (not used as hammer-stones) so that a comparison with a Mousterian of the Combe Capelle stage might have been suggested.

In Lower Gamblian silts and gravels (equated to Rissian) a crude series of flake-tools in obsidian represents "Lower Kenya Mousterian." Rough backed-blades and rare end-scrapers from the same levels are classed as "Lower Kenya Aurignacian" though no gravers were found. A reference to Obermaier's Pre-Capsian might have been relevant here. In Upper Gamblian silts and gravels (= Würm) and superimposed upon an "Upper" Kenya Aurignacian" occupation-layer in Gambles Cave is an industry of obsidian blades worked on both faces resembling the Still-bay of South Africa, and so named. Some of the specimens now on view are surprisingly like Hungarian Proto-Solutrean. The industry is none the less regarded as an independent, though parallel, development of the local Mousterian, probably under neanthropic influence.

"Upper Kenya Aurignacian" is found with Kenya Still-bay in late Gamblian silts and upon a beach, attributed to the second maximum of that pluvial, in Gambles Cave. The type tools are beautifully worked backed-blades, reminiscent of Chatelperron or more rarely of Gravette forms, simple and angle burins (one of which in Fig. 27, 7 looks very like the late Noailles type), lunates (some notched), end scrapers and a curious tool interpreted as a sinew-frayer. There are also many stout triangular blades abraded on the edges. These, to which European parallels are cited, the author found could be used as fabricators; for he has learned independently that the "Aurignacian retouch" cannot be executed by percussion, as Balfour long ago remarked. This obsidian industry, which so strongly recalls the Capsian of North Africa and the Lower Aurignacian of Europe, is nevertheless associated with pottery. One sherd evidently belonged to a vessel resulting from smearing the inside of a basket with clay. In the upper levels of the cave deposit pottery becomes more common

and at the top the already famous burials lay. The skeletons are illustrated and are stated to be unlike modern negroes, but are not further described here.

Above the Still-bay level in the cave and separated therefrom by the Æolian sand of the first post-pluvial dry phase, comes a layer attributed to the Makalian with the "Elmenteitan" culture—pots with round, pointed, or even flat bases, and an obsidian blade industry (including a few gravers) regarded as a development of Kenya Aurignacian. Elsewhere in late Makalian deposits a truly microlithic industry like the South African Wilton associated with pottery is reported. "Elmenteitan" and "Kenya Wilton" are both termed mesolithic.

Finally we have two "neolithic" cultures, Gumban A and B, best known from interments under barrows. The former is characterized by basket pots, paralleled from a site on the Enderit River assigned geologically to the Nakuran wet phase: the latter possessed saddle querns, mortars and stone bowls and beads of agate and fayence.

In conclusion Leakey compares the culture sequence in Kenya to the European, incidentally suggesting that the "microburin" is really just an industrial by-product, a thesis already advanced by L. Siret unknown to our author. In view of the uncertainty prevailing among glaciologists and climatologists, the Stone Age chronology here outlined is inevitably very tentative, a fact which might perhaps have been further emphasized in a book otherwise admirably adapted to the needs of the layman as well as the specialist. V. GORDON CHILDE.

Religion. Schmidt.

26 **Der Ursprung der Gottesidee. II. Teil, die Religionen der Urvölker; ii Band, die Religionen der Urvölker Asiens und Australiens.** *Von P. W. Schmidt.* 1931. *Munster, Aschendorff. Pp.* 1155. *R.M.* 32.

The Origin and Growth of Religion. *By W. Schmidt. Translated from the German by H. J. Rose.* 1931. *London. Methuen. Pp.* 302.

Since the first volume of Father Schmidt's *Ursprung* appeared in 1912, his theories are now widely known, in outline at least. That volume contains studies of the S.E. Australian Supreme Beings and the religion of the Tasmanians. By reason of the vast material, Vol. 2 has swollen into three parts, the first of which deals with the primitive peoples of America; the part now published describes the religions of the primitive peoples of Asia and Australia; part three, to appear before long, is to treat of African peoples and will contain a synthesis of the religions of the "primitives." Other volumes are planned. It is a work of immense learning.

It is good that for English readers Professor Rose has translated Father Schmidt's manual of the comparative history of religion, for it contains a clear exposition of the author's views. It is based on the larger work, but includes several new sections and omits much of the controversial matter. Father Schmidt claims that it has the advantage of giving at once a history of the subject itself, an account of the various theories, movement of schools, and a brief account of religions in the historical order of their importance. In one respect the promise is not fulfilled, for he limits himself to the early cultures and does not deal with Buddhism, Christianity, Islam, etc. The review of the history is, as Professor Rose says, "remarkable alike for its completeness and its "brevity." The author is a trenchant critic, and very stimulating even when one least agrees with him. He expresses his own convictions forcibly and clearly.

He starts with the declaration that in the whole domain of ethnology the old evolutionary school is bankrupt. "The lovely long single lines of development which it "used to construct so readily have been shattered and "overthrown by the criticism of the new historical "tendencies." He throws the whole weight of his learning into the scale in favour of the school of cultural history, headed by Grabner and Ankerman. He claims that they are "able to lift even the unwritten movements "of culture out of the featureless plane where they lay "side by side and to arrange them one behind another in "a sequence extending far back." After demolishing, to his own satisfaction, all other theories, he returns to an exposition of the Historical method and sets out a list of the culture-circles, Primitive, Primary, Secondary and Tertiary, which it has discovered. This is not, he insists, a transitory theory, one of many errors, but "a permanent conquest, an entire and therefore an "enduring truth." More than any other member of the school Father Schmidt has studied the religions. His confidence in the method rests on the claim that it has established two connected propositions, viz. that High Gods are found among, and only among, the peoples who are ethnologically oldest, and that all these ethnologically oldest peoples have such gods. His contention is that the farther we go back among the peoples of primary culture we find less of animism and magic and a clearer conception of a High God. In his historical review he naturally makes much of Andrew Lang, who by his criticisms "cut the ground from under the feet "of the animistic theory." He believes that the Supreme Being of the primitive culture is really the God of a monotheism, and that the religion which includes him is genuinely monotheistic. This is true, he says, of most Pigmy tribes, the primitive Bushmen and others. In later cultures this monotheistic creed is obscured by a growth of fetishism, etc. One chapter is given to a description of the High God as conceived by the earliest culture. He is altogether good, and without exception unalterably righteous: he is the omnipotent Creator and source of morality; he is not otiose, and is worshipped by prayer and sacrifice. We cannot yet answer the question positively, with scientific accuracy and certainty, as to how this belief originated, says Father Schmidt, but we can say to some extent how it did not arise: it did not arise from fetishism, ghost-worship, animism, totemism or magic. "That the religion of the "high god should owe its origin to any of these is "impossible, as appears from two considerations. "First, as all these theories teach, these elements could "produce such a religion only as the last and highest "stage of a long, complicated process of evolutionary "advance. But so far from being the latest of religions, "this one is characteristic of the oldest peoples. "Secondly, such elements either are not to be found at "all among these earliest peoples (they know neither "totemism, fetish-worship nor animism) or only in a "feeble form, as in the case of magic and ghost-worship; "so weak a form that the powerful and conspicuous "religion of the high god could not have been derived "from them; while the fully-developed forms of these "elements do not appear, as we have seen, until later "cultures, those of the primary and secondary stages." Father Schmidt believes further that if we could go behind the primitive cultures we should still find this religion of the High God; it is not only "an essential "property" of the most ancient of human cultures, but was deeply and strongly rooted in it at the very dawn of time, before the individual groups had separated from one another. This to say, that the religion of monotheism is coeval with the human race.

Father Schmidt rightly declares that it is the duty of an investigator not to let his views of the universe in any way influence his setting forth of historical facts; but he recognizes that absolute freedom from preconceived ideas

is beyond any man's power. One can hardly resist the feeling that preconceived ideas influence him in his reconstruction of primitive religion; just as, it may be, his opponents are swayed by the preconception that primitive monotheism is impossible. It is a matter of evidence. The appeal must lie to facts, and we may well suspend judgment till the available facts have been exhaustively gathered and their authenticity fully established. E. W. SMITH.

Scotland: Archæology. Childe.

Skara Brae: A Pictish Village in Orkney. *By Professor V. Gordon Childe. London.* 1931. *Pp. xii* + 208; *with 60 plates, 24 illustrations in text and plan. Price £1 11s. 6d. net.* **27**

Once again there has been revealed in the British Isles a prehistoric site of such far-reaching importance that it amply merits a volume to itself. Necessarily the book is of greater interest to the archæologist than to the general reader, but it fulfils its purpose admirably. The site and its cultural affinities have been thoroughly and clearly discussed by Professor Childe, and chapters dealing respectively with the human and animal remains have been contributed by Professors T. H. Bryce and D. M. S. Watson. Beside lavish illustrations, there is an excellent plan coloured to show the four structural periods and seven sections which illustrate the complex strata of midden around and beneath the buildings.

The ancient village consists of ten dwellings and a workshop, all fairly elaborate structures of dry masonry huddled closely about a "market-place" and along narrow covered lanes. About the dwellings and over the roofs of some of the lanes was banked a vast accumulation of refuse, and since this appeared to extend beneath even the oldest foundations the site must have been occupied for several generations. Within the buildings, some walls of which still stand nine feet high, were found not only drains and hearths, but "beds," "dressers," other furniture and many implements recalling wooden forms, but here in this bleak island fashioned of stone. Indeed the very structure of the settlement was dictated by adverse and perhaps deteriorating weather conditions.

The huge collection of artefacts consists of tools and ornaments of stone and bone, and pottery of Bronze Age type evidently related to the encrusted urns. There was, however, no trace of metal or of any imported object, and since there was no marked cultural difference between the highest and lowest levels of the all-embracing midden, it seems that the Skara Brae folk must have dwelt in complete isolation. Their economy reveals the same state, for their domestic animals, chiefly sheep and cattle, were of uniform breeds unknown from other prehistoric sites. These alone supplied them with most of the necessities of life, for they hunted and fished but seldom, knew neither agriculture nor weaving, and did not venture upon the sea. The people themselves are known chiefly from the remains of two women who had evidently been victims of a foundation sacrifice, and indeed the author has been bold enough to call them in some degree "Pictish."

To the vital question of date, Professor Childe has applied vast erudition, but the isolation of Skara Brae makes a decision difficult. It is clear, however, that although Orkney abounds in brochs and earth-houses, and though some of their architectural devices appear in the newly discovered settlement, the Iron Age culture associated with them is so different from that of Skara Brae as to suggest that the two were widely separated in time. Certain resemblances, architectural and otherwise, exist, however, between the cultures of Skara Brae and the megaliths, but these similarities are insufficient to declare it a village of megalith-builders. A close scrutiny of the artefacts, however, tends to indicate a Bronze Age date, and hence the settlement may fit chronologically and also, perhaps, architecturally, between the megaliths on the one hand and the brochs and earth-houses on the other.

But however this may be, it is a most welcome sign that scientific attention is at last being turned toward the neglected but important series of elaborate ancient buildings, whose ruins, like those of the megaliths, litter all the remoter and stonier corners of the British Isles, and it is indeed fortunate that it has fallen to the lot of so able an archæologist as Professor Childe to deal with this phase of the problem. H. O'NEILL HENCKEN.

Anthropology. Fleure.

Studies in Regional Consciousness and Environment. *Essays presented to H. J. Fleure, D.Sc., F.S.A., Professor of Geography, University College of Wales, Aberystwyth. Edited by Iorwerth C. Peate, M.A., Oxford University Press, 1930. Price 21s. net.* **28**

Few men have held in succession two professorships in three subjects at the same university, and not many have produced from their disciples such a number of active researchers as has Professor Fleure. It was fitting, therefore, that the completion of his quarter of a century's work on the staff at Aberystwyth should be celebrated by the publication of a volume of essays, illustrative of the varied type of work done by his former pupils. This is all the more appropriate since the appearance of the volume coincided with his removal to a new and wider sphere of influence.

As might have been expected from the pupils of one whose teaching and writing have been so varied, these essays range over a wide field. Two are purely zoological, reminding us that Fleure once held the chair in this subject; the remainder are wholly or partly geographical, though of these the majority contain much valuable anthropological matter.

The first and most important of these essays is from the pen of Miss R. M. Fleming, and deals with factors in the development of Russia. As was to be expected from one who has so completely mastered the language of that country, this is a very thorough piece of work, containing a vast amount of information hitherto unavailable to those ignorant of that tongue, and a valuable interpretation of these facts from the standpoint of a geographer. Much of the material given here is essential to the understanding of the people of Russia, not only in the present, but in the distant past.

Another interesting paper, by Mr. E. Estyn Evans, deals with the geography of the Pyrenees, and the effect that geographical factors have produced on the movements of mankind from the Upper Palæolithic Age almost down to the present day. A third, dealing with the geographical and anthropological factors found in association with miner's phthisis in the lead-mining area of Cardiganshire is contributed by Mr. Emrys G. Bowen.

There are a number of other papers of interest to the anthropologist. Among these one may mention Mr. S. J. Jones's paper on the typology and distribution of perforated stone axes in Europe and South-West Asia, Miss S. Harris's contribution on settlements and field systems in Guernsey and the Editor's article on Welsh wood-turners and their trade. The "Sociographs" of the Kolymans, Andamanese and Palaungs is an interesting experiment by L. Garrard; these are charts of seasonal occupations and changes in the weather. Miss H. A. Wilcox's map of the prehistoric woodlands and marshes

of England will be of great value to those studying the prehistory of this country. The volume is full of interesting material, is well printed and contains a number of useful maps. H. J. E. P.

South America. Nordenskiöld.

L'Archeologie du Bassin de l'Amazone. *By Erland Nordenskiöld. (Ars Americana. Vol. I.): Paris. Van Oest. 350 frs.*

29

The archæology of South America, east of the Andes, is a subject which has been little studied, and Baron Nordenskiöld has broken new ground in grouping together the finds from the vast area of the waterways of the Amazon. So the frontispiece and 56 plates will be a revelation to most people in this country, of types of pottery unknown to them. The Museums in Great Britain can show little of what is here presented in so sumptuous a manner. The University Museum of Archæology and of Ethnology at Cambridge is the only Museum in England which possesses a series from Marajo, the best known site in the area which is illustrated in this volume chiefly from private collections and the museum in Rio de Janeiro by 17 plates. It is from here that the Tangas, triangular pieces of pottery beautifully painted, come, used it is believed as a *cache-sexe* for women. Anyone glancing through the plates must be at once struck with the extraordinary difference between the art east and west of the Andes. The art of the East owes nothing to that of a higher civilization of the West, although a knowledge of the Inca Empire existed amongst the various tribes. "Le "royaume des Incas était connu très loin à l'est des Andes "et même jusqu'aux côtes du Brésil, c'est un fait certain." (page 8.)

The author considers the most developed culture of the region was that of the Arawaks, who influenced the Guarani and Caribs. This would account for the similarity between the art of the Antilles and Brazil shown in a most startling manner by Fig. 1 (p. 17), where two birds' heads are shown from the Antilles and Santarem, Brazil, so exactly alike it is difficult to believe they were not made by the same hand, or imitated one from the other.

To the East of the Andes, as to the West, the potters' art was developed in a most remarkable manner. Painting, modelling and engraving were used, after the vessels had been fired, to enhance the beauty of their designs. Occasionally as from Santarem (Plates XXIV, XXV, XXVII and XXVIII) one is forced to admire the extraordinary *tour-de-force* required to produce such complicated modelling, and the skill in firing, rather than to admire the result as a work of art. The plates could not be better, and everyone must be grateful to Baron Nordenskiold for a work which will be the foundation-stone for future studies in an area so little known. L. C. G. CLARKE.

America, North. Parsons.

The Social Organization of the Tewa of New Mexico. *By Elsie Clews Parsons. (Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association, Number XXXVI). Menasha, Wis., U.S.A., 1929. Pp. 309, with 42 plates, 19 figures in text, 7 maps and 6 genealogies in pocket. Price $3.75.*

30

The author states that of all the Pueblo peoples the Tewa have been the least systematically studied. That, combined with the fact that only a very few monographs on these interesting and fast-disappearing people have been published as Bulletins of the Bureau of American Ethnology, will make the present volume welcome to anthropologists and sociologists.

The author is well known to students of North American Ethnology, and the present volume is as thorough, painstaking, and reliable as her former works.

The book deals principally with society in all its various aspects, but students of primitive religion, too, will find therein much to interest them. Ceremonial dancing occupies no less than 46 pages, and the coloured plates illustrating the dances are excellent. In the appendix (pp. 284–307) is given a collection of folktales from Nambé.

Tewa marriages are exogamous as well as endogamous. Thus in the San Ildefonso list (p. 56), out of sixteen marriages mentioned, eight are exogamous and eight are endogamous (p. 83); but within "recognized blood "ties between collateral relations, maternal and paternal, there is a considerable restriction in marriage "choice. Descendants of the same grandparents or "even great-grandparents may not marry" (p. 32). Post-nuptial fidelity seems to be the general rule, but among the unmarried there is a considerable degree of promiscuity, and there are many illegitimate births (p. 36).

The Tewa seem to believe in a number of supernatural beings. The sun and the moon are both referred to as "old man"; and corn meal is sprinkled every morning for the sun (p. 264 sq.). Fire is a woman, who is fed by dropping crumbs in the fire. Wind is personified, and it is said that the home of the wind is in the north (p. 267). Besides these deified elements the Tewa believe in certain cloud beings, *oxuhwa*, reputed to live below springs or lakes, in the hills or mountains, and in the six directions (p. 268). The rainbow is one of them.

A full index, and a glossary of Tewa words in the text, would have been a great convenience. The price is rather high, especially for European readers, but the book is supplied free to members of the American Anthropological Association. BIREN BONNERJEA.

Psychology. Aldrich.

The Primitive Mind and Modern Civilization. *By C. R. Aldrich, with an Introduction by Professor Malinowski and Foreword by Dr. C. G. Jung. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co. 1931. 8vo. Pp. xvii, 236. Price 12s. 6d.*

31

The introductory benedictions to this book have been given by two stalwarts from different camps, the psychological and the functional-anthropological, though one of them expressly rejects the doctrine of the collective unconscious adopted by the author and the Zurich school to which he belongs. We are led by this association to expect no hearty breaking of anthropological heads, but rather something of a compromise which in fact we get, for the book consists mostly of loosely set, half colloquial discussions on many subjects familiar to anthropologists since the days of Tylor, such as the soul, mana, tabu, sexuality and initiation, which pass in turn before the author's review and are brought into relation with the libido, psyche and other ideations of analytical psychology, which have seemingly replaced the faculties, categories and so on of older philosophies—and are destined, doubtless, in their turn to yield to other efforts of the human mind in its ceaseless struggle to correlate matter with spirit.

The treatment of these subjects is in nowise dogmatic, but rather kindly towards all schools; the *prelogy* of Lévy-Bruhl is definitely rejected, but with many compliments to the brilliant thinking of its author; the collective unconscious, or "unconscious racial memory," is defined as being that stratum of the mental which is deeper than the individual unconscious, is common to

all individuals of a species and corresponds largely, if not wholly, to instinct—a compromise acceptable, one may suppose, even to zealots of the functional school, the more so that the author expresses frequently his conviction that the practices with which he deals have in fact a functional object, the preservation of the social group, and also insists on the non-existence of a "group-mind" or a "collective soul." His treatment of sexuality takes us back to bygone days of quasi-mysticism, remote indeed from any modern theory of social functioning, whether based on strictly physical considerations or, like that of Professor Elliot Smith, largely psychical.

Chapter VII introduces something of a challenge in the declaration that an orderly classification of the customs and habits of savages can only be made on a psychological basis: if this means that the student, in reckoning up any form of savage life, must take into account the ways of its thought equally with its outward facts, surely no anthropologist, of whatever camp, will disagree, but if it means that orderly classification can only be founded on methods of analytical psychology as known at present, we are entitled to ask that these be first co-ordinated themselves and set firmly on a basis of a truly scientific character—a view of the case that the author himself, with his remarks on Freud as opposed to Jung, might well accept: further, he makes it clear that the evolution of man has at all stages been equally physical and psychical and thus can hardly mean that the study of that evolution must be founded on the psychical only.

The last chapter has an ethical tinge, giving in brief the author's reasoned account of the past development of morality and of altruism—under the strangely hybrid term of "biomorality"—and adumbrating the changes which he believes to be in the true line of that development, in the direction of a careful relaxation of some of our present conventional bindings, now outgrown their social usefulness. G. D. H.

South Africa. Stow : Bleek.

Rock-Paintings in South Africa from Parts of the Eastern Province and Orange Free State. 32
Copied by George William Stow. With Introduction and Descriptive Notes by Dorothea F. Bleek. London: Methuen. 1930. Pp. xxvii; map and 72 Plates. Price £2 2s.

It is now nearly sixty years since the Bushman paintings reproduced in this volume were copied from the originals by G. W. Stow. He was a trader and geologist who travelled widely throughout the Eastern Province for the purpose of his work, and, as he took a great interest in the natives and anything to do with their cultures both past and present, he copied and traced a number of paintings in rock-shelters which he came across. Unfortunately he lived before the days of exact research in these subjects and only those figures which appealed to him from their beauty or especial interest were, as a rule, copied, many other figures and groups of figures being often omitted. However, Stow was an accurate draughtsman, and, as many of the painted sites have now been destroyed or the paintings become hardly visible, the collection of his copies is very valuable to students of art and Bushman culture. Thanks to the Carnegie Trustees it has at last been possible to publish the major part of Stow's work, and the resulting volume is extremely interesting.

Before the descriptions were written, Miss Bleek (in whose possession Stow's cartoons now are) visited as many of the sites as could be identified—indeed, except in a few cases where the paintings were especially beautiful or interesting, only such sites have been included—and was thus able not only to ascertain the accuracy of Stow's copies, but also to record the exact situations relative to modern farms, etc. Stow was not too exhaustive in his descriptive notes and much useful work has been done by Miss Bleek in this connection. It is interesting to note that a certain number of the paintings seem to have faded badly and to have been considerably weathered since they were copied by Stow, especially where white paint has been used. This fact would seem to argue that much of the painting cannot be of enormous antiquity and, indeed, the reviewer came to a similar conclusion in 1927. While some of the styles of painting in the Union of South Africa are of considerable age, they probably do not date back to such a remote period as many of the paintings found in Southern Rhodesia. However, these later paintings are none the less interesting, and from one point of view they are more so, as it was found possible some years ago, when a few Bushmen still survived in the district, to ascertain the interpretations of a number of the drawings. These interpretations have been included in Miss Bleek's descriptive notes. The colours reproduced in the plates are as accurate as possible, but it must always be remembered that plates have to be printed in sets of four and occasionally compromises have had to be adopted. Where, very occasionally, any real differences in colour between an original figure and the reproduction has had to be accepted, careful notes appear in the text. The volume as a whole will certainly be of very great interest to students, and the Carnegie Trustees have placed investigators in this field of study greatly in their debt. Miss Bleek's contributions, too, have much increased its value. It is a pity, perhaps, that it was not found possible in the limits of time and space to include an account of the various superpositions of styles of paintings which occur, but these can be easily worked out from the plates by students. In fact, when they have done so, and isolated the various styles, they will have learnt considerably more about the matter than would have been the case if they had merely read a brief account condensed into an additional chapter. Not least, the Carnegie Trustees are to be thanked for allowing the book to be sold at a very reasonable price.
M. C. BURKITT.

America North. Van Deursen.

Der Heil-bringer: eine Ethnologische Studie über den Heilbringer bei den Nordamerikanischen Indianern. 33
von Dr. A. Van Deursen. J. B. Wolters, Groningen, The Hague, 1931. 394 pp. Bibliography. Price 5·90 florins.

Dr. Van Deursen gives us in this work a valuable though not exhaustive source-book, with analytical comment, for North American myths of Deliverers, messiahs, culture-heroes, mediators, and subordinate creators—themes which cover a large proportion of North American mythology. As might be expected in a pupil of Steinmetz, the author's interest lies much in classification and analysis; the records are first classified by tribes, then tabulated, for each group of tribes, to show the distribution of various phases of the "Heil-" bringer" conception. This is followed by a discussion of the more general aspects of the conception—the dual personality, benevolent and mischievous, of the "De-" liverer," the historical foundation for culture-hero myths, and the assumption of animal form. Some of the author's negative assertions arise, perhaps, from an incomplete reading of the evidence; for example, Coyote plays a larger part in South Western origin-myths than is here admitted, and it is scarcely true (p. 381) that Deliverers are not the object of worship, and only exceptionally receive offerings. In his South-

western chapter, Dr. Van Deursen has overlooked A. F. Bandelier's useful paper on the political adaptations of the Montezuma myth in the nineteenth century: on the other hand, he quotes sources which prove that the adoption of the name "Montezuma" was both earlier and more widespread, in New Mexico and Arizona, than Bandelier supposed. For the Twin Brother myths of the South West, he omits Fewkes' collection, and makes little use of Lowie's important synthesis "The Test "Theme in North American Mythology" (though he includes it in the bibliography), while E. C. Parsons' "Tewa Tales" and "Zuñi Origin Myths" are not mentioned. The whole treatment of these South-western myths suffers from being divorced, in the first place, from the study of South-western social institutions and history, and secondly, from the closely related mythologies of Mexico and Central America: it can hardly be said too often that the mythological frontier of "North America" lies, not at the political frontier of the United States, but at least as far south as Guatemala. Possibly the same criticism would hold good of the chapters dealing with other groups of tribes, of which the present reviewer is less able to judge. B. A.

Heredity. Baur : Fischer : Lenz.

34 **Human Heredity.** *By Erwin Baur, Eugen Fischer and Fritz Lenz: translated by E. and C. Paul. London, G. Allen and Unwin,* 1931. *Pp.* 734, *figs.* 172. *Price* 30*s.*

This volume is translated from the third German edition, which appeared in 1927. A fourth German edition has since been published, but unfortunately very little appears to have been done to bring the present work up to date, scarcely any papers since 1927 being cited. In its German dress the book has been well known for some time and has formed a most useful compendium of the subject.

The work is divided into five sections: (1) a sketch of the theory of heredity and variation, by Baur; (2) Racial differences in mankind, by Fischer; and three sections by Lenz, dealing respectively with morbific heredity factors, methodology, and the inheritance of intellectual gifts. The first section is written from the biological and the second from the anthropological point of view, while the remainder is primarily eugenical. The anthropological section is general in character, and although racial crossing is considered, it is only in general terms, and very few of the modern data which have transformed our understanding of this subject are mentioned.

Another strange omission is in regard to the origin of identical twins (p. 321), where the old idea that they arise from the separation of the two halves of the fertilized egg is given, without any mention of the more widely accepted view that they originate by a process of budding in the young embryo, as is known to be the case in the armadillo.

The translators have not been fortunate. Not only does the use of such words as "bovines" for cattle (p. 404) betray a lack of English, but their lack of knowledge of biological terms is frequently still more in evidence. Notwithstanding these defects, the book will, no doubt, be of much service, but the claim on the cover that this is the only work of the kind in English is incorrect. R. R. G.

Ethnology. Journal.

Wiener Beiträge zur Kultur-geschichte und Linguistik.

35 *I.* 1930. *Vienna (Institut fur Volkskunde).* 8*vo. pp.* 400. *Price* 20*s.*

This new journal of the Austrian Institute of Ethnology will be widely welcomed; and the names of the editors, Dr. Wilhelm Koppers and Dr. Fritz Flor are sufficient guarantee of its quality. The contents cover a wide range: Dr. F. Flor writes on "Domestic Animals "and Pastoral Cultures" (nearly half the volume); Prof. W. Schmidt on the relations of Austrian (Austronesian and Austro-asiatic) languages to Japanese; Dr. Robert Bleichsteiner on certain languages of the Pamir in relation to the Japhetic group in the Caucasus; Dr. Fritz Roek on the year of 360 days and its subdivisions; Dr. Chr. v. Furer-Haimendorf on "Club Houses in South-"eastern Asia"; Dr. Georg. Höltker on some points of Aztec philology; and Dr. W. Koppers on the Mythology of the Dog among Pacific peoples.

J. L. M.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Glacial Geology of East Anglia.

36 Sir,—An account of the glacial geology of East Anglia given by Professor P. G. H. Boswell in *Proc. Geologists' Assoc.*, xlii, 2 (1931), pp. 87ff. suggests material alterations in previously current divisions of British quaternary deposits, the latest general statement of which was given by M. C. Burkitt in *Nature* precisely a year ago (Oct., 1930) and will radically enhance the antiquity of Lower Palæolithic cultures. The whole series of marine and estuarine deposits from the Red Crag up to and including the Cromer Forest Bed, is here regarded as pre-glacial and pliocene. Throughout, the molluscan fauna is "cold," but that is explained by the land bridge across the Straits excluding the access of southern species and does not presuppose the intense reduction of temperature involved in a genuine glaciation. On the other hand, the same land bridge would admit the "warm" mammalian fauna represented in the Cromer Forest. The "Early Chellean" of the latter deposit accordingly becomes pliocene in age, while the counterpart to the Alpine "Gunz" glaciation, sought by Burkitt and others in the Weyburn Crag, disappears.

Boswell can, however, distinguish four glaciations represented respectively by: (I) the Norwich Brickearth; (II) Chalky Jurassic (formerly termed Kimmeridge) Boulder Clay, which is equated with the Cromer Till and Contorted Drift that Burkitt assigned to the same horizon as the Norwich Brickearth; (III) Upper Chalky Boulder Clay; and (IV) Hunstanton Boulder Clay. No attempt is made to correlate these East Anglian glaciations with the Alpine scheme of Penck and Bruckner. Burkitt had equated the Hunstanton Boulder Clay with Wurm II. That seems likely since the Ipswich hill-washes, assigned to the immediately preceding phase, contain Solutrean and Aurignacian implements, and Boswell seems prepared to admit the equation of his fourth glaciation with that which sealed up the Aurignacian deposits in Cae Gwynn. In that case the East Anglian series no longer corresponds to the Continental. And the prehistorian will be reluctant to extend the life of Chellean by identifying Norwich Brickearth with Gunz.

V. G. CHILDE.

The Use of Lime-Mortar in Ceylon.

37

SIR,—It has been stated that lime-mortar was in use in early times in India and Ceylon, but no direct evidence has been put forward. In India the sun-dried bricks of the centuries from II B.C. to A.D. II, and the finely burnt bricks of the Vth century Buddhist *stupas* in Sind and the great Brahmanical temples of the Central Provinces, were laid with a mud-mortar. Lime, in the form of plaster (*chunam*), spread with the trowel and burnished, was used for finishing walls of all kinds. In the cave temples at Ajanta and Ellora the irregularities of the chiselled surfaces were filled in with a plaster consisting of pounded trap-chippings and rice-husks, and probably cow-dung. Over this, the fine *chunam* surface was laid, upon which the fresco-paintings were displayed. The sculptures, decorative and architectural, as well as iconographical, were also finished with *chunam* and painted.

This seems also to have been the practice in Ceylon. Two specimens of mortar from the burnt brickwork of the walls on the summit, and from the gallery-wall of the Sigiriya Rock are mud-mortar without lime or any mechanical loading such as rice-husks. The face of the rock, however, is finished with mud-mortar bound with rice-husks, over which is a layer of *chunam* between $\frac{1}{8}$ in. and $\frac{1}{16}$ in. thick.

The holes in the floors of the Indian cave-temples are the mortars used for pounding the chippings, to make the primary coat of mud-mortar for the walls. In one of these mortar-holes in "Cave 9," at Ellora, I found a worn stone hammer or pestle. It appears that the floors were finished with mud, often renewed, and probably cow-dunged after the still common Indian fashion.

I am indebted to Mr. A. M. Hocart, late Archæological Commissioner for Ceylon, for three specimens of mortar from Sigiriya. K. DE B. CODRINGTON.

SIR,—The introduction of lime-mortar into Ceylon is discussed in the *Ceylon Journal of Science*, II, p. 74. It was there restricted to a period between the fourth and the tenth century A.D. Mr. Codrington's report on the mortar from Sigiriya proves that lime mortar was still unknown in Ceylon in the sixth century A.D. If it had been known it would surely have been used in fortress walls that had to cling to the steep slopes of the rock. A. M. HOCART.

Zulu Grammar.

38

SIR,—May I be permitted one or two comments on Mr. Crabtree's review of Dr. Doke's "Text-book of Zulu Grammar?" Roberts is not wrong in saying that "the idiom 'is it not white?'" etc. means literally "it is not white." The reference is presumably to p. 83 of Roberts "The Zulu-Kafir Language," where the examples given are "This ox is very fat." *Akulupele lenkabi*, "this ox is not fat"; "The famine here is great," *Aiko indhlala kuti lapa*, "there is no famine here." In Zulu, a question, if not containing any other interrogative (such as *-pi ?*, *-ni ?* etc.) almost always ends with the particle *na*, so that no mistake is possible. Colenso ("First Steps," § 338) says, "It is the practice in Zulu, as in English, to assert a thing very decidedly (ironically, *ukubinqa*), by denying it; e.g. *kana'lulaka yena!* he is not passionate, he! = he is very passionate." None of the examples given in addition to this could be taken as questions. (See *binqa*, *v*, in Bryant's and Samuelson's dictionaries.)

I am also somewhat perplexed by the statement that such an expression as "a knife to cut with" is "frequently in Bantu" rendered by a causative. I should be glad if Mr. Crabtree would supply some examples of this elsewhere than in Luganda. I have never met with it. It is true that, in Sesuto, certain verbs in the applied form change *-ela* to *-etsa* (as *khasetsa* from *khasa*, not *khasela*), but this is a purely phonetic change and does not make the verbs in question into causatives. On p. 133, by the by, Dr. Doke has given a number of examples of the applied form which "imply "'location' or the location idea generally." These, at first sight, come very near Mr. Crabtree's example—e.g. *incwadi yokulobela*, a book for writing in; but, considered closely, they are all strictly locative, and the instrumental sense ("a knife for cutting *with*") is omitted, because it does not seem to occur in Zulu: at least I have failed to find a case, while we do find such expressions as *umbiza yokuk'amanzi* (= *ya ukuka*, not *ukukela*) "a vessel for "drawing water."

One more question: Why is the change of *p* to *sh* (as in *boshwa*—or *botshwa*—the passive of *bopa*) "unexplain-"able"? It is only an exemplification of the universal rule in Zulu (I own I cannot furnish an explanation of the existence of this rule) that no labial can come in contact with *w*. But the rule is not confined to Zulu; it is found, with certain differences, in Sesuto, where *bofa* (the phonetic equivalent of Zulu *bopa*) makes *boshwa*, and *bopa* (a different word) *bopjwa*—keeping the *p*, but inserting a palatal; and, to a certain extent in Ronga, where *kuma* makes *kuɲwa*—though as passives normally end in *-iwa* the case is not so likely to arise. A. WERNER.

Etiquette.

39

SIR.—Mr. Hogbin's rejoinder in MAN, 1931, 203, raises the question whether there is such a thing as behaviour which concerns no one but the individual who behaves. We do not behave towards stones or animals. As the Concise Oxford Dictionary puts it, behaviour is "moral conduct, treat-"ment shown to or towards others." The mere fact that people approve or disapprove shows that they make it their concern. To take the case of the man who walks about in Robin Hood dress, his behaviour concerns others to this extent that no one will give him a job. In a University he would be ragged. His own people will probably feel acutely the humiliation of having such a queer relation.

A man may treat his wife very badly without being guilty of a single breach of etiquette; yet his behaviour concerns deeply not only the wife, but her people.

Mr. Hogbin's definition does not explain why one minute a group of men may, without breach of etiquette, speak of Brown or Jones, yet the next minute, when they have formed themselves into a formal assembly, etiquette requires them to speak of Mr. Brown, Mr. Jones.

Lord Raglan has suggested to me that etiquette is of court origin. Skeat says "a little note . . . especially "such as is stuck up on the gate of a court." Compare the history of protocol. Our old word is curtesy, from court. I have "The Little Boke of Courtesaye," fourteenth century, which prescribes how to behave when going to the Manor.

The Fijian is *rakarokoroko*, to keep saying *roko*. *Roko* is a title as in *Roko Sau*, "Sir Chief."

I do not know an exact equivalent of etiquette in Sinhalese. *Vandanā*, *pujā*, *namaskāra*, all Sanskrit words, to some extent cover the ground: but the fundamental meaning is worship. The fact is politeness and worship are indistinguishable in India. To show respect to a person is to worship him. Manu jumbles up prescriptions we should regard as pure etiquette, with religious and other observances. The fact is to the Indian there is no distinction; etiquette is worship.

A. M. HOCART.

The Asturian Industry of N.E. Ireland.

40 SIR,—In *J.R.A.I.*, lx, 1930, I drew attention to the discovery by the Rev. E. Talhay, during 1925, of the Asturian culture in Galicia—an interesting confirmation of the anticipations of Count de la Vega del Sella and Professor Obermaier as to the westward extension of the industry. To Senhor Talhay "is due the first "step in tracing the culture southward along the "Atlantic seaboard of the peninsula, and the subsequent "rapid advance in this direction is largely the fruit of "his suggestive work and records."

In view of statements in MAN, 1931, 177, it seems desirable to mention that Senhor Talhay's renewed investigations have shown that, as in Northern Ireland, a contemporaneous flake industry is mingled with the Asturian of his Galician stations: and to record his opinion, of a type series of County Antrim implements submitted for his examination :—

"Lisbonne, le 15 Novembre, 1931. La technique de "vos instruments rappelle énormément celle des instru- "ments asturiens de Galice et du nord du Portugal. "La seule différence est celle de la matière première : "vous avez le silex, et nous le quartzite. Je ferai à ce "propos une communication à l'Association des "Archéologues Portugais, et je vous retournerai ensuite "vos objets. Mes vives félicitations pour vos trouvailles, "qui donneront beaucoup de lumière aux nôtres. "Eugène Talhay."

C. BLAKE WHELAN.

The Frobenius Expedition to South Africa. *cf.* MAN, 1931, 154. From Dr. Leo Frobenius.

41

Frankfurt-am-Main.
22nd September, 1931.

SIR,—With reference to your note in MAN, 1931, 154, signed by J. L. Myres, I beg to request you to insert the following rectification :—

1. The finds made by my expedition during its stay in Southern Rhodesia by means of diggings in ruins of that country were removed with permission of the Colonial Secretary of Southern Rhodesia (letter of the Colonial Secretary of January 17th, 1930.)

2. With regard to the distribution of the finds we have tried our best to bring it about during the short stay of the expedition in Cape Town. It could not be accomplished, however, before the departure of the expedition by the Colonial Secretary's failing to inform the independent person in Cape Town as had been agreed upon.

3. Pursuant to a renewed proposition of my expedition the Colonial Secretary consented to the distribution of the finds taking place in Germany (according to his letter of May 21st, 1930). The distribution was effected, and the share coming to Southern Rhodesia has been sent there.

4. Till now the Colonial Secretary has neither acknowledged the arrival of the finds nor informed us that he does not agree to the distribution. In case the latter should not have met with his approval, he is entitled to submit the matter to a court of arbitration, a privilege that he has made no use of hitherto.

5. It is not true that I ever refused to hand over, or to submit to arbitration, the ownership of the single gold find which has been made in the Tere Ruin in Southern Rhodesia.

Since, therefore, all essential assertions of the note do not correspond to facts, there is no doubt that apprehensions of J. L. Myres, based on it, are not founded.

(Sgd.) LEO. FROBENIUS.
I.A. gez. Dr. JENSEN.

Dr. Jensen has also sent to the Royal Anthropological Institute copies of the whole correspondence, and of a letter addressed to the South African press, together with his own observations. These documents may be consulted by appointment in the library of the Institute.

From the Colonial Secretary of S. Rhodesia.

42

Colonial Secretary's Office.
Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia.
26 November, 1931.

SIR,—With reference to the letter signed "Leo "Frobenius," dated 22nd September, 1931, addressed to you, which you were good enough to forward to me, I beg to submit a reply to the paragraphs therein :—

1.—(*a*) The first intimation of the finding of a "piece "of gold plate" was in a letter, dated 16th September, 1929, from Pretoria from Dr. Frobenius, then on his way to India, in which he stated it had already been removed from Southern Rhodesia to the Pretoria Mint, and he forwarded with this letter a Mint Certificate of its weight, dated 30th August, 1929. No permission was granted for this removal, which was a violation of the law.

(*b*) The balance of the finds were also removed to Cape Town without permission first being obtained, but these removals were condoned on the understanding, as stated in my letter dated 17th January, 1930, "that "the division of the relics between the Expedition and "this Government shall be on the decision of Professor "Barnard of Cape Town." Before I agreed to any alternative arrangement to the above, or had an opportunity of doing so, all the finds were shipped to Germany. (*See* paragraph 3 below.)

2. I have been informed by Professor Barnard, "the independent person," in conversation, that he was never definitely asked to divide the finds and was indeed told they had been packed and that it would be inconvenient to unpack them. Not only, therefore, was there no real effort made by any member of the Expedition to obtain Professor Barnard's services as agreed upon, but Dr. Frobenius, evidently relying on false information, states that I agreed to approach Professor Barnard, and gives this as his excuse for failing to observe the written understanding quoted in paragraph 1 (*b*) above.

3. The so-called consent mentioned is as follows :—

"In reply to a letter written by me on the 19th "February, 1930, addressed to Cape Town, stating that "'before the removal of the relics referred to from South "Africa' took place, an understanding should be reached "as to their disposal, I was informed in a letter dated "9th April from Frankfurt-on-Main that 'we shipped the "relics which were perfectly packed and no more opened "to Germany' and that 'we shall make you a proposal "as to the division' of the finds."

The reply of 21st May, 1930, from this Department to that letter was that I would be glad to receive the "proposal as to the division of the finds." This reply constitutes the consent referred to!

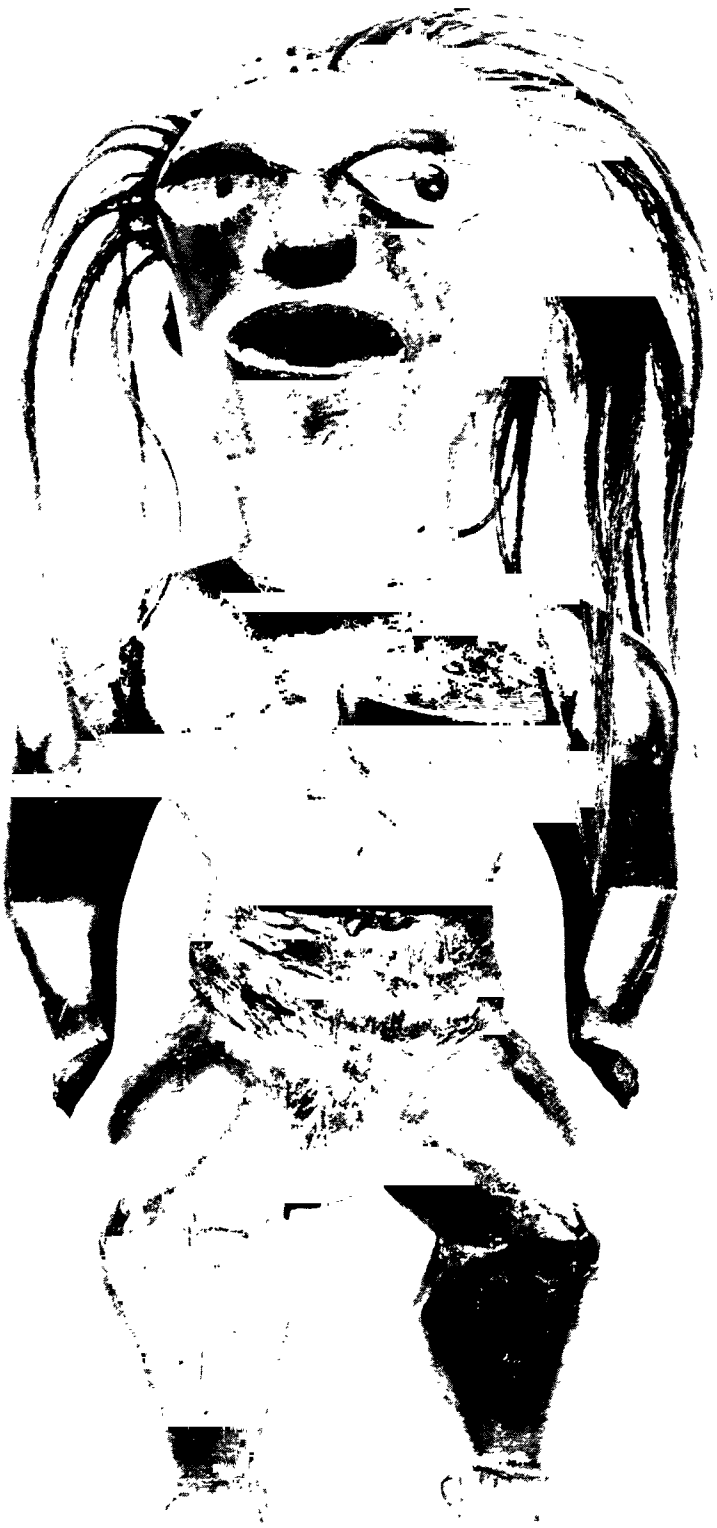
4. Acknowledgment of the receipt of a letter containing the list of finds and certain photographs, and a subsequent letter dated 20th May, 1931, stating that the finds had been forwarded but not yet acknowledged, were made on 3rd July, 1931, by my Department.

5. In a letter dated 26th February, 1931, I asked Dr. Frobenius "to agree to submit the possession of this "find ('the piece of gold plate') to arbitration." A reply was received to that letter, but it did not contain his assent. Nor has he yet agreed.

I am forwarding the entire original file of correspondence to the High Commissioner of Southern Rhodesia for reference.

Yours faithfully,
W. M. LEGGATE.
Colonial Secretary.

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A CARVED WOODEN FIGURE FROM HAWAII, CRANMORE ETHNOGRAPHICAL MUSEUM (*half-scale*).

MAN

A MONTHLY RECORD OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL SCIENCE

PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE
ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

XXXII, 43-76. FEBRUARY, 1932.

ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

Hawaii : Technology. **With Plate B.** **Beasley.**

A Carved Wooden Figure from Hawaii. *By H. G. Beasley.*

The opportunity of recording an object of such importance as that illustrated in the accompanying plate, is one which seldom occurs, particularly since it represents a hitherto unknown example, and moreover one which is historically dated, since it was brought to England by Midshipman John Knowles, of H.M.S. " Blonde " in 1825, the narative of which is well known.[1] **43**

The figure is in excellent condition except for some damage to the feet, incidental to its age, and also the left eye inlay is missing. Apart from this, the hair, which is pegged in after the usual fashion, and the girdle of old tappa cloth are both very well preserved, and judging by the solidified appearance of this, I should say that the figure at one time had been consistently oiled, and the surface of the wood itself bears out this.

I would hesitate to put a name to this figure, but one would like to connect it with Pele, goddess of volcanoes. On the other hand Jarves[2] mentions another female goddess, named Kihu, who appears to have had a considerable following.

In the centre of the mouth is a small circular recess about half an inch deep. Perhaps some reader can account for this. The height is 16 inches. (40·6 cm.)

A reference to Byron's voyage would indicate that Knowles obtained this figure from the royal *Morai* at Karakakua, Hawaii, an engraving of which is given on page 199, since Byron's account expressly states that they received permission by order of Karaimoku to remove mementos from the " morai " for transmission to England. On page 202 the narrative says the " priest (of the morai) " . . . assisted us with civility, though with reluctance, to spoil the ' morai ' of its most precious " contents, and the ' Blonde ' received on board almost all that remained of the ancient deities of " the islands."

This was confirmed some years ago by Mr. Roby Bloxham, of Auckland, N.Z., who was a direct descendant of the brothers Bloxham, respectively chaplain and naturalist on board the " Blonde." One of the brothers also brought back a wooden figure from the royal " morai," which is now in the Bishop Museum in Honolulu.

H. G. BEASLEY.

Pacific : Ethnology **Malinowski.**

Pigs, Papuans, and Police Court Perspective. *By Professor B. Malinowski.*

In MAN, 1931, 162, Mr. Rentoul, who had spent some time in the Trobriand Islands as Acting Assistant Resident Magistrate, criticizes me for showing " that amongst the Trobrianders physiological fatherhood is unknown, and no tie or kinship is supposed to exist between father and child, except that between a mother's husband and a wife's child." **44**

He does not produce a single new piece of information. All he does is to restate certain facts well known already to anthropologists because they have been recorded and published by Professor Seligman and myself, and then to draw his own inferences from this material. The information,

[1] BYRON : " Voyage of H.M.S. ' Blonde '." 4to. London, 1826.

[2] JARVES : " History of the Hawaiian Islands." Honolulu, 1872. Page 22.

moreover, is reproduced in a garbled form, for my critic has, apparently, not read any of my work and seems to have heard about the facts at second-hand from a review or summary.*

1. The writer of Article 162 tells us what he has seen " on many occasions in Court for Native Matters . . . Trobriand fathers convicted of adultery pleading with undisguised anguish for the custody of their sons . . . in such cases the grief of the repentant father is distressing." Now, in native customary law, which is also binding on the Resident Magistrate, a man's adultery is never a cause of " divorce," and the word " custody " as applied to the relation between father and son is meaningless in a matriarchal society. The statement therefore cannot be correct.

Yet I am convinced that the writer has told us in a perfectly authentic and sincere way what he thought he had seen, or even what had been enacted before him. Why? Because a European official, ignorant of the native language, not acquainted with the principles of native law and social structure, may become an easy prey to imposture. No native would in good faith bring a domestic case before the Magistrate's Court. Those who do so are invariably branded as renegades and outcasts. The natives know quite well that patriarchal sentiments appeal to white men, whether missionaries or Government officials. Such of them as would invite a white man to meddle in their domestic affairs would naturally try to play on his feelings: they would easily mimic " repentance," " grief," " plead " for paternal custody," and perform many antics in order to gain the magistrate's sympathy.

Mr. Rentoul advances some strange claims on behalf of the anthropological opportunities of an administrative officer, and sweepingly disposes of the qualifications of the scientific specialist. He tells: " Many of the Trobrianders who have appeared before me have been suffering under the stress " of some domestic upheaval, often in the form of adultery, criminal behaviour or sudden death on " the part of husband or wife, and under such circumstances, I take it, one might be in a more advan- " tageous position for analysing their true feelings and relationship, than would a visiting " anthropologist, however gifted."

Now this is a destructive indictment of the " visiting anthropologist," and, if my critic were correct, obviously no anthropologist, " however gifted," would be needed, and all the work could be done by the white residents on the spot. But are such claims valid? When a white man has to sit in judgment upon the natives, when it is his duty to punish them in a manner which seems to them erratic, at times terribly unjust and odious, has he really the best opportunities for knowing the true feelings of the native? As a matter of fact, the perspective of the police court is not very auspicious to field-work. Every competent and sincere administrative officer—and in my teaching and advisory capacity, I see several score of them every year in London—will admit regretfully how difficult it is for him to combine field-work with administrative and magisterial duties. In fact, there is hardly any need for us anthropologists to meet this type of criticism. Most of the leading Colonial Governments, including that of Papua, have appointed specialists to act as advisers in anthropological matters. Anthropological surveys have been instituted or are being organized in Africa, America and Oceania under Government patronage and with a full appreciation of their practical and administrative value.

To me the opposition between " the man on the spot " and the " visiting anthropologist " is both invidious and irrelevant. Both are necessary for the science of man and both have to work together. Each has his disabilities and each his advantages. It should be enough to mention Mr. Rentoul's predecessor, Dr. Bellamy, who in co-operation with and under the direction of Professor

* It may assist the reader if I append a full list of the publications in which I have given a first-hand account of the facts of the Trobriand kinship system and the core of this system, *i.e.* the native ideas about bodily and spiritual identity resulting from procreation: (1) " Baloma," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 1916; (2) " The Psychology of Sex in Primitive Societies," *Psyche*, Oct. 1923; (3) " Psycho-Analysis and Anthropology," *Psyche*, Apr. 1924; (4) " Complex and Myth in Mother-right," *Psyche*, Jan. 1925; (5) " Forschungen in einer mutterrechtlichen Gemeinschaft," *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Soziologie*, Mar. 1925; (6) " The Anthropological Study of Sex," *Verhandlungen des I. Internationlen Kongresses für Sexualforschung*, Berlin, 1926; (7) *Crime and Custom in Savage Society*, London, 1926; (8) *Sex and Repression in Savage Society*, London, 1927 (embodies articles 3 and 4); (9) *The Father in primitive Psychology*, London, 1927 (embodies article 2); (10) *The Sexual Life of Savages*, London, 1929 (embodies 2 and 5); (11) " Kinship," art. in *Ency. Brit.*, 14th edition, 1929; (12) " Spirit Hunting in the South Seas," *The Realist*, May 1929. Professor Seligman's standard treatise on the *Melanesians of British New Guinea* (Cambridge, 1910), must, of course, be consulted by anyone who wishes to study the ethnography of that region.

Seligman, has contributed so much to our knowledge of the Trobriand Archipelago. Such names as those of Captain Barton, the late Mr. Beaver, and Mr. Williams—all members of the administration of Papua—show what anthropology owes to the Government official. In Africa, it is enough to remember the work of the late Captain Dale and the Rev. Henri Junod, of Mr. Edwin Smith and Captain Rattray, to realize how futile would be any rivalry between the resident and the specialist, any rivalry except in the production of good work. The " man on the spot " is indispensable, but only on the condition that he also realizes how indispensable to him is anthropological theory and the maker of this theory, the " visiting anthropologist."

Since Mr. Rentoul has introduced the opposition, however, and since he has done it in a somewhat personal manner, questioning my credentials *qua* " visiting anthropologist," I might answer that in the course of three expeditions, I spent twenty-four months in the Trobriands alone, and that after the first three months I used exclusively the language of Kiriwina, and all the time I lived directly among the natives in the villages. As to Mr. Rentoul's credentials, he tells us about his " experience " of 16 years amongst various Papuan tribes, the last few being spent amongst the peoples of Western " Melanesia and in the Trobriand Group itself." This means nothing: there is no more similarity between Trobriand culture and that of the Kiwai or the Mambare, than between China and England. Having followed the succession of Resident Magistrates in the Trobriands, I happen to know that Mr. Rentoul's residence must have been under 18 months, and I also know that he was not in possession of the language of the natives. His scorn, therefore, of the " visiting anthropologist " seems to be misplaced.

But even granting that he had considerable advantages, the question to ask would be: " What " have you done with your ' advantageous position ' ? What have you produced ?—Article 162 ? "

To return to the Trobriand father: his love for his children is an unquestionable fact, though this love could never be manifested by sentimental tears poured out in Court, nor in repentance for adultery. " Father-love," to use an expression which I have coined in order to bring out more fully this interesting sociological phenomenon, is one of the most characteristic features of Trobriand sociology. The importance of this I have brought out fully and documented thoroughly. Had my critic read anything I have written, he could not say, " Dr. Malinowski admits this remarkable " affection "—unless that is he does not know the difference between " to admit " on the one hand, and *to discover, establish* and *prove*, on the other.

The writer continues: " I would take that admission as supporting my premises that the facts " of paternity are known to these peoples, and that the love of the male parent for the offspring is " not unconnected with the pride of possession and a realization of *authorship*—as is the case with " most normal fathers." Here my critic, basing himself on facts recorded by myself and repeating them in a misleading manner, gives us his own inferences: he thinks that these facts imply something to the native. By an equally full documentation as that given to establish paternal love, I have shown that paternal love is not connected with any " realization of authorship." Now, since what concerns us is what the natives actually think and not what Mr. Rentoul thinks they ought to think, his inferences are irrelevant.

2. Mr. Rentoul tells us: " My experience amongst the Trobrianders has shown me that these " people are perfectly aware of the physiological paternity of animals—witness their habit of lending " and exchanging pigs in order to introduce new blood into their village herds." But he gives neither first-hand facts nor genuine native statements in support of this. Now I have quoted cases of European boars being gelded in sheer ignorance of animal breeding; cases of complete neglect to separate European sows from native boars, and I have given a number of original native opinions reproduced verbally. I should welcome further evidence on this point even if it were to upset my inductive generalization, but such evidence would have to meet mine, fact for fact, document for document, and native statement for native statement. Otherwise, again the opinion of an Assistant Resident Magistrate, however gifted, must be taken for what it really is: his private belief about Papuan pigs.

3. Where in my writings has Mr. Rentoul found " Dr. Malinowski's own admission that sexual " continence is required of a mother during the period of lactation in order to prevent too early a " reconception " ? He has obviously never seen anything I have written, for though I speak about

the taboo observed after childbirth, I have never made the entirely untrue statement that this taboo is observed to prevent further childbearing. I quote the two passages which occur in my writings on this subject :—

" Sexual intercourse between them " (husband and wife) " is strictly taboo for a much longer " time, at least until the child can walk. But the strictest rule is to abstain from intercourse until " it is weaned—that is, some two years after its birth—and this stricter rule is said always to be " observed by men in polygamous households. The husband, even one who has several wives, must " abstain from all conjugal or extraconjugal intercourse until the baby and its mother go out for the " first time. A breach of any of these rules is said to bring about the death of the child."*

" Again, in certain physiological crises, above all pregnancy and lactation, a woman must not " be approached by man. The general principle which such taboos express is that sex is incompatible " with certain conditions of the human body and with the nature and purpose of certain occupations; " and it must not be allowed to interfere with these."†

My critic gives therefore an entirely personal inference which this time he attributes not to the natives but to myself. His statement as to my views and opinions is as correct as his statement about native opinions. Both are derived from the same source : his own imagination.

4. Mr. Rentoul's " discovery " of the Trobrianders' " magico-religious explanation " of conception, is indeed (as he says), " perhaps not unknown to Dr. Malinowski." This " magico-" religious explanation "—that children are brought by spirits from Tuma, the Trobrianders' underworld—has been worked out by myself in a number of publications, the first of which appeared in 1916 and the last in 1929. These apparently Mr. Rentoul has not seen.

5. One new piece of information, however, the writer of Article 162 does actually produce. He is confident that as an effective method of contraception in the Trobriands " the female of the species " is specially endowed with or gifted with ejaculatory powers, which may be called upon after an act of " coition *to expel the male seed*. It is understandable that such powers might be increased by use and " practice, and I am satisfied that such a method does exist." This seems to me one of the typical myths which circulate among the semi-educated white residents, ascribing to the members of the inferior culture all sorts of preternatural powers. I am astonished that Mr. Rentoul accepted it as a genuine native statement. But, since I am not a specialist in contraceptive methods, I would like only to remark that if Mr. Rentoul's " discovery " has anything in it, it ought to be patented, perfectioned, and applied to our own communities and, thus, solve the difficulties of Neo-Malthusianism. Unfortunately, our authority again merely affirms that of these " ejaculatory powers " he has " evidence " that he has been " able to collate on the spot." What a pity that once more he withholds from us this evidence, collected on the spot—it would be interesting to see it produced.

6. To place the problem on a broader basis, I should like to draw the reader's attention to the characteristic vicissitudes suffered by Spencer and Gillen's discovery of the incarnation of spirit-children among the Arunta. This discovery aroused wonder, doubts, and was at last " exploded " by the German missionary, Strehlow, who was doing his amateurish and clumsy, but on the whole, valuable researches, under instructions from Frankfurt. Spencer and Gillen's conclusions were afterwards brilliantly confirmed by the work of W. E. Roth, by G. Horne and G. Aiston, in fact, by all competent observers of Australian native life. Finally, Strehlow, after having contradicted and recontradicted himself several times, had to admit, unreservedly, that the Central Australian natives are completely unaware of physiological paternity and believe in totemic reincarnation. Those who could spend time on Strehlow's contradictions and reaffirmations of Baldwin Spencer's discovery, would be amused to see how very much on the same line the good German missionary argued as my critic. I should venture to foretell that had this latter remained longer in the Trobriands, learned the language and studied the natives, he would have followed in the steps of the honest German missionary.

But, whereas the Central Australian data are a mere parallel, observations since my discovery in the Trobriands have reached us from Melanesia and Malaysia bearing more directly on the argument at issue. In his recent book, " The Sorcerers of Dobu," Dr. Fortune who has conducted his researches

* *The Sexual Life of Savages in North-Western Melanesia*, p. 197. † *Op. cit.*, p. 383.

on a neighbouring archipelago, where the natives have an inkling of physiological paternity, tells us : " The Dobuans know the Trobriand belief that procreation is from the reincarnation of spirits of the " dead, not from the biological father . . . The subject is not brought up between Trobrianders " and Dobuans as it has been the subject of anger and quarrel too often in the past. My Dobuan " friends warned me not to mention the matter in the Trobriands before I went there. Once I was " there I deliberately made the experiment. The Trobrianders asserted the spiritual belief, just as " Dr. Malinowski has published it. But the head of every Dobuan in the room in which I brought " the matter up, immediately was turned away from me towards the wall. They affected not to hear " the conversation : but afterwards when they had me alone they were furious with me.

" With the exception of the part played by the seminal fluid, Dr. Malinowski's rendering of the " Trobriand ideas on the physiology of sex applies also to the Dobuan state of knowledge."*

From another part of Melanesia, Dr. Fritz Sarasin reports this absence of knowledge in *Ethnologie der Neu-Caledonier und Loyalty-Insulaner*, p. 28, where we read about the " complete " ignorance of the natives as regards physiological fertilization." Professor Nieuwenhuis, of the University of Leiden, who spent five years among the Dyaks of Central Borneo, tells us that : " Among " certain Dyak tribes similar conditions were found as those discovered by Dr. Malinowski among the Melanesians."†

Thus, what actually happens in the Trobriands is really a part of the widespread conditions concerning the ideas of procreation in Australia and Oceania. Taking the whole body of comparative evidence which points to a widespread ignorance of reproductive processes, anthropologists will not easily accept Mr. Rentoul's conclusion that the Trobrianders " are fully aware of the main ideas of " physiological paternity." Even as no one acquainted with the Trobrianders and capable of scientific judgment would accept Mr. Rentoul's general characterisation of these natives as " the most immoral, " or rather unmoral, of peoples, and at the same time the most ceremonious and refined savages."

To sum up : Article 162 does not add one single piece of new information (always excepting " the ejaculatory powers ") : not one assertion given there is scientifically substantiated : there is no attempt by the author to give his scientific credentials (how long he remained in the Trobriands, whether he knew the language, and what type of observation he conducted) : the writer betrays an absence of knowledge about scientific concepts, methods, and use of words.

But the gravest objection to this article is that it is directed against an imaginary set of opinions and is not based on the knowledge of the work criticised, that is of my productions on Trobriand sociology. Mr. Rentoul could have taken up an entirely independent line of inquiry, collecting the facts concerning Trobriand ideas and beliefs about paternity and presenting them in his own way and upon his own responsibility. Or he could have taken my work and criticised point for point after he had read it. But to orientate his whole article from the critical point of view and not to become acquainted with my work is really a waste of time. This has to be said just because co-operation between the " man on the spot " and the " visiting anthropologist " is of such importance.

All this is not merely a matter of abstract ethics, logic and scientific good manners. It is wrong because it introduces into anthrolopogy errors and contradictions. Incorrect and garbled reports of my views may be handed along on my authority and create considerable confusion in our knowledge.

My thesis was not to prove that the Trobrianders know nothing about paternity, nor yet did I reluctantly admit that there exist among them paternal sentiments. My aim was to describe fully and explicitly " the views held about the function of sex and procreation, about the relative share of " father and mother in the production of the child," since as I have shown, " the respective contribu- " tions of the male and of the female parent to the body of the offspring, as estimated in the traditional " lore of a given society, form the nucleus of the system of reckoning kinship."‡ On several occasions I have described " certain beliefs, ideas, and customary rules, which smuggle extreme patrilineal " principles into the stronghold of mother-right," and I have discussed at length, " how an artificial

* For a fuller account of the interesting state of affairs among the Dobuans, see *The Sorcerers of Dobu*, by R. F. Fortune, p. 239.

† " Der Sexualtotemismus als Basis der Dualistischen Kulturen und derer Exogamie in Ozeanien," by Dr. A. W. Nieuwenhuis. Supplement zu Band XXXI von *Internationales Archiv fur Ethnographie*. In this volume an excellent analysis of native psychology in sexual matters as regards Oceania will be found.

‡ *The Father in Primitive Psychology*, p. 7.

" physical link between father and child has been produced, and how " in one or two important respects " it has overshadowed the matrilineal bond."* I have clearly affirmed that " the state of " knowledge in Kiriwina is just at the point where there is a vague idea as to some nexus between " sexual connection and pregnancy, whereas there is no idea whatever concerning the man's " contribution towards the new life which is being formed in the mother's body."† Again, I gave a detailed account of the natives' opinion that " cohabitation is also the cause of the advent of children, " an assertion which runs parallel, so to speak, with the fundamental view that the *baloma* or " reincarnating *waiwaia*, are the real cause."‡

All this, it is clear, means something quite different from the opinion, that the " Trobrianders " are absolutely ignorant of physiological paternity," which my critic by implication wishes to foist on me. But I need not dwell on it, for I have developed the matter fully in a somewhat extensive introduction to the popular edition of my last book, *The Sexual Life of Savages*, which appeared in November, 1931.

Since the facts concerning Trobriand paternity occupy volumes, I am not prepared to condense them into one single statement which could not do justice to them. Still less is it of any value to anthropology that an amateur entirely inexperienced in methods of research should without reading my work attribute to me opinions I have never expressed.

B. MALINOWSKI.

Australia : Physical. **Wood-Jones.**

A Small-Headed Type of Female Australian. *By Frederic Wood-Jones, Melbourne.*

45 Although the general characters of the Australian skull are very well known, there are few physical anthropologists who have had familiarity with sufficiently large numbers to guarantee the making of wide generalizations. Professor Ales Hrdlička in 1925 examined, measured and recorded 916 skulls in Australian museums, and his work constitutes the only safe criterion upon which any far-reaching conclusions may be based to-day. In general, it is probably correct to say that neither in Australia, nor out of it, are two outstanding facts in Australian craniology fully appreciated. The one is the remarkable smallness of many female Australian crania, and the other is the outlandish development of " Australoid " characters in some male Australian crania. With this last question I do not propose to deal at present, though it involves both the Talgai skull and the, as yet undescribed, " Cohuna " skull. Here we are solely concerned with the small female Australian skull.

There is an unfortunate statement, which, in some form or other, is to be found in most text-books of physical anthropology, that implies that a cranial capacity of about 1,000 cubic centimetres is the lowest that ever occurs in skulls that can be definitely ranked as human and is the minimum compatible with the possession of what is termed " human intelligence."

In quoting Dr. Stibbe's work (*An Introduction to Physical Anthropology*. London. 1930), I do so only because it is the latest text-book with which I am acquainted. On page 38 of this work it is stated that :—" The smallest human cranial capacity (apart from abnormal pathological conditions— " as microcephalic idiocy) is about 1,000 c.c."; and on page 66 the smallest human cranial capacity is given as " about 1,100 c.c."

It is possibly the repetition of such statements as these that accounts for the enthusiasm over the finding of an Australian female's skull with a capacity of some 960 c.c., and the accompanying claim that " this was the lowest known cubic capacity of any complete human skull " (MacKenzie). As a matter of fact, it has always been recognized that the Australian female skull is remarkably small—far smaller than that of the male. Hrdlička's averages for 395 female crania are as follows :—

Maximum length I.A.	Maximum breadth I.A.	Basibregmatic height I.A.	Modiolus.
179·4	127·6	127·4	144·8

* *Ibid.*, pp. 85 and 92.
† " Baloma,"—p. 407.
‡ *Ibid.*, p. 411.

Whereas for 521 males the averages are :—

Maximum length I.A.	Maximum breadth I.A.	Basibregmatic height I.A.	Modiolus.
189·1	132·2	133·6	151·6

But among these normally small-headed females there is a very definite element—especially in the central northern and western portions of Australia—of unusually small-headed women.

Probably Sir William Turner (in his *Challenger Report*. 1884) was the first to call attention to these small skulls, for among 11 female crania he recorded 2 with a cranial capacity of well under 1.000 c.c. Sir William Turner's results are as follows :—

Designation of Skull.	Maximum length I.A.	Maximum breadth I.A.	Basibregmatic height I.A.	Modiolus.	Cranial capacity.
E.U.A.M. 67 -	164	118	110	131	930 c.c.
Portland Bay -	176	119	122	139	946 c.c.
Average - -	170	118·5	116	135	938 c.c.

These "Challenger" skulls are important, since we may say that in 1884 there were definite records that normal adult female Australians could possess a cranial capacity as low as 930 c.c.; and this cranial capacity was presumably compatible with "human intelligence." Nor were Sir William Turner's findings in any way unusual for the Australian female. The accompanying table gives the principal measurements of 30 adult Australian female skulls with a modiolus of 139·0 or under. In some instances the measurements have been made solely by Hrdlička, in some solely by the present writer, but in most they have been taken by both of us independently.

Designation of Skull.*	Maximum length I.A.	Maximum breadth I.A.	Basibregmatic height I.A.	Modiolus.	Designation of Skull.*	Maximum length I.A.	Maximum breadth I.A.	Basibregmatic height I.A.	Modiolus.
1. M.U. Wimmara -	160	116	121	132·3	16. M.U. 54.94.5.41 -	172	126	116	138·0
2. M.U. 54.94.3.10 -	164	117	123	134·6	17. N.M.M. 16363 -	163	122	130	138·3
3. S.A.M. 228 - -	165	118	121	134·7	18. S.A.M. 408 - -	165	120	130	138·3
4. S.A.M. 438 - -	168	122	118	136·0	19. N.M.M. 16381 -	170	118	127	138·3
5. S.A.M. 103 - -	170	124	115	136·3	20. M.U. 54.94.5.37 -	173	125	117	138·3
6. S.A.M. 50 - -	174	119	116	136·3	21. S.A.M. 265 - -	173	120	122	138·3
7. S.U. 886 - -	172	116	122	136·7	22. A.M.S. 5115 -	168	119	129	138·7
8. S.A.M. 154 - -	173	117	120	136·7	23. N.M.M. 16107 -	169	122	125	138·7
9. S.A.M. 204 - -	163	127	121	137·0	24. S.A.M. 397 - -	169	127	120	138·7
10. S.A.M. 20 - -	174	123	115	137·3	25. A.M.S. 15202 -	173	121	122	138·7
11. S.A.M. 190 - -	172	117	124	137·7	26. S.A.M. 180 - -	174	118	124	138·7
12. S.A.M. 151 - -	173	120	120	137·7	27. S.A.M. 70 - -	169	126	122	139·0
13. S.A.M. 49 - -	175	120	118	137·7	28. S.A.M. 296 - -	172	122	123	139·0
14. S.A.M. 12 - -	163	124	127	138·0	29. A.M.S. 15160 -	175	122	120	139·0
15. S.A.M. 189 - -	170	118	126	138·0	30. M.U. 54.94.4.39 -	170	122	125	139·0
Averages of these 30 skulls are as follows :						169·7	120·7	121·9	137·5

* Explanation of designations of skulls :—
M.U.—Melbourne University collection.
N.M.M.—National Museum, Melbourne.
S.A.M.—South Australian Museum.
S.U.—Sydney University collection.
A.M.S.—Australian Museum, Sydney.

In most cases the cranial capacity of these 30 skulls has not been measured by direct methods; but some guide may be afforded as to the relation between the cranial modiolus and the cranial capacity in Australian female skulls by the following co-relations :—

Skull.	Modiolus.	Measured capacity.
M.U. Wimmara	132·3	900 c.c.
Sir William Turner's average	135·0	938 c.c.
M.U. 54.94.5.37	138·3	960 c.c.

The so-called " Jervois " skull, which admittedly has no claim to antiquity, yields, from the cast, the following measurements :—

Maximum length I.A.	Maximum breadth I.A.	Basibregmatic height I.A.	Modiolus.	Cranial capacity measured. (MacKenzie.)
174	128	116	139·3	956–980 c.c.

It can, therefore, in no way be regarded as being a remarkably small female Australian skull. The cranial modiolus is higher than is that of any of the 30 skulls included in the table, and it exhibits no morphological characters that serve to differentiate it from the accepted standards of the normal recent Australian female skull.

We must, therefore, recognize the fact that many Australian females have a very small cranial capacity and that not a few (probably about 7 per cent. or more) have a cranial capacity of 1,000 c.c. or less. But this does not prevent them from possessing a " human intelligence " that suffices them to cope with all the demands of their limited—but highly exacting—environment.

F. WOOD-JONES.

Ireland: Prehistoric. **Clark.**

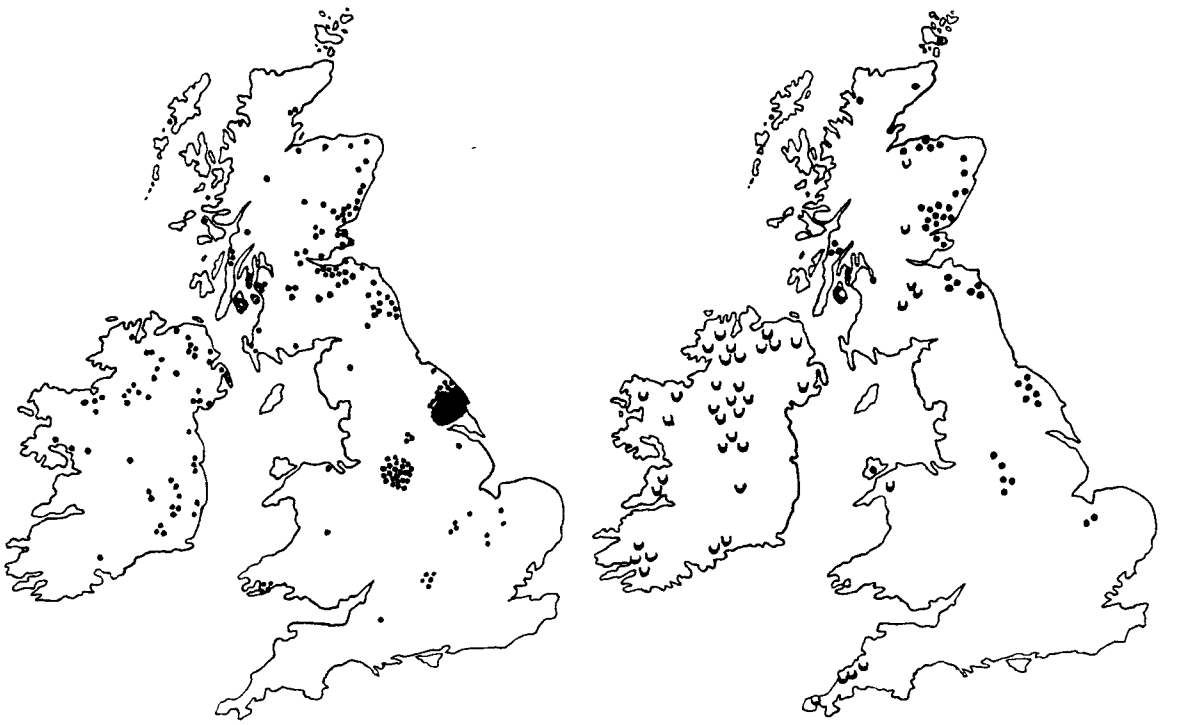
Fresh Evidence for the Dating of Gold "Lunulæ." *By J. G. D. Clark, B.A. : with two maps.*

46 The fact that we have only one association for the dating of Irish gold lunulæ, that at Padstow where two examples preserved in Truro are said to have been found with a flat axe, makes it desirable to examine all avenues of inquiry. First of all one would refer to a most interesting paper published by Mr. J. H. Craw in *P.S.A.S.*, LXIII., pp. 154–189, in which a good case is made out for regarding the gold " lunula " as nothing more than a translation into another material of the jet plated necklace claimed by Mr. Craw to have been arranged as a crescent. Mr. Craw's case rests, in the first place, on the circumstances under which he excavated a plated jet necklace at Poltalloch, Argyll, for the details of which we must refer the reader to the original paper; suffice it to say, however, that he was driven to reconstitute this complete necklace as a crescent, the plates being placed graduated in either horn, which were joined one to another by a triangular toggle found in position, and loop. In this reconstruction he was confirmed by studying the remarks of earlier excavators as to the exact position of the triangular toggle. Having reached this conclusion he was struck by the resemblance of his necklace to the design on many of the gold lunulæ, and made the further claim that the decoration of these is skeuomorphic in character, being based on the jet necklace design. The motive is obvious enough since while jet does not occur in Ireland alluvial gold appears to have been abundant at that date. The justice of Mr. Craw's claim can best be appreciated by examining his illustrations. His explanation explains economically a series of designs upon which much extravagance has been expended.

Now if we agree to accept Mr. Craw's ingenious explanation we are on the first way to give a date to the lunulæ, since plated jet necklaces or portions thereof have not infrequently been found in burials with datable associations. The normal rite in Scotland seems to have been inhumation in a cist in a cairn, and in England inhumation in a round barrow. An analysis of the pottery from the burials shows that in Scotland the necklaces have been found with beakers twice, with food-vessels

ten times, and with cinerary urns once, while in England the only recorded pot found in association was a food-vessel. Thus if we accept Mr. Craw's hypothesis we have no qualms about giving an early bronze age date to the gold "lunulæ."

But there is another line of argument. If we look at Fig. 1 based on Mr. Craw's map we find that the distributions of the jet plate necklaces and of the gold "lunulæ" respectively are more or less complementary, though a considerable overlap is apparent. This is the geographical illustration of



● DISTRIBUTION OF FOOD-VESSELS.
Note the dense aggregation in Yorkshire.

DISTRIBUTION OF GOLD LUNULÆ ⌣
DISTRIBUTION OF PLATE JET NECKLACES. ●

Mr. Craw's hypothesis that we are really dealing with one form of ornament. Now it is clear that if we have really to deal with a single item in a single complex there is a ready geographical test. Let us take another item from the complex, the food-vessel, and see how far its distribution tallies with that of the crescentic ornament whether of jet or of gold. Fig. 2 supplies the answer. Allowing for the incompleteness of the map,* especially in the case of Ireland, we must admit that the measure of agreement is very fair, and of disagreement very small.† We must admit that the gold lunula and the plated jet necklace belong to the same complex, and in making this admission we increase our confidence in the verdict of Padstow.

J. G. D. CLARK.

Africa : West. **Palmer.**

"Trident" Sceptres from West Africa. *By H. R. Palmer, C.M.G., C.B.E., Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Gambia Colony.*

In connection with Mr. Hambly's note on a "Trident" from Sierra Leone (MAN, 1931, 44), it may be of interest to record that not long ago, when excavating a "Stone Circle" **47** at Charmin in the North Bank of the Gambia, I observed that the Tucolor Chief of the region was carrying a staff surmounted by a "trident."

* FIG. 2 is based upon Abercromby (slightly expurgated) with a few additions known to the writer. The difficulty with Ireland lay in the vagueness of a large number of references which had consequently to be omitted. The map is designed to give a general idea of the distribution of undoubted food-vessels.

† The Cornish "lunulæ" indicating a trade route and not a domestic occupation are an exception which proves the rule.



TRIDENT SCEPTRE FROM WEST AFRICA.

On my inquiring about its significance I was told that it was a "Symbol of Office"—but details as to its origin, and any limitation on its being carried by any particular chief or chiefs, was not forthcoming, though it seemed that it was regarded as a distinctively Tucolor badge of office, locally at all events.

Articles in MAN, 1929, 147, and 1930, 56, show that the "trident" was carried to Northern Rhodesia as a symbol of kingship, by people of whom Mr. Young writes that "tradition has it that Mlowoka and his "party came as Arabs, which is to say that, not being genuine Arabs, "they had an Arab appearance from their methods of dress and trading "purpose."

The gap between Nyassaland and the Gambia is to some extent filled in by the following:—

(*a*) In the old kingdom of Bornu 800–1800 A.D., the badge of office *par excellence* carried by the chief nobles (*Kokuna*) was a spear surmounted by a "trident." This trident-spear was known in Kanuri as *Mamanan-gi*, a name which seems cognate to the Berber word *Imanan* or *Tamanan* (plural of *Aman* = chief), with the masculine suffix *gi* (as in *Tar-gi* plural *Tuvarik*).

(*b*) The Jukon of the Benue and Aros of Aro Chuku have a type of spear almost exactly the same as that reproduced by Mr. Cullen in MAN, 1929, 147. The type probably came originally from Bornu.

The most probable common racial factor which might account for a "trident" as a badge of office in Senegambia, Bornu and Nyassaland, respectively, is hardly likely to have been the Arab of historic times. On the other hand, a pre-Arab Hamitic or Cushite origin of the "trident" as a religious symbol is a possible explanation, particularly if, as there is perhaps room for supposing, the tri-form spear or trident is not unconnected with the tri-form hearth tri-lith (three stones).

The latter is still an important cultural object of veneration in the Saharan belt from the Upper Niger east to Lake Chad. When a Teda chief is installed an important ceremonial act is for him personally to lift a large flat stone and place it on the top of a "trilith" (*Muskur*) and above a sacred fire *Umme* (*Yumayi*), before seating himself on this stone. He thus becomes incorporated into the essence of *Umme* (*Yumayi*), also called *Uman Tar* (Aman of the hill), the God immanent in the tri-lith and fire, who (*a*) was a progenitor of the Kings of Kanen: (*b*) controls both "fire" and the "winds."

A similar ceremony takes place in parts of Kunen when a youth assumes the mouth veil, called by the Tuareg *T'imedr*, and by the Teda, *Funi*.

It seems not unlikely that *Umme* (*Aman*) in this ceremony usurped the character of an older Hamitic chthonic earth god, whose name *Mit*, *Mid* or *Mad*, may be connected with that of the Abyssinian earth god *Medr*, since *Umme* or *Umayi* is said to be the same as *Matabar*, a sacred fire of ancient days, and *Umme's* Chief Priest is known in Kanem as the *Midilaor Midilayi*. It may be observed then that—

(*a*) In Tamashek, the language of the Tuareg, *Midan* or *Medan* is used as the plural of *elis* or *ili* (a male warrior). The connotation of *ili*, *elis*, etc., like Semitic *el*, is "godhead" as well as "kingship," "nobility," etc.

(*b*) In Hausaland there is a strange word used as an oath, *Mad-ila*; a word seemingly connected with the Tamashek common noun *Amadal*,

which means "the Earth." In Hausa the word for "milk," the magical extractor of "meteorites," is also called *Madara*.

(*c*) Among the Kanuri the name of the "Sacred fire," which was no doubt the counterpart of the Dajo tribal fire of Wadai, said to have been always kept burning in olden days, is written *Matabar*, *Madabar*, or *Matabas* in old songs.

The word *Madabar* may or may not have some connection with the *Matab* or blue sacred fire-cord worn by Abyssinians round their necks, but the Abyssinian chthonic god name *Medr* would seem to have some connection with *Amadal* "the earth," and *Timedr* "the veil" in Tamashek: as also *Madila* the Hausa oath, and *Midilayi* the title of the chief priest of Umayi in Kanen.

It is said that no one who is not "veiled" may look on the sacred trilith or fire called *Ummayi*. It is inferred that in all probability the "trident" was originally the badge of office of the priest of the earth god of the Cushitic "Medr," the Hausa *Madila*, Kanuri *Umme* or *Uman Tar*, and that it spread west to the Gambia with Cushite tribes of the type of the Gannera, Wangara, Tekrur (Tucolor), on the one hand, and to South Rhodesia with cognate Hamitic stocks on the other.

A photograph of another Gambia "trident" used as a symbol of office, which bears close resemblance to that reproduced by Mr. Hambly, is attached above. It would thus appear that the "trident" design, common in the case of West Coast paddles, is due to cultural, not to utilitarian, influences.

H. R. PALMER.

Britain : Archæology. **Kendrick.**

A Note on English Arrowheads. *By T. D. Kendrick.*

Mr. Clark, in his paper on arrowheads (MAN, 1931, 23), has made use of a "percentage" method of study that has, I think, some interesting possibilities. For some years I have been collecting information about arrowhead types, and a long time ago I began to do some work on the lines he has suggested: lately, I had it in mind to complete in a rough and ready fashion these investigations, but I have in fact made next to no progress, and as Mr. Clark has set the ball rolling I give a summary of my figures, which represent the British Museum collection of arrowheads. Obviously, these tables ought to be in the hands of someone else, someone, for instance, who is prepared to go to Stow-in-the-Wold and analyse the Royce Collection, or someone ready to deal with the fantastically large accumulations of arrowheads in the Yorkshire museums. **48**

I have also a number of notes dealing with continental types and I will make anyone who wants them a present of these, but as the exhibited arrowheads in most of the museums I have visited were few in number, I do not think my foreign figures are worth parading here. As to the English figures, I cannot attempt to discuss here the classification system I employed: I trust merely that the big number of arrowheads listed as unclassified will satisfy readers of my uncompromising honesty.

Suffolk.—2,879 specimens were examined and 248 were rejected on the grounds that they could not properly rank as arrowheads at all. This left a total of 2,631 for analysis. Of these:—

863 (32·8 per cent.) were tanged and double-barbed. I sub-divide these into 9 varieties which I shall not enumerate here, but I may mention that 38 per cent. had curved edges and that 4·5 per cent. (not included among the curved edge type) were of the "swallow-tail" variety. 12·8 per cent. had acute angled barbs as opposed to 2·2 per cent. with obtuse angled barbs.

763 (29 per cent.) were leaf-shaped. I divide these into 648 "fine, with long barrow flaking" and 115 "coarse." The category includes kite-shaped, turnip-shaped, and pointed oval arrowheads.

243 (9·2 per cent.) were bell-shaped (or halberd-shaped). I do not pretend to know whether these really are arrowheads, but one finds them in most arrowhead cabinets. I should say, myself, they ought to be excluded, although morphologically they merge into the broad-ended type.

193 (7·3 per cent.) were single-barbed (or asymmetrical).

175 (6.6 per cent.) were triangular with straight (or faintly rounded) base.

123 (4.7 per cent.) were triangular with hollow base.

100 (3·8 per cent.) were tanged but not barbed.

67 (2.5 per cent.) were broad-ended.

104 were unclassified (i.e. broken and of uncertain types).

Norfolk.—I have only notes of 52 specimens from which I rejected 9. Of the remaining 43, 10 were tanged and barbed, 10 were leaf-shaped, 9 were triangular with straight edge, and 5 were bell-shaped. There were no broad-end arrowheads and only 3 single-barbed and 2 hollow based. 4 were unclassified.

Yorkshire.—I have here 441 arrowheads. Of these :—

249 (56·5 per cent.) were leaf-shaped. Of these only 11 count as "coarse."

63 (14·3 per cent.) were tanged and barbed, including 2 "swallow-tails" and 32 others with curved edges.

51 (11·6 per cent.) were single-barbed.

27 (6·1 per cent.) were hollow-based.

18 (4·1 per cent.) triangular with straight base.

7 (1·6 per cent.) were tanged but not barbed.

7 (1·6 per cent.) were bell-shaped.

6 (1·4 per cent.) were broad-ended.

13 were unclassified.

N.W. Oxon. (Sarsden district).—My lists contain 395 arrowheads. Of these :—

286 (72·4 per cent.) were tanged and barbed. The number includes 2 "swallow-tails" and 60 others with definitely curved edges.

46 (11·6 per cent.) were leaf-shaped.

9 (2·3 per cent.) were triangular with hollow base.

10 were unclassified.

40 (10·1 per cent.) were tanged only.

3 (0·76 per cent.) were single-barbed.

1 (0·25 per cent) was triangular with straight base.

Derbyshire.—Here I have 302 arrowheads. Of these :—

135 (44·7 per cent.) were leaf-shaped.

61 (20·2 per cent.) were bell-shaped.

44 (14·5 per cent.) were single-barbed.

14 (4·6 per cent.) were broad-ended.

33 were unclassified.

9 (2·9 per cent.) were triangular with hollow base.

4 (1·3 per cent.) were tanged and barbed.

2 (0·6 per cent.) were tanged only.

In these lists the most striking features are the almost equal quantities of the tanged and barbed and the leaf-shaped types in East Anglia, the preponderance of the leaf-shaped type and the small number of tanged and barbed arrowheads in Yorkshire. the overwhelming numbers of the tanged and barbed arrowheads in the Sarsden country, and, finally, the absurdly small percentage of tanged and barbed arrowheads in Derbyshire; this county obviously follows Yorkshire in its arrowhead fashions and we notice an abrupt change when we come to the Cotswolds and East Anglia. All this may be restated more conveniently in table-form :—

	Tanged and Barbed.	Leaf-shaped.
Suffolk	32·8 per cent.	29 per cent.
Oxfordshire	72·4 ,,	11·6 ,,
Derbyshire	1·3 ,,	44·7 ,,
Yorkshire	14·3 ,,	56·5 ,,

The significance of these results I am not prepared to debate now, but I hope they are interesting enough to suggest that it is worth while collecting further data of this kind. I think, however, it will be found important to classify the material with much more precision than in the scheme roughed out here; for instance, we ought to discover where and in what numbers our English "swallow-tails" and our examples of the "best Brittany" type, and our "beaker" arrowheads occur; also we should find out the relative numbers of "kites" and "ovates" in the leaf-shaped class. Mr. Reginald Smith's splendid paper (*Archæologia* lxxvi, 81) is a foundation on which we certainly ought to build.

T. D. KENDRICK.

Ireland. **Lawlor.**

Two More Irish "Sheela-Na-Gigs." *By H. C. Lawlor, M.A., M.R.I.A.* (*cf.* MAN, 1931, 3, 4).

49 I have been supplied by Miss Helen M. Roe, County Librarian, Leix, with photos of two further typical examples from Co. Leix (Queen's County), with her permission to publish.

In several parts of Ireland I have found quaint carvings of great antiquity preserved by being built high up out of harm's way in late mediæval castles; in their present positions they are impossible

to photograph, but I may mention one at Shane's Castle in Antrim, known as the " Luck Stone of " the O'Neills," and three in the Savage's Castle at Kirkiston in Co. Down. The examples here shown were similarly built into the wall of Tinnekill Castle in Co. Leix when it was erected by Colla MacDonnell, a cadet of the Earl of Antrim's family, about 1550. A few years ago, this wall of the



FIG. 1. TINNEKILL CASTLE.



FIG. 2. TINNEKILL CASTLE.



FIG. 3. CASHEL

castle fell, and these two stones were rescued and stuck up on a garden wall nearby, where they remain. The photos (Figs. 1, 2) really show more distinctly than the stones, and I leave them to speak for themselves.

The third figure is equally quaint and hideous, but has no sexual characteristic. It was dug up near the round tower of Cashel, Co. Tipperary, and can there be seen. It is usually described there as a Sheela-na-gig, but lacking anything of the " fertility " idea I should not be inclined to include it in this category. It is also called the " Evil Eye stone." Apparently the Cashel figure, with twisted legs, has a moustache, but otherwise I leave the question of sex of all three to the judgment of the reader.

H. C. LAWLOR.

ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE: PROCEEDINGS.

Ordinary Meetings of the Institute.

The Knowledge and Use of Iron among the South Sea Islanders. *Summary of a Communication presented by T. A. Rickard, D.Sc., A.R.S.M.: 12 January,* 1932.

The lecturer referred to the fact that when Wallis, Cook, and other navigators of the eighteenth century first came in contact with the natives of the Pacific islands, they found some of them, in Tahiti and Hawaii, for example, eager to obtain iron in any form, whereas other islanders, in New Zealand and the New Hebrides, had no desire for it, and showed no knowledge of the use they could make of it. By careful reading of the accounts of all the voyages into the Pacific ocean, from Magellan in 1519 to Vancouver in 1793, the lecturer ascertained that the earliest mention of any iron found in the possession of a native in this part of the world was made by the Spanish navigator Mendaña, who, in 1568, saw " a chisel made into a nail " in the hands of a native on one of the Marshall islands, in mid-ocean. This nail could not have been brought thither by any European, for the records show that none had come near this island at a previous time. A clue to the provenance of such sporadic pieces of iron is found in a Hawaiian tradition, recorded by a native historian in 1867, that the Hawaiians recognized the iron on Cook's ship because they had found " iron in sticks washed up on the land." It came to them, and to the natives on other islands, in driftwood.

50

The lecturer described the eagerness of the Tahitians, Tongans, and Hawaiians to obtain iron in trade with the Europeans, and the manner in which they freely prostituted their women for the sake of getting the valuable metal from the English sailors. He recorded the many wrecks of vessels during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in the Pacific, and the sources of drift iron thus created in this island world. He discussed the reasons why the aborigines should appreciate such iron and the use they made of it, chiefly for fabricating adzes wherewith to fashion their canoes. Thus a people in a state of wood and stone culture were brought suddenly into contact with another people in an advanced metal culture.

The Rafai Fakeers of Hyderabad. *Summary of a Communication presented by E. H. Hunt, M.A., M.B.: 26th January*, 1931.

51 These fakeers first settled down in Hyderabad (Deccan) about 350 years ago, their headquarters being in Karwan, a suburb of Golconda. They brought with them their sacred books and a large number of iron implements, some of which they still claim to possess though most of the implements in use to-day are relatively modern. Their books are jealously guarded, but on one occasion photographs were permitted. They are long scrolls, in Arabic and, in their earlier parts, are genealogical trees, based on those in the O.T. The later parts deal with more modern times, and give their association with other branches of the Sect, from Africa to Central Asia. No close study of these books has yet been possible.

Their headquarters are in a graveyard wherein lie buried, in carefully tended tombs, hundreds of their priests and fakeers. On a date in October or November they hold an "Urus," in memory of their first priest. This remarkable performance is held in the graveyard, at the end of three days of fasting, and of the reading of the Koran and of processions, etc. To the accompaniment of earnest prayer, the burning of incense, and of incessant tomtoms, the fakeers leap into a small clearing in the centre of a crowd which may number 5,000, and pass their iron skewers through their persons. Such ceremonies have been frequently described (e.g. Lord Curzon, "The Drums of Kairwan"), but the importance of this Hyderabad group lies in the thorough manner in which they still carry out what may be the full original programme, many items having apparently dropped out elsewhere. Individual fakeers are also willing to submit to any test, and to perform for the special purpose of photography, including X-ray and cinema. Of their special acts, the passing of skewers through the neck, in many directions, is perhaps the most surprising. The levering out of eyeballs is another astonishing feat. One old man can protrude his eye so far that the lids close behind it, and it appears like a teed up golf ball. Full examination by many competent observers on many subjects fails to show any permanent defect, and the performer may pass the Army recruit eyesight test five minutes after he has replaced his eyeball. Observations in the Sudan suggest a vague memory of this feat. Lane ("Modern Egyptians") mentions it as an example of the impossible feats of which the fakeers boasted.

Careful and repeated study shows that drugs play little or no part, though Cannabis Indica (Charas, bhang, ganja) would be ideal for the purpose. An old performer shows no sign of pain, either at the annual ceremony or when posing in cold blood before a camera. Recruits, however, often show obvious signs of distress.

The world-wide claim that no bleeding occurs is true in the main, and in this the shape of the instrument plays a great part, separating rather than cutting tissues. Carefully applied pressure after the withdrawal of the implement is an invariable feature and is easy to note in cinema records. On occasion bleeding may be free, even copious, more especially when performances are repeated after short intervals and under conditions of mental stress and excitement.

It is a matter for regret that this Hyderabad group, so long isolated in their human backwater, are now showing signs of breaking up. Individuals wander round to fairs and perform for money, as others of the sect have done elsewhere, for years.

The association of the Rafai with Islam seems to be merely a question of geographical coincidence, and the true origin of the sect is a matter for interesting speculation. There can be no doubt as to the true religious fervour of many of the fakeers. Such men confirm the remark made to Seabrook ("The Rufai Hall of Torture"): "All paths lead to God, if only they mount upward."

PROCEEDINGS OF SOCIETIES AND MUSEUMS.

EGYPTIAN EXPLORATION SOCIETY.

Old Customs in Modern Egypt. *A lecture given by G. D. Hornblower, O.B.E., M.A., F.S.A. : 27th January*, 1932. **52**

After relating a number of magical practices observed in modern Egypt the lecturer pointed out that most of them are of a kind common in many parts of the world, including Europe, and therefore cannot be taken as indications of peculiarities in Egypt. Direct connection between modern and ancient practices can only be traced in a few exceptional instances, such as the use of the luck-bringing "corn-maiden" noted by Miss Blackman. In other cases the practices had changed in method and their underlying ideas were lost: an example of this class was the sacrifice of a sheep now carried out in some parts of Upper Egypt three days after the burial of the dead, in order, as explained locally, to prevent the spirit from entering the village; but this was doubtless a relic of the last banquet given to the deceased—and to his ancestors also, as we may see, for example, in the tomb of Paheri—by his sons to assure his safety and comfort in the Underworld. There are also some nebulous traces of a folk-memory of sacred bulls.

Between these two classes are such customs as the modern use of frankincense, once the sacred and costly appurtenance of gods, kings and their courts, but now imported cheaply from India and chewed by women entering a house of feasting, a relic doubtless of the priestly rite of chewing natron for purification before entering the temple.

Two explanations can be given of this break in continuity: firstly, the crumbling away of the ancient religion when the native power failed and the land fell to foreigners, for the old religion centred very much on the king, who ranked as a powerful god: this was followed by an influx of foreign notions, observable as far back as the 19th Dynasty, and mostly of a Semitic order, and, with them, new magical practices.

Secondly, we have many indications from surviving literature that there existed in Egypt concurrently with the official religion—based on a compound of ancestor-cult, Osirianism and Sun-worship—a popular practice of magic whose purpose was to force fate and the will of the gods. The Pyramid Texts display a remarkable eruption of such a system which, originating in the earliest times of savagery, pushed aside, in the 5th and 6th Dynasties, the simple dignity of earlier royal burials—as far as we know them—and was adapted to Pharaohs as it had been formerly to chiefs of savage groups: this system lasted to the latest times of Pharaonism, developing to coffin-texts and Funerary Liturgies. Other magic books existed, such as the Book of Charms for the protection of Mother and Child, and surviving literature contains many allusions to magical practices, beginning with the 4th Dynasty.

It is therefore most likely that with the degradation of the official pharaonic religion the old magical ideas gained ever greater force, coming strongly to the surface after long submersion and that much that may seem foreign was really native. Parallels may be found in the history of other religions, such as the cases of the Greek "daimôn" and the old Persian "fravashi."

Finally, the study of modern ideas of the kind here dealt with is of great use for explaining the working of the ancient Egyptian mind and thus making clear to our modern intelligence, shaped in far other moulds, the reasonableness of old practices which seem at first almost incomprehensible.

Russia.

A New Anthropological Museum.

By special Act of the People's Commissariat of Education a new State Anthropological Museum has been organized at Mohovaya-11, Moscow. This Anthropological Museum is the most important of its kind in the U.S.S.R. and the only one which specializes in that branch of science; though there is an anthropological section at the anthropological and ethnographical museum of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R. in Leningrad. **53**

The chief exhibits of the new Anthropological Museum consist of the collections of the former Anuchin Anthropological Museum attached to the Moscow University. Besides these, the collections of the ethnographical class of Moscow University have been transferred to the museum, as well as an enormous amount of material collected and studied in the course of the last few years by the expeditions of the Moscow Institute for Anthropological Researches.

Besides this new Anthropological Museum, there are three scientific anthropological institutions in Moscow, as follows :—

1. The State Anthropological Museum, with Mr. M. S. Plissetsky at its head.

2. The Institute of Scientific Researches in Anthropology at the head of which is Professor M. A. Grematsky.

3. The anthropology class of Moscow University under Professor V. V. Bunak.

These three scientific institutions form, as it were, one combined scientific body, the object of which is the development of anthropology.

The most prominent men in this branch of science, such as Professors Dechene, Shtefko, Jukoff, Sinelnikoff, Iarho and others, are connected with these institutions.

The State Anthropological Museum proposes, in the near future, to open the following sections based on sociological principles :—

1. The origin of man.

2. Applied anthropology, eugenics, anthropological standardization in respect of clothes, footwear, etc.; anthropology and physical training; biology of women in connection with labour and life habits; vocational selection in relation to anthropological type; psychophysiology.

3. Racial section, to study and demonstrate the formation of various physical types in different parts of the world and especially in the U.S.S.R. and ascertain the part played by social and economic factors in the formation of different racial types in various nations.

4. Methods and history of anthropology.

It is hoped that a mutual exchange of information may be of assistance in the development of anthropology. In addition, the Anthropological Museum has large collections, especially osteologic (about

10,000 fossil and modern crania), and is willing to arrange an exchange of exhibits: to this end a special reserve of exhibits suitable for exchange is being arranged. Until special catalogues can be provided, the Anthropological Museum will be glad to supply regular information on matters of anthropology, and would be grateful for the same in return. V. G. C.

OBITUARY.

Emil Torday: born 1875: died 9 May, 1931.

54 In a brief note for MAN I need scarcely deal with Emil Torday's distinguished career as an ethnologist. His works have, themselves, spoken to the scientific world.

Those great volumes on "Les Bushongo" and "Peuplades de la forêt—Peuplades des Prairies" (written in collaboration with Capt. T. A. Joyce of the British Museum) and his monumental compilation "African Races," published by the Trustees of the late Herbert Spencer, are surely masterpieces of their kind, and will constitute a fitting monument to his memory. Of his lighter works, his "Causeries "Congolaises" (1925) should certainly be in the hands of all those who propose to study the negro on his native heath. His "Tramp and Camp in the "African Wilds" and "On the Trail of the Bushongo" are rather in the nature of travel books, but are excellent examples of that type of work. His work on the Council of the R.A.I. (of which he was a Rivers Medallist) and at the British Museum will not readily be forgotten.

I would prefer to write of Torday as I knew him personally during the two years—1907 to 1909—we spent together under canvas in the Belgian Congo. He was a wonderful linguist; he spoke seven European languages and eight of the tongues of Central Africa. He loved the genuine savage, with whom his tact was extraordinary. He knew no fear of any kind. His love of all children made *nature's* children—savages—very dear to him: they won his heart, so that he won theirs. Personal courage appeals to all races, especially to the unpampered denizens of the wild. Torday possessed this quality to the highest degree. No one could have been frightened in his company, whatever emergency might arise. Upon two occasions I owed my own life to that same quality of his: on this one subject, therefore, I may claim to write with authority.

He was passionately fond of shooting, though he never allowed it to interfere with his work. Yet in my opinion, he was a bad shot with the rifle and a very mediocre one with the shotgun.

But those very qualities which endear a man to savages may not always appeal to those of us who are blessed with a life of security and ease. Torday had to be domineering over the savage. A habit, necessarily acquired, is difficult to lose

The secret of his success as a field worker in ethnology seems to me to lie in the fact that he was essentially a very brave *gentleman*, a very loyal friend.

M. W. HILTON SIMPSON.

55 In supplement to Capt. Hilton Simpson's appreciation of our mutual friend, Emil Torday, I would like to contribute a few words written in purely personal style.

I met Torday first in 1904, on his first visit to England after five years' service as an official in the Belgian Congo.

He came into the British Museum, as a casual visitor, offering a small collection of native objects which he had collected during his extensive travels. That casual meeting was the foundation of a very firm and close friendship. His intimate knowledge of, and sympathy with, the African native easily led him, after our many foregatherings, into the anthropological field, the first results of which were the papers on the Kwilu peoples, published in the Institute's *Journal* when he returned to the Belgian Congo as an agent of the Kasai Company.

He came back to England in 1906, having left the service of the Company, and we raised the funds for an expedition to a particular area which, from indications then available, appeared to be a culture-centre. To my intense disappointment, official duties prevented me from accompanying the expedition, but Capt. Hilton Simpson joined it, and the late Mr. Norman Hardy.

The expedition, organized and financed, was offered to the Royal Anthropological Institute, but owing to the strong opposition of certain members of the Council (on the grounds that the Institute was a publishing organization, and not concerned with field-work), the offer was withdrawn, and the expedition was sponsored by the British Museum. The results, published by the Belgian Government, speak for themselves.

Torday returned in 1909, and from that time devoted himself to an intensive study of the early literature of African tribes, with the critical equipment of nine years spent among them. He also took the first stages of a medical degree as a student at the London Hospital.

The war came. Torday, a pure Magyar, taking his family name from the town of Torda (where he had estates), became an "enemy alien." An attempt made to naturalize him, backed officially by the British Museum, was unsuccessful, owing to a peculiar accident. His area of "circulation" was curtailed, and the London Hospital was outside his sphere. He was "interned" in his house. Meanwhile, the Russo-Hungarian battle-front wavered across his land, which he had, for many years, planted with forest. In the end the territory

was allotted to Roumania, and Torday was given the option of retaining it if he would accept Roumanian nationality. He refused.

T. A. JOYCE.

Elsdon Best: born 1856: died 4 September, 1931.

56

In the death of Elsdon Best the Maori race of New Zealand has lost its foremost historian and ethnographer, and the Maori people one of their best friends. He was always anxious to promote a true understanding of the people amongst whom he lived so long, and to help visiting ethnographers to attain a deeper and more sympathetic insight into the psychology and aspirations as well as the disappointments and the past glories of that proud branch of the Polynesian stock.

I learnt to appreciate his spirit of generous helpfulness to the genuine inquirer when he accompanied me to some of the Maori villages of the Wanganui district in February, 1923, after the Australasian Association meeting in Wellington.

No one knew the Maori as he used to be, when New Zealand was first colonized, more intimately than Elsdon Best. He knew his native friends not only superficially and to talk to, but also their old traditions, customs, folk-lore, myths, and religious ideas; and knew them far better than the present-day Maori himself, who, under the influence of our proselytizing culture, has forgotten most of the old traditions and manners of his people.

Best, in addition to being the greatest authority on the Maori, represented that very fine type of pioneer settler who colonized New Zealand a generation ago. His parents came of sturdy Northumbrian stock, who in olden days may have been among the most lawless and fearless of the cattle-raiders in the Border country, yet rigid in their code of honour, courage, loyalty to friends, and the inviolability of their pledged word.

It is not surprising that a descendant of such a family, inheriting such instincts, acquired the power to read so sympathetically and with such remarkable insight into the minds of an alien Polynesian race endowed so liberally with these same instincts.

Porirua was nothing but a small clearing in dense bush some twelve miles north of Wellington when, in the early 'fifties of last century, the Bests first started to turn that small barren clearing into a home; and this was the home in which Elsdon Best was born in the year 1856. The little shanty was still standing on the hill-side at Porirua, and was used as a fowl-house, when I visited the spot in 1923.

Speaking about the Tuhoe folk of Ruatehuna, amongst whom he lived for many years, I recollect him telling me that, about twenty years before, they decided to erect an old-time stockaded village, equipped and fortified in accordance with the old traditions; with elevated outer and heavy inner stockade, carved posts and fighting platforms. It was built for no possible utilitarian service, but simply as a *tohu* or "sign of the old-time life and as a token of the *mana* of the tribe," as a monument to the old spirit. Thus the *pa* should be a credit to the tribe and preserve something of its ancient fame.

It was in this same spirit that Elsdon Best laboured with selfless devotion to build up a monument to the fine and rugged ideals of a people, lest they should be lost to sight and memory under the disintegrating influences of an introduced and alien culture. And his work abides also as a worthy *tohu* of himself.

GEORGE PITT-RIVERS.

Carveth Read: *Emeritus Professor of Philosophy and Comparative Psychology, University of London; born 16 March, 1848; died 6 December, 1931.*

57

The death of Professor Carveth Read has removed a personality of considerable interest. Born before the middle of last century, in what was then a very remote town, Falmouth, of strict Nonconformist parents, he developed an intelligence quick and clear, but ever cautious, which served him well in the career of philosophy on which he launched at Cambridge and made that science, for him, a very living thing. The mere "jargon of philosophy" had no attraction for him and he always put his work to the touch of human behaviour, in what he held to be the real Greek manner. It was this turn of thought, aided perhaps by his feeling for Andrew Lang, that pushed him into the study of practical anthropology and made of him a valued link between that science and the older discipline.

His anthropological work displayed the qualities above referred to, as our readers will be well aware; his liveliness of mind is remarkably attested in his *Origin of Man and his Superstitions* (1920) of which the second edition (1925) was published in his 77th year. He joined the Institute, as a life member, in 1903 and was elected to the Council in 1908 and three times afterwards, till he retired into the country in 1921. His colleagues valued him much for his sound views, expressed in few words and showing that rare thing, a conservative mind allied to a quick imagination.

As a teacher he won the confidence of his students, the more for his ready humour, nicely salted on occasion and turning to advantage even the slight stammer with which he was sometimes affected. Out of class it was pleasant to walk with him in London parks, hats often shed, talking, as a full man will, "of all things that "exist and a few more." Clarity of thought was his great objective, for which he wrote his Logic (*Theory of Logic*, 1878: *Logic Deductive and Inductive*, 1898), but he was too human to think that that was the only mode of attaining it, often declaring that all students for the exact training of the mind should undergo a thorough course of Logic or of Analytic Chemistry.

He was a true and single-minded philosopher, even to the occasional absent-mindedness which the populace loves to attribute, affectionately, to his class, and his influence must have spread widely, if perhaps not very perceptibly, through his example, to many who studied under him.

G. D. HORNBLOWER.

REVIEWS.

Ethnology.

58 **Dress, Drink and Drums: Further Studies of Savages and Sex.** *By Ernest Crawley, edited by Theodore Besterman. London, Methuen & Co.*, 1931. *8vo. Pp. x + 274.*

This volume, like its predecessor, *Studies in Savages and Sex*, contains reprints of a series of articles contributed by the late Mr. Ernest Crawley to Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*. The editor has made slight amendments and omissions wherever these seemed necessary. The greater part of the book is devoted to a long essay on Dress, an interesting and fairly complete study of a subject of the greatest significance in cultural anthropology. It must be confessed, however, that this essay is ill-balanced, and a better sense of proportion might have been observed in the relative fullness of statement in the various sections into which it is divided. Some aspects of the subject are very fully propounded, whilst others, often highly important, are summarily dismissed in a few paragraphs.

In discussing the various theories that have been put forward to account for the origin of dress, no reference is made to the highly suggestive possibility that clothing may have had its origin in the girdle of cowrie shells and other fertility emblems worn round the waist and thus brought into relation with the organs of fertility—a widespread and extremely ancient practice. The amuletic use of girdles and other primitive apparel to confer fertility and to protect life is worthy at least of fuller discussion than it receives in the brief paragraph allotted to it (p. 46). Again, the discussion of priestly and royal robes, crowns and insignia (pp. 161 *sq.*) is very inadequate. In all the civilizations of antiquity, as well as amongst many primitive peoples in later times, such costumes had a most profound and elaborate symbolism and significance. The panther skins of the Egyptian priests, for instance (worn by a people, be it noted, who did not use skins in civil dress), are not mentioned at all, and only the briefest reference is made to the use of masks and various types of ceremonial headgear, which had its greatest elaboration in Egypt, but is not discussed at all in connection with that country. The same may be said of the ceremonial clothing in the hide of a bull, and other similar practices. All these had a profound significance in social and religious life, and demand the fullest consideration, especially in view of their great antiquity and the extent to which they were copied by other peoples.

The statement (p. 95) that "the bandages "of the mummy are a development (for a particular "purpose) from the use of the ordinary garments of life," is entirely erroneous and contrary to the evidence. Mummy-bandages are connected with the very root of Egyptian conceptions of divinity: a god, *ntr*, was originally a pole swathed in *bandages*, not sheets of cloth. The masts on the Egyptian temples were swathed poles of this kind, and the hieroglyph for "god,"  commonly but erroneously stated to be an axe or hatchet, is a pole swathed in a bandage, with a loose flap projecting from one end. The wrapping-up in bandages, long narrow strips of cloth, each of which had a magical name, is a rite of deification and has not the slightest connection with the dress of daily life. The head, face, limbs, fingers and toes, were all completely enwrapped in many layers of bandages, and it was this method of entire concealment that gave rise to the use of masks. Originally the features of the dead man were painted and modelled on the outermost wrappings of the head. This developed into the use of cartonnage masks, into the anthropoid coffin, and finally into painted portrait panels placed over the head. Their object is clear enough: they were intended to perpetuate the *personal identity* of the man whose features were concealed by the wrappings. Mr. Crawley has misunderstood the significance of masks for the dead (p. 101).

As might have been expected, the author devotes most of his attention to the sexual aspects of dress, and here he is particularly interesting and well-informed. Throughout the book, however, there is a tendency to dogmatism and to highly theoretical explanations, and the author indulges his love of framing long and impressive sentences. Some of these latter, it must be confessed, are rather "glimpses of the obvious." Such is the statement (p. 111) that: "when clothing is firmly established "as a permanent social habit, temporary nudity "is the most violent negation of the clothed state," and again (p. 126), "the most distinctive social "division is the permanent division of sex." After summarizing numerous instances of men dressed as women and *vice versa*, the author says (p. 149):—"There is no doubt that these phenomena are cases "of sexual inversion, congenital or acquired, partial "or complete"—and many similar truisms could be quoted.

Mr. Besterman's editing is careful and thorough, but here and there an error has eluded his vigilant eye. Such, for instance, as the authorship ascribed to the two works referred to in note 1 of page 138. The price of the book has not been stated at the head of this review, because on the jacket of the book it is marked as 12*s.* 6*d.*, whilst in the list of publications at the end, it is stated to be 10*s.* 6*d.*

WARREN R. DAWSON.

Africa: South.

59 **The Lambas of Northern Rhodesia.** *By Clement M. Doke, D.Litt. Photographs and sketches. London.* $8\frac{3}{4} \times 6$ *in. Pp.* 408. 36*s.*

The Awalamba (to give them their own form of name) inhabit a region of about 25,000 square miles, partly in Northern Rhodesia, and partly over the border in that tongue of Belgian Congo which forms the southernmost portion of the Katanga district. The average altitude of Ibamba which, in general, is flat, well-watered forest-land,

is over 4,000 feet. It is infested by tsetse. Tradition says that the Lambas entered from the east, and that cultivation and food-stuffs were introduced by an immigrant from the west who became the ruling chief: his skull is preserved "as an oracle "of the tribe." Other elements went to form what is evidently a mixed type of culture. Dr. Doke studied the Lambas while living among them as a missionary during the years 1914–21, and in 1927–28 checked, corrected and elaborated his observations with the help of two natives who were taken down to Johannesburg, where he is professor of Bantu philology. He has written an excellent description of the people, admirably objective, rich in detail, and enhances its value for the student by careful definition of the many Lamba terms which he employs.

After outlining legend and history Dr. Doke writes on the social organization, which has interesting features, particularly in the distinct grading of villages, some of which are under clansmen of the paramount chief, and others under "commoners." Succession to the chieftainship is matrilineal. Ibamba was for many years the happy hunting ground of the slave-raiders; a brief account of these introduces the subject of domestic slavery and of *ukuliteka*—the methods of self-enslavement. A chapter on village life and custom follows, with a calendar of the year and a table setting forth clearly the division of labour: "axe and spear," say the Lambas, "are the sign of a man, and the hoe the "sign of a woman." There is also a full list of food-stuffs. Industries are described with some fullness, including the making of bark-cloth. Teeth are filed or chipped; there is no tribal mark, but tattooing is practised as an adornment. A chapter is given to customs relating to birth and infancy. Children born with teeth are regarded as lucky; those that cut the upper teeth first were destroyed. Twins are only distrusted when of opposite sexes. In the chapter on childhood an account of games is given, including *amansanshi*, miniature villages occupied only in daytime. There are no initiation ceremonies for boys; circumcision is not practised. The girls' rites are named *ichisungu* and take the form of solitary seclusion for three or four months, and instruction; a list is given of the things taught, chiefly points of behaviour. No operation is performed, but the girls practise vaginal distension. The mother appears to play the chief part in choosing a bride for her son; the "bridal pledge," *ichyupo*, was given formerly in bark-cloth or hoes; nowadays it is given in cash or goods to the value of ten or twenty shillings. Cross-cousin marriages are favoured for their economic advantages, but have the disadvantage that a man fears to quarrel with his wife: he dare not strike his father's niece. In the old days members of the chief's clan "captured" their wives or husbands; the consort of a woman of the clan is called *lumbwe*, and has the same status as the *mukwetunga* of the Balumbu. "Lamba "marriage is matrilocal," but after two years the man is allowed to take his wife to his own home. "Polygynists are comparatively few." The marriage tie, Dr. Doke thinks, is considerably looser than among a cattle-keeping people. "This loose-"ness has been increased in the country since "the advent of goods and money and of foreign "natives who can offer more attractions to the "Lamba women than their husbands can."

The dead are buried in recessed graves which are dug in burying-places some distance from the villages. A chief's corpse is stretched out in a hut and allowed to decompose; the teeth and nails are preserved and their presence "is a sign that "the chief is still in the village." The bones are carried to burial in a bark canoe attached to a long white pole. In old days two of the chief's widows were killed and their dismembered bodies suspended in the trees around the grave.

The Lamba clans (*imikoka*, *cf.* Ila, *mikoa*) number 32; they are exogamic; descent is reckoned through the mother and inheritance is also, in the main, matrilineal. Young people whose fathers are members of one clan are prohibited from marrying. The list of clans shows that a large proportion of the names is derived from animal-names, but the eating-taboo is no longer observed. A full analysis of the kinship system is provided; it presents the usual features. The code of polite behaviour, as taught to children from infancy, is sketched in detail. The Lambas use two terms to indicate different kinds of taboo: *ukutonda* indicates prohibitions whose infringement is punished by the living community; and *umushiliko* indicates those guarded by the *ichiwanda*, "the attendant demon "of the offended." Lists of these are given, and also of the *imbiko*, omens or warnings attributed to the spirits. Several pages are devoted to dreams. The chapters relating to religion are written with great care and stand out as especially good in a book where everything is good. Dr. Doke claims the Lambas as monotheists, but they pay little regard in everyday life to Lesa, the creator of all things. Their ideas of the spirit are unusually clear. At death *umweo* "the life" (synonymous with *umuntu umwine* "the person himself") is freed from the body and, detached from *umupashi*, "spirit," goes to *ichiyawafu*, the abode of the dead, which lies somewhere in the west. The *umupashi* returns to the village to await an opportunity for reincarnation, and meanwhile is associated closely with some living kinsman who builds the customary little hut for it and sees that it is kept supplied with nourishment. It appears to be the personal divinity of the "owner." It is not the entire *umupashi* that is re-born, but what Dr. Doke call's "a kind of afflatus from it," for, like the Baila, Lambas believe that it is still in the spirit-world after it enters into a human body. Besides the *imipashi*, there are *ifiwanda*, "demons," not discarnate humans but a separate creation. The three types of spirit-possession are amply described, as are also the mediums or prophets. The cult of dynamism is given a chapter to itself; the Lambas have the same term (*ubwanga*) as the Baila for the "dynamic power" which works in the medicines, charms and spells; and their practices too are very similar. Chapters follow on the important professions of doctor, witch, hunter and blacksmith.

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Another deals with Folklore and Music, but no tunes are recorded. Finally, in the chapter on Language Dr. Doke analyses Lamba phonetics and arranges the grammar according to principles which he has set forth in his books on Zulu; this merits the close attention of all who are engaged in studying Bantu languages. A full glossary is added.

The book is splendidly illustrated. It only remains to congratulate the author on having written the best account of a Bantu tribe that has appeared in recent years. E. W. S.

60 **The Bantu Tribes of South Africa.** *Reproductions of photographic studies by A. M. Duggan-Cronin. Vol. II. section 2. Cambridge,* 1931. $11\frac{3}{4} \times 8$ *in.*

This volume of Mr. Duggan-Cronin's work contains 26 plates (xxvii–lii) illustrating the life of the Transvaal Basuto, commonly grouped as Bapedi. Their quality, and reproduction by the Cambridge University Press, leave nothing to be desired. Dr. Eiselen, of Stellenbosch, writes an introduction dealing rather sketchily with the tribe, and Dr. Schapera contributes a bibliography. E. W. S.

61 **Zimbabwe, Embryo.** *Written and published by Captain John F. Robins, R.N. (ret.) London,* 1931. *Pp.* 4, *plans A—K.*

As the title-page announces "copyright, no "extracts can be taken or published," it is not permissible for a reviewer to say more than that Zimbabwe is here interpreted as a symbolic design based upon mysteriously mathematical principles, and compared in date and plan with Avebury, Stonehenge, and Carnac, and in other respects with Silbury and Uxmal. The author hopes to elicit inquiries and undertakes further explanations from his unpublished writings. J. L. M.

America: South.

62 **Menschen ohne Gott.** *By Günter Tessmann. Stuttgart,* 1928. *Pp.* 244, *with map, coloured plates and text-illustrations.*

This is the first ethnographical publication of the Harvey-Bassler Foundation, and is the narrative of an investigation of the natives of the Ucayali tributary of the Amazon, which skirts the foot-hills of the mountain zone west of the headwaters of the Javari, Jurua, and other rivers of the plateau. Dr. Tessmann describes his voyage in graphic terms and then reviews the results of his studies in a series of lively chapters. No doubt his ethnographical materials will be published in greater detail elsewhere. Meanwhile, thanks are due to him for a most readable book of travel, which those who have travelled themselves will enjoy, and those who intend to travel may study with profit, for it is full of practical wisdom about the technique and the difficulties of exploration. J. L. M.

63 **Archivos del Museo Etnografico Argentino I. II. III.** *Buenos Aires,* 1930.

The Ethnographical Museum of the Argentine is to be congratulated on this series of reports of its archæological researches, well printed and fully illustrated. In future issues it would be a great convenience if a brief summary were appended in a second language, for those who do not read Spanish easily.

I. Los Cráneos Trofeo de las Sepulturas Indígenas. *Milciades Alejo Vignati,* 1930. *Pp.* 165 *with* 3 *maps,* 10 *plates and* 57 *figures.*

These skulls are from indigenous burials in the district of Humahuaca, in the province of Jujuy, on both banks of the Rio Grande where it emerges from the hills into the arid plain. The interments are in cist graves within quadrangular enclosures of rubble. Their especial interest arises from their mutilation to serve as trophies, like the scalps of North America, and Mr. Vignati has brought together the extensive literature of this custom, and the methods of preparing and using the heads: the latter is even illustrated from a painted vase from Andahuala in Catamarca Province (fig. 41–2).

II. Las Ruinas del Pucará de Tilcara. *Salvador Debenedetti (Archivos del Museo Etnografico II.) Buenos Aires,* 1930. *8vo. pp.* 142, *with* 26 *plates,* 2 *maps and* 29 *figures in text.*

This curious site, in Jujuy Province, lies in the north-western corner of the Argentine Republic, in arid country sparsely covered with cactus which must have made excavation tiresome. The ruins are of rubble masonry sometimes preserved to the height of five or six feet. The buildings are rectangular, but contain curved internal compartment-walls, and remains of interments with pottery and other objects. The pottery is of graceful form, painted in red on buff with basketry patterns and friezes of insects, with background of hook-ornaments as in coloured plate xix. There are also embanked roads, and fortified settlements terraced in defensible positions. It does not appear possible at present to assign a date to the culture here revealed, or to determine its relations.

III. Hallazajos arqueológicos en il Cementerio Indígena de Huiliche. *Eduardo Casanova. (Arch. Mus. Etnogr. III). Buenos Aires,* 1930. *Pp.* 147, *with map,* 13 *plates and* 90 *illustrations.*

The Province of Catamarca is on the Chilean border of the Argentine, north-west of Cordoba. The cemetery is on the right bank of the Rio Huliche in the Department of Belén. The bodies are in contracted posture, in open earth and accompanied by hand-made pottery of simple form suggestive of basketry, with strap-handles, and incised or painted basketry-ornament sometimes elaborately enhanced with step and fret patterns, and representations of animals and man. Occasionally there is relief ornament also. There are two distinct fabrics, grey and red. Of copper, there are saucers of pinched-up foil, tweezers with broad blades, and awls: and clay pipe-bowls in human form. J. L. M.

Pacific.

64 **Notes on the Off-Shore Fishing of the Society Islands.** *By Charles Nordhoff. (Journal of the Polynesian Society, Vol.* 39, 1930.) *Nos.* 2 *and* 3. *Reprint separately paged* 1–79; *original pagination* 137–173 *and* 221–262; 5 *plates and* 6 *pages of text figures.*

This is the most attractive account we have of fishing in the island world of the Pacific, and, so far as can be judged, it is as authoritative as interesting; a notable and welcome addition to our knowledge of a phase of culture always difficult to describe adequately. The ordinary ethnologist is not usually an active fisherman—it requires more leisure than he can spare—and without actual experience of what he writes about, the resultant account is apt to be feeble and without insight.

Mr. Nordhoff's eight years of fraternal intercourse with the fisherfolk of the Society Islands—as he says,

of almost daily fishing excursions with these people—have enabled him to obtain information otherwise impossible to collect. As a consequence the methods followed are told with a wealth of detail and in language as picturesque as precise. With great candour, he confesses that much material remains ungarnered; the native fisherman is loth to impart his secrets, and had the author had sixteen years' experience instead of eight, the mass of information, he believes, would be just double what it is. Five methods of fishing are treated of; these are:—

1. *T'ira*-fishing for albacore, now no longer practised. The *tira*, a double canoe, was equipped with a stout fishing rod, pivotted on a bar at the fore end of one of the hulls; live bait was carried.

2. *Puraro*-fishing, a system of still-fishing for albacore, in a one-man canoe, by means of deep-lining; this has supplanted the co-operative *tira*-fishing, and is a change symptomatic of the alteration which has taken place in the native character.

3. Trolling for *Coryphaena*, the "dolphin" of sailors.

4. Deep-lining for *Ruvettus*, in depths ranging from 150 to 300 fathoms.

5. Rod fishing for bonito, with unbaited hooks having pearl-shell shanks which act as a lure.

The last method is one that deserves exhaustive comparative study, for it is found in a variety of modifications over an area extending from the Maldive Islands in the west of Japan in the north, and in the South Sea throughout Polynesia. It is curious to note from Mr. Nordhoff's description that the Society Islands' method is less specialized than elsewhere and notably inferior or more primitive in technique than that practised in Samoa, Tonga, and the Tokelaus. In Polynesia, paddling canoes are used; in the Maldives and Japan, fishing is carried on under sail, and live bait thrown out; in the latter respect it resembles *tira*-fishing.

Let us hope that Mr. Nordhoff will continue his contributions in this little-worked field of research; his opportunities are as unique as they are enviable.

The reprint is independently paged from that of the original publication, a procedure not to be commended.

JAMES HORNELL.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Physiological Paternity and Belated Birth in Albania.

65

SIR,—The following tales from Albania may be of interest to those who study what use backward peoples make of their knowledge of physiological paternity.

My authority for the first story is Madame Zef Kadarja, a Roman Catholic lady of Scutari in North Albania who was trained in midwifery in Austria. One day, while still unmarried and practising her profession in Scutari, she was visited by a number of Roman Catholic mountaineers, who were in great trouble. Two years before, a man had died in a certain village, leaving a young and childless widow. Some weeks later it appeared certain that she was to remain childless, and in the usual Albanian way she then returned to her father's house, which was in a different village. Months later she was betrothed by her father to a man in a third village whom she had never seen, and the marriage had been arranged for the very time at which the peasants had come to visit Madame Kadarja, i.e. two years after the husband's death. But a hitch had occurred. It had been discovered that the widow-bride was with child. Now Albanians have noticed that after birth a child may grow weak and sickly and be outstripped in growth and strength by its healthy contemporaries; it may, for instance, be too weak to walk at the proper time. From that fact they have deduced that an unborn child may grow sickly and not have strength to come to birth in due course, lingering as much as two years in the womb. Such a child they call a *barrë e vrame* ("damaged fœtus"; *barre* meaning literally "load" and so metaphorically "fœtus"). Instances, they say, are hard to detect among married women, who may make mistakes about the time when they conceive, but they are clear enough among widows. Thus the relatives of the widow-bride in Madame Kadarja's story, knowing that such things happen occasionally, were not in the least perturbed by the imminence of the baby, nor were the relatives of her fiancé.

But her dead husband's mother had heard the news, and made trouble, forbidding the marriage to take place as arranged. "I hear," she said, going to the widow's village, "that my daughter-in-law is with a *barre e vrame*. "It is my dead son's child, and I must have it to bring "up. My daughter-in-law must not marry till after "its birth." Normally every one would have agreed with her and acknowledged her right to postpone the marriage. Harvest was approaching, however, and the fiancé's people needed the bride's help in the harvest-field and insisted that the marriage should take place as arranged. But the mother-in-law stood her ground, until her people, the widow's, and the fiancé's nearly came to blows. Eventually they took the matter to the priest, and he, shirking the issue, sent them all down to consult Madame Kadarja. She first of all took the widow aside and forced her to confess the name of her lover; he was a different man altogether, a shepherd she had met on the hillside. Then Madame Kadarja reflected that if she told the truth, the mountaineers would shoot the widow and her lover and bury them in unconsecrated ground as a preliminary to starting blood-feuds among themselves and with the lover's family. Hence she returned to the waiting group and took the least hurtful way out of the difficulty. Saying she had ascertained that the child was now quite strong and would be born in three months, she declared that they must keep to their old custom and postpone the marriage until the child had been born and surrendered to the family of its "father." There was no question, of course, about the widow's obligation to give up her child when she remarried.

The peasants had promised the priest that they would abide by Madame Kadarja's decision, and returned home quietly. Later, the widow's father visited Madame Kadarja again and reported that as the three months drew to an end, the mother-in-law had come to the village and sat waiting for the baby's birth. A boy had been born and snatching it up before the mother could feed it, the old woman departed to her own village. Had she allowed the mother to feed it even once, it would have become its mother's property till it was weaned at three years of age. But having prevented that contingency, the old woman was bringing up the

infant as the lawfully begotten child of the son she had lost more than two years before it was born. And the widow had been happily married to her fiancé within six weeks of its birth.

Having heard this story, I returned home to England full of admiration for the unknown Albanian law-giver of the past, who had recognized the frailty of human nature and, regretting the blood spilt in blood-feuds every time that a man and a woman were detected in sin, had instilled this theory of belated birth into the minds of his simple countrymen. But at home it transpired that the story was even more interesting: that it was only one more instance of Albanians preserving a belief once held, but now forgotten, in England. My friend Dr. Ada Madison capped the Albanian story with the tale of the mediæval Duchess of Gloucester, who, being left a young and childless widow, saw her husband's power and estates about to pass to his cousin. To prevent or at least to delay this catastrophe, she at once announced that she was with child, but that it was weakly and would be born late. Two years elapsed before it arrived—one may imagine the subterfuges to which the Duchess resorted to achieve her purpose—and even the cousin does not seem to have doubted its legitimacy.

On returning to Albania I investigated the story further and found that it was unknown in South Albania, but widely believed by both Mohammedans and Roman Catholics from Tirana northwards. In fact, since 1920, two cases occurred among the Mohammedans of Tirana; in one case the child had been born two years after its father's death, and, in the other, ten years. In the great Catholic tribe of the Mirdites two cases came before the Council of Elders held in the summer of 1927 by Kapidan Gjon Markagjoni (i.e. "Captain" John, the son of Mark the son of John), the hereditary chief of the Mirdite tribe. One child had been born three, and the other two, years after its father's death. Interested relatives had doubted their legitimacy, and Captain John had been asked to decide the point. The decision cost him difficulty enough. "As you see," he explained to me, "I'm middle-aged and the father of twelve "children, but how should I know anything of women's "affairs? I felt too shy to ask my wife: still less could "I ask my mother; so I sent for two very old women "who had borne many children, and questioned them. "As a result of what they told me, I promulgated a "decree that these two children, to save bloodshed, "were to be accepted as legitimate, but that, in the "future, no child was to be so accepted unless it were "born within twelve months of its father's death."

MARGARET HASLUCK.

Physiological Paternity in the Trobriands.

66 Sir,—In reference to the remarks of Mr. Bothwell (Man, 1931, 280), Dr. Kisch, in "The Sexual Life of Woman," mentions this muscular power of expulsion of semen being used by women in Italy and in N. Australia. He minutely describes the process, but does not say it is contraceptive. It could not be so, for much more complete expulsion has been tried for fifty years by means of the water douche. Yet Dr. Marie Stopes writes—"as a contraceptive measure by itself all douching is unreliable."

A little thought on the method of expulsion will convince anyone of its inefficacy, for millions of sperms would remain in corners and crevices about the cervix, ready to enter the uterus. It is obvious that had this ancient method been successful it would have been taught at all clinics, and men would have insisted upon women using it when required. G. A. GASKELL.

An Excavated Chamber at Arorguddan, British Somaliland.

67 Sir,—While engaged in surveying in the Hargeisa district of British Somaliland, I had occasion to trace the course of the Ijara Tug, which is one of the dry river beds so common in the neighbourhood. I came upon a wide sweep in the course, with a cliff some 17 ft. high on one bank, at the foot of which was a mass of rock which had recently fallen. My attention was attracted to a small hole in the cliff just above the debris. I climbed up and, on looking in, found a beehive-shaped chamber, which showed clear indications of having been hollowed out of the solid sandstone rock.

The chamber was 6 ft. in height, and 5 ft. 6 ins. across the widest part at the bottom; on the floor was about a foot of debris, where some of the top had recently fallen in, and on the top of this was a large flat stone, 1 ft. 6 ins. by 1 ft. 4 ins., which had presumably served as a covering to the exit at the top, which was 2 ft. 3 ins. beneath the present surface, while the bottom of the chamber was 9 ft. above the dry river bed.

On clearing out the chamber no levels of occupation were found, but in the centre a small piece of solid rock 8 ins. high and 1 ft. across had been left, probably as a step. The spout of a coarse pottery water bottle, which was made from a clay having a very high content of mica, was the only thing found in the chamber.

Just to the left of the chamber, in the cliff and about 1 ft. from the level of the base but no longer in the rock, were very distinct traces of ashes and decayed bones; they did not extend high, but a depth of over a foot into the cliff. The surface on the top shows no indication of any habitation, but the immediate vicinity is rich in traces of graves of an unknown age. There is to-day no permanent water within 6 miles.

The midden had no communication with the chamber, whose only entrance was the hole in the roof. The chamber must have been constructed in connection with some form of dwelling, either as a grain pit or a cell. The present tribes inhabiting the area do not use grain pits, since they maintain that grain will not keep in them. The people who constructed a rock chamber for any purpose were clearly not of nomadic tendencies like the modern Somalis, but must have come of a far more stable and industrious stock; their use of pottery, and the kitchen midden showing decayed bones and few bits of pottery, tend to support this theory.

One is inclined to believe that this part of Somaliland (i.e. the N.W.) was at one time inhabited by a Semitic race of stable and industrious tendencies; we already have evidences in the number of ruined towns with well laid out streets, mosques and large burying grounds—there being no less than eight such towns, roughly in a line, between Harar in Abyssinia and Zeilah on the coast, and they contain the ruins of many more stone houses than Somaliland can boast of to-day. Possibly these ruins may have some relation to those found across the Gulf of Aden and round the southern coast of Arabia. It will only be by placing on record every small discovery that in course of time some light may be thrown on the races who inhabited Africa during the "Zimbabwe" era and were productive of lasting memorials in the form of their buildings.

ALEX. T. CURLE.

Bride-Price.

68 Sir,—I apologise for adding to this controversy, but the letter of Dr. and Mrs. Seligman (Man, 1931, 235) seems based on a misunderstanding. When I wrote (Man, 1931, 187) that "a Greek or Latin technical

" term, when applicable, is to my mind more satisfactory " than a made-up word such as . . . ' bride-wealth,' " I should perhaps have added " if the existing or suggested " English terms are ambiguous or otherwise unsatis- " factory." No English word so far suggested has evoked complete satisfaction; and since " bride-wealth," apart from its ambiguity (I am in full agreement with Lord Raglan's letter in MAN, 1931, 84) is a term deliberately coined, the use of a real word—even if it is Greek—is to be preferred when (1) the coined word does not give satisfaction, (2) the Greek term has its meaning already fixed for us. When Dr. and Mrs. Seligman introduce " rainmaker," as a word " formed on good " English lines " (and I doubt whether, etymologically, " bride-wealth " as the equivalent of *hedna*, is so formed), they are making an irrelevant comparison. Nobody has any doubt as to what " rainmaker " means; and the terms " rain-maker," " rain-making," have been accepted in anthropological literature for many years. " Bride-price " (which incidentally is etymologically defensible) has, on the other hand, given rise to many doubts as to its significance; hence these two words are not comparable. If Dr. and Mrs. Seligman want a classical term for " rainmaker," ὀμβροποιός (which exists) is a much nicer word than their *monstrum horrendum* " pluvifactor," which is not a classical word; " pluvius " would have been better.

As regards my statement that " the Nandi definitely " regard girls as a source of wealth," I should like to make it quite clear that, although marriage among the Nandi is an economic transaction (whence the custom of child-marriage which I described briefly in *S.R.A.I.* lvii. 434), the wife is not " sold," she does not become her husband's property, and there is no giving to the highest bidder, the *hedna* being fixed, though the number of cattle, goats, and sheep may vary from time to time. In fact, the *hedna* provide one of the three ways in which a Nandi can acquire cattle of his own—as opposed to inherited cattle which also belong to the spirits of the dead.

I am strongly opposed to a term which includes any suggestion of " wealth " or " property." Many tribes (e.g. the Nandi group, and the Bantu Kavirondo) have no word for either of these, and the nearest they can attain is " things " (Ndi., tukuk; Bantu kav., vintu). Terms like " equilibrium guarantee," " espousal-fee," and even " bride-wealth," would be much more difficult to explain to an African than *hedna*; for to a Nandi or a Bantu Kavirondo the latter would mean " tuka " or " tsimgombe " (" cattle," their only term for *hedna*); to a Dorobo, it would imply " honey-wine." (*Cf.* the preparation of the *hedna* in *Odyssey* I. 277.)

G. W. B. HUNTINGFORD.

Kipkaren, Kenya.

Ba'alathobh. *Cf.* MAN, 1931, 244.

69

SIR,—Captain Gordon (MAN, 1931, 244) has been misled by the cloudy and uncritical learning of the authors he has consulted. Here are some of the facts he asks for:

(1) A colleague who has the skill in Hebrew, which I lack, informs me that the word *obh* is of highly uncertain derivation and meaning. This much is clear, that in *Job*, 32, 19, it means a wine-skin, if the text there is sound. Elsewhere it is a something, real or imaginary, whether piece of apparatus, familiar spirit or ghost of the dead, which certain persons use for divining. This is its meaning in 1 *Sam.*, 28, 3 and 7. There is no reason to suppose that it is in any way connected with a jar of any sort, Canopic or not, or with any kind of serpent.

(2) The manner in which Python has been brought into the discussion is simply this. St. Jerome renders *esheth ba'alathobh*, " woman possessing an *obh* " in 1 *Sam.*, 28, 3 and 7, by *mulierem habentem pythonem*, " woman " having a familiar." He got the word *pythonem* presumably from *Acts*, 16, 16, where the apostles heal παιδίσκην τινὰ ἔχουσαν πνεῦμα πύθωνα, " a damsel having a " spirit of divination " as the A.V. renders it. This use of the word, which occurs in a few other post-classical Greek writers, is no doubt connected with the Python which Apollo killed, not, however, because he was a serpent, but because he was associated with mediums and the giving of oracles.

(3) As *obh* is not an Egyptian but a Semitic word, clearly the Egyptians did not use it to signify the swelling of the Nile or anything else. I do not know what Egyptological facts, if any, underlie the extraordinary rigmarole which Captain Gordon quotes from Fellows. The name of the Nile-god is Hapi, and Python seems to be a blunder for Typhon, the name given by the Greeks to Set. Neither word means " enemy."

(4) The witch who rides on a jar is thus left without other associates than her natural ones, namely the various witches and wizards of various lands and dates who charm inanimate objects to carry them about.

H. J. ROSE.

'Crude Eoliths.'

70

SIR,—Professor Elliot Smith informs us (MAN, 1932, 5) that the specimens of fractured quartz and quartzite found in the caves at Chou-Kou-Tien are not " crude eoliths," and that " the line " drawings here reproduced . . . suggest resemblances " to Lower Palæolithic flake industries in Europe." With both these statements I find myself in disagreement, for I have never seen any genuine eolith so crude in appearance as these objects figured in MAN, nor do they bear any actual resemblance to the Lower Palæolithic flake industries which I have examined. To be quite frank, I cannot, after studying the illustrations, recognize any signs of man's work upon the specimens they purport to represent, and if it is indeed true that the Chou-Kou-Tien implements are of Lower Palæolithic age, then the conclusion must be that these drawings are inadequate. It occurs to me also that if these fragments had not been found in association with human bones, a very different verdict would have been placed upon them; and, in this regard, it would be well if those who are prepared to accept as of human origin certain flaked stones, solely on the strength of such association, examined the logical foundations of their belief. In any case, I prefer to suspend judgment upon the Chou-Kou-Tien specimens till better illustrations, of the objects themselves, are available for study.

J. REID MOIR.

The Mósiro and Aramanik Dialects of Dorobo.

71

SIR,—Mr. G. W. B. Huntingford's criticisms in MAN, 1931, 217, are interesting if omniscient in character. May one say that a sweeping statement to the effect that the Aramanik vocabulary as given by me in the Journal of the African Society (xxvii, 258 *sqq.*) " is suspiciously like nonsense for the " most part," reads suspiciously like pedantry? If Mr. Huntingford has ever seen an Aramanik Dorobo of Moipo, I am prepared to admit the possibility of his having sufficient knowledge to warrant his writing in the way he has done. If he has not met these people, it may be of interest to him to know that the words given by me are, surprisingly enough, the words used by Il-Aramanik.

A comparison of the Nandi and Mósiro vocabularies given, in conjunction with a glance through the text, ought to make it clear that there was at least a suspicion in my mind that the Mosiro words are mostly Nandi.

I do not aspire to infallibility, and there may be Aramanik words the true forms of which differ slightly from those given by me. Destructive criticism presents little difficulty to most of us, but I would suggest that, in accordance with his own advice to the inquirer into Dorobo dialects, Mr. Huntingford would be well advised to learn something of Il-Aramanik before he sets out to write about them. R. A. J. MAGUIRE.

Aborigine or Indigene?

72 Sir,—In the course of thinking and reading about the use of the metals by primitive peoples I have discovered the need of a term to designate a native in the state of nature. We have "aborigines," but the Latin word had no singular, and the anglicized "aborigine" is objectionable etymologically. The adjectival form "aboriginal" has been used by Darwin and by Trollope; it is used also in the title of a recent book by Dr. Herbert Basedow; nevertheless, "aborigi-"nal" does not commend itself to a discerning taste for the right use of words. "Indigene" has the advantage of coming direct from the Latin, *indigena*, and it is honoured by the usage of Evelyn, George Chalmers, Coleridge, Darwin, and Herbert Spencer. We use "indigenous" commonly, and the fact that the noun has been adopted by the French, as *indigène*, is another point in its favour.

Perhaps you will say that neither "aborigine" nor "indigene" is needed, because "native" suffices; but when one is speaking of an aboriginal native one has to distinguish him from the later immigrants. A native of the United States is not aboriginal, nor is he the descendant of aborigines. The Red Indian is an American indigene, is he not? T. A. RICKARD.

Primitive Figures on Churches. *Cf.* Man, 1932, 49.

73 Sir,—In Man, 1930, 8 and 1931, 3, are notes on Fertility Figures in Churches in England. There would seem to be something of the sort in Scotland: e.g. Sir Walter Scott's description of the church of Rowhill on the east coast of the isle of Harris, which he visited on 22nd August, 1814. (Lockhart's "Life," Vol. IV, Ch. xxi, pp. 298–9. Cadell, Edinburgh, 1847): "It is a building in the form of a cross, with a "rude tower at the eastern end, like some old English "churches. Upon this tower are certain pieces of "sculpture, of a kind the last one would have expected "on a building dedicated to religious purposes. Some "have lately fallen in a storm, but enough remain to "astonish us at the grossness of the architect and the "age. *Within* the church"

It is clear from the concluding words that the figures which shocked Sir Walter, a person not easily shocked, were in the tower high up on the outside, and it would be interesting to know if any vestiges still exist.

DAVID FREEMAN.

Immolation of Widows in New Guinea. *Cf.* Man, 1931, 8.

74 Sir,—We are indebted to Mr. Gordon for his account of the killing of widows in New Guinea, for which sentence of death was recorded against four men. Presumably the sentence was not carried out. Will he not tell us what actually happened to the condemned men? C. G. SELIGMAN.

Threshing Sledges in Kurdistan.

75 Sir,—Referring to articles on threshing sledges by Mr. Hornell (Man, 1930, 112) and Mr. C. Daryll Forde (Man, 1931, 157) I think it may be of interest to mention a threshing sledge (figs. 1, 2) which I saw in 1928 in Northern Kurdistan, at the Chaldaean village of Kharakcash between Erbil and Mosul, and near the site of the historic battle of Gaugamela.

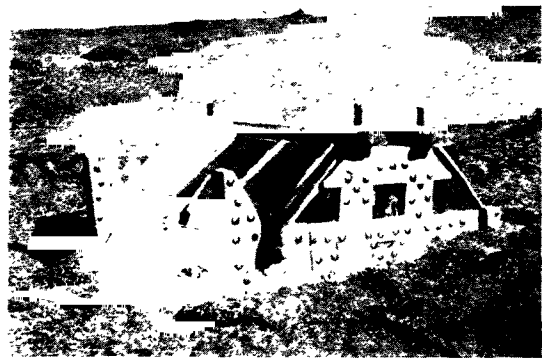


Fig. 1. Threshing sledge, showing construction.

The threshing sledge (*kotan*) is composed of a heavy wooden structure securely fastened together by large round-headed nails. The upper surface is flat and upon this sits the driver, wearing a felt coat (*faragy*), and a large felt hat (*shems-supar* = sun-shade). The under surface of the sledge is composed of a series of steel knives (*chakow*) which are set at various angles in order to cut the wheat (*ganum*), barley (*harzen*), or hay (*kak*) into fine sections of chaff, which are fed to the animals during the winter months.



Fig. 2. Sledge with mules and driver.

The sledges are usually drawn by two mules (*katar*), but there appeared to be no desire for speed on the part of the men or their animals. The chaff is turned over by means of a wooden fork (*shenhe*) with long wooden tynes.

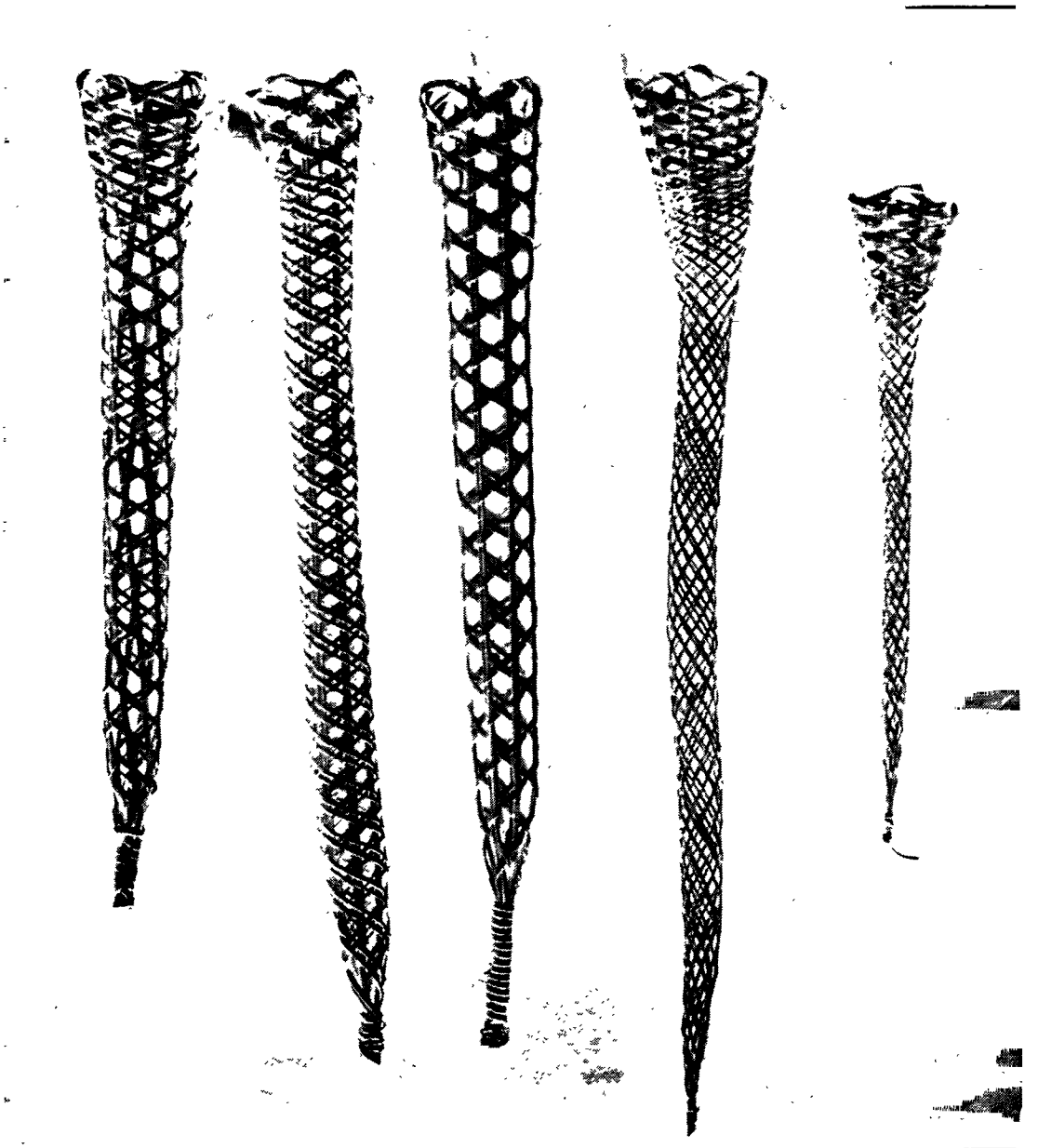
I am indebted to Mr. H. Mookree for the Kurdish equivalents for the objects. HENRY FIELD.
Field Museum of Natural History,
Chicago, U.S.A.

Corrections.

76 Man, 1931, 160. The title of the photograph should be "Atitlán Indians on the way to the coast."

Man, 1931, 267. The figures 1—13 were drawn by Mrs. M. C. BURKITT (not BURKETT).

Eyre and Spottiswoode Limited, His Majesty's Printers, East Harding St., London, E.C.4.



1 2 3 4 5

THORN-LINED TRAPS OF THE AZANDE, EASTERN SUDAN, ALMOST IDENTICAL IN TYPE WITH THOSE FROM THE INDONESIO-MELANESIAN AREA.

1 2, 3 OF BASKETRY LINED WITH THORN-BEARING TWIGS. LENGTH, 56 cm. TO 65 cm. 4, 5 OF FLEXIBLE BASKETRY WITH BARRIER OF CONVERGING CANE POINTS. LENGTH, ABOUT 71 cm AND 42 cm.

Pitt-Rivers Museum, Oxford. Collected by Dr. E. E. Evans-Pritchard.

MAN

A MONTHLY RECORD OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL SCIENCE

PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE
ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

XXXII, 77-106. MARCH, 1932.

ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

Africa : Technology. **With Plate C.** **Balfour.**

Thorn-lined Traps in the Pitt-Rivers Museum, Oxford. *By Henry Balfour, F.R.S.*

Some years ago I communicated to MAN (1925, 21) a short paper upon thorn-lined traps, in which I described the varieties then known to me and their geographical dispersal. Since then I have acquired some fresh information relating to the distribution of this specialized form of trap. As a supplement to that paper. I may now refer readers to the interesting illustrated note upon thorn-lined traps in Borneo, by Mr. J. C. Swayne, in which he describes the varieties known to the mixed native population of the Miri district, Sarawak, comprising Penans, Kadayans, Melanaus, Malays and Ibans, though the traps were actually used only by the three former tribes living on the Suai, Sebuti and Bakam rivers respectively (MAN, 1927, 93). 77

The northerly dispersal of these traps can now be extended to include the area occupied by the Abors and the Mishmis, *i.e.*, to the north of the Brahmaputra as far as about 28° 30′ N., on the strength of information given to me by Mr. E. C. Stuart Baker, who saw examples among these peoples. Recently, two fish-traps lined with the thorny rachides of *calamus* were brought to me by Mr. G. D. Walker from the Garo Hills, Assam. These closely resemble the trap shown in Fig. 4 in my former paper (from the Chins of N. Arakan). Captain J. H. Green, of the Burma Rifles, informs me by letter that he has found this type of trap among most of the tribes occupying the Salween–Irrawadi Divide, through the "Triangle" of Northern Burma and as far as the Northern Shan States. I am awaiting further details and specimens from him.

The Minankabau Malays of West-Central Sumatra can be added to those peoples in the island to whom I have previously referred as users of this type of trap (Krämer, "West Indonesian," 1927, pl. XXIII, Fig. 14.) Their trap is a very loosely constructed one composed of *calamus* rachides fastened together, resembling Fig. 7 of my paper (from N.E. British New Guinea). In the Ethnographical Museum at Leiden, I saw two of these traps of different types from Java, one built up from *calamus* rachides only, as the last mentioned, the other having the cone made from split bamboo, each ray being lined with a *calamus* midrib (the type closely resembling that shown in Fig. 5 of my paper, from North Arakan). From Banka thorn-lined eel-traps are mentioned in the "Katalog des "Ethnograph. Reichs-Museums," Leiden, vol. iv, p. 134.

From New Guinea come some additional references. Mr. E. W. P. Chinnery saw thorn-lined traps used on Morigia Island, in the estuary of the Turama River and also on the Sepik River (MAN, 1926, No. 35; and "Anthropological Report, Territory of New Guinea," No. 1, p. 42). Mr. Gregory Bateson tells me that he also has noticed these traps on the Sepik River. Mr. A. P. Lyons (*J.R.A.I.*, lvi, 1926, p. 341) describes them from the Gogodara tribe of the lower Fly River, on the left bank above Kiwai and Purutu Islands.

The above-mentioned references, obtained since my former paper was written, help to extend the known range of thorn-beset traps and to fill up some gaps in the continuity of their dispersal between the area north of the Brahmaputra, at one end of the dispersal-range, and the Santa Cruz group in Melanesia, at the other end. The traps of this type, lined with *calamus* rachides, occurring within this area of distribution are clearly related to one another and referable to a common origin, although the actual place of origin of the prototype is at present unknown.

I am now able to extend the dispersal of thorn-lined traps into a new and somewhat unexpected region. Through the kindness of Dr. E. E. Evans-Pritchard I have received three examples of such traps, collected by him from among the Azande of the Welle district in the Eastern Sudan. Dr. Evans-Pritchard, in his paper on the Bongo ("Sudan Notes and Records," XII, 1929, p. 50) had briefly referred to mouse-traps of this type as "made by Azande children who barb them with thorns facing inwards, so that the mice cannot back outwards again." The specimens given to me by him (and here shown in Plate C, Figs. 1, 2, 3) consist of long, narrow tubes of openwork basketry, tapering gradually from the open mouth to the apex, and vary from 56 cm. to 65 cm. in length. For their construction, eight long strips of split cane are tightly bound together at one end, to form the closed apex of the trap. From this point the strips extend in nearly parallel, though slightly diverging, series to the full length of the trap-to-be, to the point where the open mouth will be formed. They are then doubled back, alternately to the right and the left, the two series being wound spirally round the longitudinal framework in opposite directions, forming double diagonal "wefts," of which one series passes over the other and under the "warp"-strands, while the other series reverses this process. The net result is a strong, firm, tapering textile tube of very loose texture, but remarkably rigid, with the apical end closed and the other end wide open. The chief point of interest lies in the fact that *along the inside of each tube are attached three thorn-bearing twigs* from a tree which I have not yet identified. The thorns stand well out from the twigs and are strongly curved. The twigs are set so that the points of the thorns are directed toward the apex of the tube. A small animal, such as a rat can easily enter the trap, the recurved thorns offering no opposition, but any attempt to back out again is prevented by encountering the points of the thorns.

A comparison of these Azande rat-traps with the similarly thorn-lined traps of the Indonesio-Melanesian area, figured in my former paper, reveals a very striking resemblance to the traps (shown in MAN, 1925, 21, Plate C, Fig. 3) obtained from the Konyak Nagas of Shiong, Naga Hills, Assam. The shape is the same and the structure, while not absolutely identical, is strikingly similar. It is interesting to note that both the Konyak and the Azande traps are used for catching rats. The only essential difference between the two is seen in the kind of thorn employed—the grapnel-like *calamus* rachides of the Assamese trap, as compared with the thorny twigs of a tree or bush, of the Sudanese type. The *Calamus* climbing palm is abundant in central Equatorial Africa and its midribs could easily have been employed for this purpose. They are, moreover, rather more effective as trap-barbs than the thorny twigs used by the Azande.

The occurrence in the Eastern Sudan of traps practically identical in form and mechanism with those so widely diffused in the Indo-Malayo-Melanesian area, causes one to wonder whether the former are morphologically related to the latter and are referable to a common prototype, in spite of the very wide gap which exists between the two areas of dispersal. Such connection is possible and may be established when the full dispersal of this type of trap becomes known. It is very desirable to ascertain its range of dispersal in Africa, and to know whether it occurs (as an Indonesian culture-element) in Madagascar, whence it might have spread to the mainland. Further information and specimens will be greatly welcomed. At present the known evidence hardly justifies our assuming a relationship and it may be well to keep an open mind as to the possibility of an independent origin for the traps in the two widely-disconnected areas. It is by no means incredible that the employment of recurved thorns as a means of enforcing "one way traffic" in traps, might have been *independently* invented, and, since the long, narrow tapering, tubular form of trap is obviously the most effective type for use with this accessory, "convergence" in general shape might be expected among peoples already accustomed to making traps in basketry. A form of tubular basket-work trap, closely resembling those I have described, though differing in its action, is widely dispersed in tropical Africa, as is indicated in Professor Gerhard Lindblom's interesting treatise, "Jakt- och Fångstmetoder" bland Afrikanska Folk," Part 2, 1926, pp. 49–53, and Fig. 29. Two such traps obtained from the Azande and sent to me by Dr. Evans-Pritchard with the three already referred to, are shown in Figs. 4 and 5, on plate C. Their structural and general resemblance to the Azande thorn-lined traps (Figs. 1, 2, 3) is striking and their rat-catching function is the same. Their mode of operation is however, different. Instead of the tubes being rigid and dependent upon thorn-barbs for preventing egress, these traps are flexible and springy and can readily be shortened and widened or lengthened

and narrowed. A rat on entering the open mouth of the trap and pushing its way up the tube, causes the latter to shorten and expand in width, thus facilitating ingress: but an attempt to back out causes tension and tends to stretch the tube and reduce its width, the animal becoming tightly gripped by the narrowing and constricting framework. Egress is further impeded by the unsplit ends of the cane strands which are doubled back at the mouth of the trap and after being interwoven for a short distance from the mouth project as flexible converging points inside the tube, easily pushed apart during ingress, but closing in behind the animal and preventing retreat backwards. The longitudinally re-entrant cane points render the open end of the trap rigid, while the rest of the tube is flexible.

A variant of this type of rat-trap is described and figured by Dr. F. Fülleborn ("Deutsch-Ost-Afrika," IX, 1906, p. 526, and Atlas, plate CIX, Fig. 14). It was collected at Ubena, in southern Tanganyikaland. From the photograph we may infer that the tubular basketry trap is flexible and contractile, like those just described, but the opening is wider and is stiffened by a stout ring of cane, through which are fixed spikes of cane (or, possibly, acacia thorns) to furnish a converging barrier of points, which, while admitting an intruder, effectively prevent its escape.

These contractile tubular traps appear to be peculiar to the African Negro (v. Lindblom, *op. cit.*, p. 139), and it seems the more likely, therefore, that the completely rigid Azande type, with its lining of thorn-bearing twigs, may be merely an indigenous variant of the more widely dispersed flexible or partly-rigid traps, in which the converging spikes seen in some of the latter have been replaced by thorny twigs performing the same function. If these Azande thorn-lined traps were evolved indigenously, their striking resemblance to some traps from the Naga Hills and elsewhere in the oriental region, must be due to *convergence* and not to phylogenetic relationship. It is to be hoped that the question may be decided by further investigation. At present it can only be suggested that a polygenetic origin is indicated by the evidence so far obtainable. HENRY BALFOUR.

Religion. **Hocart.**

Natural and Supernatural. *By A. M. Hocart, M.A.*

Dr. F. R. Lehmann in his "Mana," takes me to task for ascribing* to those South Sea Islanders among whom I lived, a belief in the supernatural. He says: "We must be quite **78** "clear in our minds that our European concept of the supernatural is foreign to primitive peoples" (p. 65). Dr. Lehmann offers no proof of this proposition, nor refers to any publication in which proof is given. Apparently anthropologists are satisfied—

(1) that "primitives" cannot distinguish between natural and supernatural;

(2) that the Eddystone Islanders, Fijians and Wallis Islanders are "primitive."

Therefore it follows as the night the day that Eddystone Islanders, Fijians and Wallis Islanders cannot distinguish between natural and supernatural.—Q.E.D.

For those who prefer basing their theories on the facts, to forcing the facts to fit the theories, I will set down some of the evidence supplied by the people themselves.

A.—Eddystone Island.

1. In the case of spirits they use the word *mana*, when a thing comes to pass. For men they use *sosoto*, "true," "right."

Here I may be allowed a digression on Dr. Röhr's criticism in "Anthropos," XIV, p. 123. He says that in giving to *mana* the meaning "true," I have apparently allowed myself to be led astray by the English "to come true." Dr. Röhr has himself been misled by my quoting *one* definition in pidjin into the inference that all the native definitions were in English. The word given as the human equivalent of the ghostly *mana* was the vernacular *sosoto*, which does mean "true," "truth" speaking," "correct." Not one of my Fijian, Samoan, or Uvean witnesses knew a word of English, and all their answers were recorded *verbatim* on the spot in the vernacular. In Fiji *ndina*, true, is constantly used as the equivalent of *mana* (though the converse does not hold good), and is associated with it in formulæ that go back before the appearance of the European on the scene. After all the

* "Mana," Man, 1914, 46.

use of the same word to express truth and fulfilment is not peculiar to the Pacific. The same is true of the Sanskrit *satya*, and the reader may amuse himself looking up the passages referred to in Grassman's "Wörterbuch zum Rigveda." It is hardly likely that the Vedic bards were misled by the English.*

We note then that the Eddystonians are quite clear in their minds that there is a distinction to be drawn between fulfilment of a mere man's words and fulfilment of the words of a spirit, or its equivalent. We shall have to note this opposition over and over again.

2. When the old souls of the dead come to fetch away the newly dead they cover several days' journey in a few hours. When I objected it was impossibly fast, the answer was: "They are spirits, "not men." (*J.R.A.I.*, 1922, p. 94.)

Here again we have the opposition between what is humanly possible, and what is possible only to beings who are continually contrasted with men. It would be convenient to call them supernatural beings, but Dr. Lehmann forbids.

B.—Fiji.

1. When a very intelligent boy was told (in Fijian) how sucker fish were used to catch turtle, he gave it as his opinion (in Fijian) that this was spirit work, because if the fish sought out the turtle that fish must be a spirit (*tevoro*), for to a spirit all things are easy. True a horse is obedient to the will of man, but the horse is a man-like animal: but if you catch fish and let it go again will it perchance know you again?

In other words, he considered that for a horse to obey man was perfectly . . .: I was going to say "natural," but Dr. Lehmann will not let me. Anyhow you know what I mean. For a fish to obey man was on the contrary quite un you know what. Therefore some (I should like to say "supernatural" agency, but will refrain), some agency out of the ordinary (shall we say?) must be postulated to explain the fish's behaviour.

2. The same idea appears in the following conversation (in Fijian) with the same boy. He said he had seen a dog one night: it was not the Assistant Master's dog; the dog barked three times and then the moon rose: it must have been a spirit dog. "How do you know?" I asked. "Because "there are no dogs here except the Assistant Master's."—"One may have come up from the village." "—They only come up from the village when following their masters."—"But I have seen many "dogs about at night after rubbish."—"But a human (*sic*) dog could not calculate his bark so that "when he had barked three times he should be all lighted up by the moon."—"How do you know "he calculated it? It might be mere coincidence."—"He must have been a spirit because he only "barked in a subdued way, not fully." And so on.

A dog barking required no further explanation: but that a dog should time his bark in that way could not be explained on any nat. . . ., I beg your pardon, on any principle that was not out of the routine (will that do?). The agency of spirits had to be called in.

For further examples on those lines I will refer the reader to my "Lau Islands," pp. 186*ff.* (Honolulu, 1929).

3. Fijians were firmly convinced that our circuses were a matter of "water sprites" ("Lau "Islands," p. 201). The tricks performed seemed inexplicable to them unless the agency of superhuman beings was supposed.

4. The bow was called a *ndakai*. When they became acquainted with the musket they called it *ndakai kalou*, that is literally spirit-bow. One might render it "magical bow," only that conceals the agency of spirits implied in *kalou*. It was a bow which did not act in the ordinary way, but could only be accounted for by the intervention of spirits.

5. When a man plucked fruit there was no question of *mana*; nor was there when fruit was shaken off by the wind, or dropped from ripeness: but when the Lord of Verata made fruit drop by merely looking at it, he was said to do *mana*. The whole point is that the Lord of Verata did not bring the fruit down by any natural means. Good gracious! I have done it again! Yet I cannot get on with this discussion unless I am allowed to choose my own words. After all there can be no harm

* Compare "Mana Again" in Man, 1922, 79.

as long as facts and comments upon them are kept strictly apart, so that the reader can judge for himself how far one justifies the other.

It is just one of Dr. Lehmann's merits that he does keep his facts and opinions separate (an exceedingly rare virtue among anthropologists), so that one can disagree with him on his own evidence. He himself provides a beautiful example of the antithesis between *mana* and natural on p. 37 of his book. An inhabitant of Mota* thus describes his first impression on seeing a sailing ship: "I saw "a steersman with a rudder. Therefore I thought the man's word had *mana*, and he had commanded "the ship to sail, and the ship obeyed, and I saw the ship straightaway sail." Had he seen someone pushing he would not have postulated *mana*. When he realized it was the wind he ceased to postulate *mana*. *Mana* was only postulated while it seemed the steersman was acting at a distance without any physical contact. Where there is a recognized physical cause there is no question of *mana*; for Fijians, at least, can think in terms of pure physics as will be seen in my "Lau Islands," p. 102. In such cases there is not a word about *mana* (*Cf.* MAN, 1931, 277).

I do not know how we are going to sum up the fundamental contrast Fijians make between human and *kalou* or spiritual, between *mana* and ordinary, except by using the words natural and supernatural. Perhaps Dr. Lehmann will suggest something better.

Of course those words carry with them implications which are not in the mind of any South Sea Islander, and *mana* has associations not contained in our "supernatural": but that applies to any word of ours by which we may try and translate any word of theirs. Our words death, god, spirit, chief, rule, prayer, feast, etc., etc., do not mean the same as Fijian *mate*, *vū*, *kalou*, *turaga*, *lewā*, *masu*, *mañiti*, etc. We have to translate them somehow, and our translations are only approximations. The alternative would be to discuss all native beliefs in the vernacular, which is obviously impossible. Therefore we can only take the native term, paraphrase it, give examples in support, then decide what is the nearest equivalent by which we will translate it. The important thing to aim at is that the ideas covered by our word and by the word we are translating should be genetically one. Our God and the Fijian *vū* may now differ *toto caelo*, but I am confident they are derived from the same remote original. In the same way our distinction between "natural" and "supernatural" may not be quite the same as the Fijian distinction between *tamata* and *kalou*, *wale* and *mana*, but there is no reason to doubt that they are genetically the same, and it is a good working hypothesis that they are the same in this case.

A. M. HOCART.

Britain: Palæolithic. **Reid Moir.**

A Primitive Transitional Hand-Axe from beneath the Red Crag. *By J. Reid Moir.*

79 Though many years' researches have established that the outstanding type of implement found in the Suffolk Bone Bed, beneath the Red Crag, is the rostro-carinate, and that the development of this artifact into the hand-axe took place in Early Chellean times, yet there is now in existence certain evidence to show that the hand-axe was not unknown in pre-Crag days. The specimens upon which this conclusion is based are, as would be expected, of considerable rarity, but their significance is much greater than their numbers. Some years ago, an implement which can only be described as a "hand-axe" (this term, like so many others in use in prehistoric archæology, is, of course, scientifically inadequate, but most people, nevertheless, know what it connotes), was found in the Suffolk Bone Bed beneath the Red Crag at Bramford, near Ipswich. The specimen, which is preserved in the Ipswich Museum, was described and figured in *Proceedings*, Prehistoric Society of East Anglia, Vol. III, part III, pp. 389–430, Fig. 42. At a later date, Mr. J. E. Sainty discovered in the Stone Bed underlying the Norwich Crag at Thorpe, Norfolk, another implement which, like the Bramford example, is entitled to the designation "hand-axe." The Thorpe specimen forms part of the Stone Age collections in the Castle Museum, Norwich, and its illustration, and description, appeared also in *Proceedings*, Prehistoric Society of East Anglia, Vol. VI, part III, pp. 222–225, Figs. 1, 2, 3 and 4. I now wish to draw attention to a third example, which takes the form of a primitive transitional hand-axe of rostroid type, which was found by my

* Mota is in the Banks Islands, not in the Solomons, as Dr. Lehmann has it.

DESCRIPTION OF IMPLEMENT DESCRIBED AND FIGURED IN THIS NOTE.

Type, primitive, rostroid, hand-axe; colour of flaked surfaces, dark, mahogany brown, with lighter areas; cortex mostly whitish, with parts of a greenish shade; condition, somewhat abraded, a few weathered-out striations and some incipient cones of percussion; greatest length $4\frac{7}{16}$ in.; greatest width $2\frac{5}{16}$ in.; greatest thickness 2 in.; approximate weight $12\frac{1}{2}$ oz. The specimen is deposited in the Ipswich Museum where it can be examined.



FIG. 1.—LEFT LATERAL SURFACE OF PRIMITIVE ROSTROID HAND-AXE FROM BENEATH THE RED CRAG IN BOLTON & CO.'S BRICKFIELD, IPSWICH

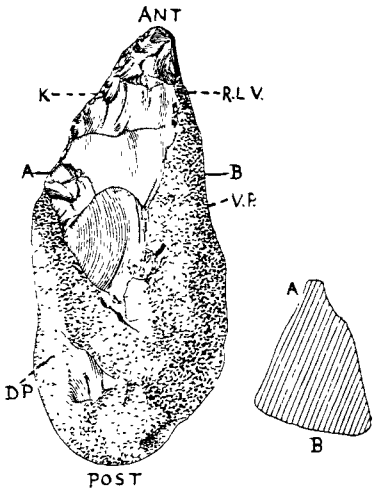


FIG. 2.—RIGHT LATERAL SURFACE OF PRIMITIVE ROSTROID HAND-AXE (*with section*) FROM BENEATH THE RED CRAG IN BOLTON & CO.'S BRICKFIELD, IPSWICH.

These figures are half-scale.

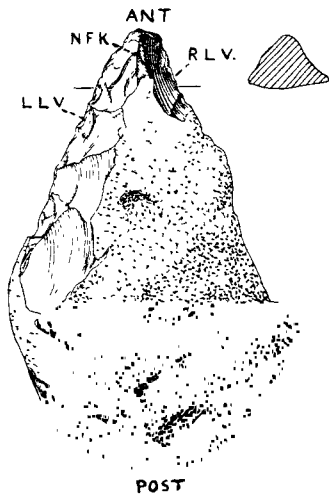


FIG. 3. — VIEW AND SECTION OF SPECIMEN, ILLUSTRATED IN FIGS. 1 AND 2 (*showing Primitive Hand-Axe aspect*), OF IMPLEMENT FOUND BENEATH THE RED CRAG IN BOLTON & CO.'S BRICKFIELD, IPSWICH.

ANT = Anterior region. POST = Posterior region. K = Keel. NFK = Non-functional keel. DP = Dorsal platform. VP = Ventral platform. LLV = Left latero-ventral edge. RLV = Right latero-ventral edge.

excavator Baxter, in December 1931, in the Suffolk Bone Bed beneath the decalcified Red Crag in Messrs. Bolton & Co.'s brickfield, Ipswich. The section at this place is composed, in ascending order, of the following beds:—

(1) London Clay.
(2) Suffolk Bone Bed, to 18 in.
(3) Cross-bedded Crag Sand, to 20 ft.
(4) Stratified Gravel, to 4 ft.
(5) Upper Chalky Boulder Clay, to 7 ft.
(6) Surface Soil, to 6 in.

I have already described* the manner in which the earliest hand-axes were developed from the ancestral rostro-carinates, and how some of these transitional specimens exhibit, in a remarkable, and highly illuminating manner, certain of the characteristics of both types of implements. The hand-axe to which this note refers is a noteworthy example of a transitional, rostroid specimen, and, like so many others which have now been found over wide areas of the earth's surface, can be so posed as to resemble, in one aspect, a rostro-carinate, and in another a primitive hand-axe. That this is the case in the implement under discussion can be seen by examining Figs. 1 and 2 which show either side of the rostro-carinate profile, and by Fig. 3 which exhibits the profile of a primitive hand-axe. The latter aspect can be observed by rotating the specimen from right to left, from the position shown in Fig. 2. When this is done, the keel of the rostro-carinate (Fig. 2) becomes the left latero-ventral edge of the hand-axe (Fig. 3), while the left latero-ventral edge of the rostro-carinate becomes the right latero-ventral edge of the hand-axe (Fig. 3). The left lateral surface of the hand-axe (Fig. 1) also becomes the ventral surface of the hand-axe, and the latter assumes a definite batiform type in which the section is a low triangle, though the keel, as represented by the apex of the triangle, has ceased to be functional. There cannot, therefore, be any doubt as to the intimate association, in this one implement, of the clearly-defined characteristics of both the rostro-carinate and the hand-axe, and there would seem no escape from the conclusion that a skilful and

* *Phil. Trans.* B. 1919: *Journ. Roy. Anthrop. Inst.*, Vol. LX, July–December, 1930.

thinking brain was possessed by the individual who flaked the specimen. This is, so far as my knowledge extends, the first example of a transitional, rostroid, hand-axe found beneath the Red Crag, and, though considerably more primitive than the majority of such specimens discovered in later deposits, this implement demonstrates, as do the others mentioned in this note, that what may be termed the "hand-axe idea" was already present in the human mind in pre-Crag times. The excellent drawings of the specimen have been prepared by Mr. C. O. Waterhouse, of the British Museum.

J. REID MOIR.

Egypt. **Perkins.**

Marriage Ceremony in Lower Egypt. *By Miss E. E. Perkins, Cairo.*

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From 1919 to 1925 I spent six very interesting years as sub-directress of the girls' section of the juvenile reformatories at Gizeh. These reformatories come under the Prisons Administration, and, they being the only institutions of the kind in the country, minors from all the Provinces are sent there for detention by the juvenile courts. The circumstances under which they were placed, and my position, obliged the parents or guardians of the children to be more frank with me on the subject of their customs than is usual when speaking to Europeans. Occasionally the fact that some were orphans obliged us to interfere with their private affairs after release. This was the case with a Beduin girl who refused to return to her uncle's house, where she had been ill-treated before her sentence. The dilemma of what to do with a girl whose term of imprisonment was finished and who refused to leave the reformatory was happily solved by one of the warders of the boys' section coming forward and asking for her in marriage. He had discovered that she was of the same tribe as himself and knew of her good record in the reformatory.

The dowry was discussed and settled at £15, ten of which were to be spent on household goods and five to be reserved in case of divorce. A senior wardress saw to the purchase of what is considered the minimum of furniture for such a household, an iron four-poster bed, a chest of drawers, a straw mat, a cotton quilt, some kitchen utensils and a large wooden chest, which is used as a trunk when travelling. Her betrothed provided a pair of shoes, a pair of slippers and a bottle of scent as a gift, and, as custom demands the bride to be in possession of some gold jewellery, the only form of banking account that is understood, the staff subscribed for a gold necklace.

The contract was written, the Director, a Mohammedan, standing as *Wakil* to the girl, his duty being to see that the terms of the contract were carried out, and, in case of divorce or disagreements, to assist her in whatever way necessary. A week later was settled for the *dakhla* or consummation of the marriage. It then appeared that as the girl was a Beduin and marrying without the consent of her tribe, the wardresses, all fellahin, felt very reluctant to stand proxy for an absent female relation. To put an end to the gossiping which became rife about Beduin revenges, I, quite unwitting of what was expected of me, said that I would be proxy for her myself.

A day before the final ceremony the hospital wardress asked me for some sugar and a lemon with which to make a depilatory for the bride. I went to see how she would do it with these ingredients. She made a sticky kind of toffee, cooled it on a marble slab, and taking a piece about half an inch thick and big enough to cover one cheek, pressed it quickly with an upward movement against the girl's face and drew it sharply away. The whole face, including the forehead up to the eyebrows, was treated in the same manner, as were the arms and apices of the body. I learned that most married women of the poorer classes use this depilatory; some, however, use mastic, and others who have not much hair on their bodies simply grind a little of the soft stone used in polishing knives into a powder, rub their finger-tips in it and pull the hair out, the gritty surface preventing it from slipping. Before going to bed the girl's hands and feet were bound up with henna in preparation for the wedding next day.

The next day, after lunch, cosmetics were so generously applied as to make the girl unrecognizable, and later in the afternoon the bridegroom and his friends arrived with a taxi to take us to his house in the village. The bride, who previously had hardly been able to control her delight at the prospect of marriage, now burst unexpectedly into loud sobs and even tears, clinging to the door and refusing to leave the reformatory. The wardresses, in tones that could reach the little group waiting at the

gate, exhorted her to resignation, and for the first time I realized that in these ceremonies the attitude of the bridegroom's family is one of guarded suspicion which it behoves that of the bride to dispel. Quite a quarter of an hour was spent in a pretence of being unable to tear the girl's hands away from the door, but finally we started off, the bridegroom and his friends following on foot.

We were shown into a small room crowded with an incredible number of women and children, and installed on a sofa opposite the door, the bride in the centre, our senior wardress and myself on either side. An ordinary native drum (*tabla*) was produced and passed from hand to hand, accompanying the conventional bridal songs, which grew more unrestrained as the evening wore on. Very much in evidence was an old harpy, the *belana*, or village midwife, excelling in Rabelasian jests with appropriate pantomime. In the street below, male guests were being entertained with dronings from the Koran. Undoubtedly the women have a more amusing time at weddings: their jests, though of a rather robust nature, are not lacking in humour, and all join heartily in the fun except the bride, whom convention obliges to sit with downcast eyes and expressionless face throughout the whole ceremony. To prevent any ill-disposed person from casting an evil spell upon her, we carefully lied with regard to her name, that of her mother and father, place of birth, etc. We had previously arranged this among ourselves in order to make our stories tally. Most people keep the real name of their children secret from the time of their birth, for fear of some such happening—a habit which caused endless legal difficulties in the reformatory. Half-way through the evening the bride changed her pink dress for a white one, and finally, at about eleven o'clock, the wedding procession began.

I did not think it were possible to take so long a time to cross one small room and enter another. The senior wardress and I supported the bride on either side by her arms: four other women, two carrying posies and two lighted tapers, stood beside us, while the *belana* stood before her with a tambourine (*tar*), which she flourished and beat like one possessed. As many women as could crowded before us, moving backwards as we advanced and all singing the *dahkla* song: *Arousitna, wa mafih wahida zeiaha abadan, abadan* ("there never was a bride like ours"—or words to that effect!). At the bedroom door all retired except the *belana*, two women representing the bridegroom's family, the senior wardress and myself representing that of the bride. Jesting ceased and we looked at each other antagonistically. The senior wardress started taking off the bride's dress and helping her into a clean set of underclothing and nightdress, while the bridegroom's party watched our movements with vigilant suspicion. The wardress, however, remarked loudly that we had nothing to fear: on the contrary, our faces were now about to be whitened. A veil was thrown over the girl's face, a hard sofa cushion placed on the floor against the wall, the girl's drawers unfastened, and she was seated on the cushion with her back to the wall, her murmured protests quickly quashed by the senior wardress, who exclaimed more loudly than ever that the most pleasant moment of the evening had arrived when our faces were about to be whitened. By this time, needless to say, I had realized what was meant by previous allusions to "taking the bride's face." Any objection to continue my part in the ceremony would have cast a slur on the girl I had brought up, so I squatted on the floor beside her and waited for what was to happen next. The door was opened and the bridegroom dragged in protesting, hiding his face with confusion and embarrassment. It seemed as if we were to spend the night in this manner, when the *belana* came forward, mocked him loudly for not being a man, seized his hand and, wrapping a large piece of stiffly starched butter-muslin round his first and second finger, dragged him towards the bride. At this signal one of his female representatives grasped the bride's left knee, bidding me take hold of the other. The bridegroom then, with the assistance of the *belana*, proceeded to break the hymen with his two fingers. Once this had been done, I protested that it was enough to prove her virginity, and the other woman, now all smiles, agreed; but the senior wardress indignantly refused to let it go at that, and herself unwound the butter-muslin from his fingers and repeatedly obliged him to insert it into the vagina until the whole of it was stained with blood. The unfortunate girl made remarkably little protest, and, indeed, it was astonishing how quickly the thing was done. The bridegroom then raised the veil, kissed her and retired from the room with the other woman, who showed the signs of her virginity to the people outside. I did not see what was happening there, as I was helping the poor girl to bed, but through the door I could hear all voices raised in the deafening final bridal song: "Let her father break his fast; his face is whitened!"

I was given the proof of her virginity to keep and produce in case of any discussion of the matter in the future, and was told that it is customary for the husband not to approach his wife until a week after the *dahkla*. The girl's history may be of interest.

She was admitted at the age of eleven or twelve from some village up country, accused of having stolen a donkey, and with a four-year sentence. She is a very handsome Beduin type, and did not say a word about herself—not even the usual declaration of innocence. She kept to herself, and spoke so rarely that we used to tease her and ask if she were dumb. As she was very clean and capable, also strictly honest, we had her to work in the staff rooms, taught her cooking, and finally, as she became very attached to me and kept following me about, I let her help me in the hospital, teaching her to read thermometers, write out a chart, and so on, thinking that if in the end she did not feel inclined to return to her thievish relations, I might get her into the Infectious Hospital at Abbasieh. Three months before release we habitually made inquiries about the relations of the children, and then those who did not want to return home made a declaration, and we offered them the choice of a husband or work, as they felt inclined. Hedieh still said nothing, so we found her uncles, who turned up very well dressed and armed with the certificate of good conduct in order, and so forth. The day before they came, the girl said she was ill; so as she was not the type that malingers, she was put into hospital for "rest," and consequently did not see them. She allowed her release clothes to be made, and on the day of her release dressed in them and waited in the office. On these occasions the senior staff assembles to bid the child good-bye, make trite remarks about being good, and so on. When the uncles were brought in and tried to fall upon their beloved brother's daughter's neck, Hedieh suddenly turned into a fury, gave one of them such a push as to nearly knock him down, tore off her *melayia* and veil, and said "*waddini fi gohennam, mush 'andi dul.*" Then she turned on the man and dared him to deny the truth of her story.

The story, as she told it, was this. Her uncle took her to the suk, telling her that he was going to buy a donkey: that she was to take it home, and he to stay on to get some other things. She was made to stand on the outskirts of the suk, and after some time the uncle came with a donkey, told her to get on it and ride off, which she did. Half-way back to their home she was overtaken by the Omdah (police) officials, and in the rear her uncle weeping, throwing dust on his head and crying, "Oh! my dead brother! Well that you are dead, and have not lived to see your child a "thief!" This is what seemed to rankle most: she kept repeating it, poor girl! The Omdah patted the uncle on the back, said *malesh* "no matter", made remarks about the ingratitude of orphans, and the girl was sent to the reformatory. I must say this much for the uncle: either from surprise or shame, he covered up his head in his shawl and confessed it was true, but that it was a debt that had made him do it, that he had never stolen before or after, and so on.

It is against regulations to keep prisoners after their sentence is over, but nothing would induce Hedieh to go with them. We pretended that in such cases the girls were moved straight to Cairo Prison; so she said, "Let me go, and for a life sentence, but not back with them." We got permission to keep her on for a week and tried to find some work for her, but it happened that there was no suitable house. Then Hussein, who had been with a gang of prisoners whitewashing the hospital and seen how pretty she was, found out from the uncles that they were of the same tribe, stepped forward and said that he would marry her. She had seen him too, and liked him, so all was well, but still she made us swear that none of her people would be present at the wedding. When they found this out, they at once concluded that Hussein had been her lover in the reformatory. They had hounded out all the tale of how I had her helping me in the hospital, that he had been with the whitewashing gang, seen her, and so on. They sent down two men with guns, who took up their station near Hussein's house. He did not resent it, as he had my guarantee that the girl was a virgin, and these things seem quite natural to them. But the senior wardress was much perturbed and flatly refused to have anything to do with it. Then it was that I said that I ordered her to come, and would stand proxy myself. These two men were leaning up on either side of the door, with their guns, when we entered, stopped us, and said that they were sent by the tribe to be present at the "taking "of the wish (face)." I told them to leave immediately or I would call the Omdah, and we went in, they yelling that they would shoot her if she were not a virgin, there and then, in spite of my being there. I thought it best not to have them removed by the police, as I knew that the girl was all right, and if

they did not satisfy themselves they would in the end get out of prison entirely convinced that there was something wrong, and pick her off some other time. But I thought that we were to sit in the other room and then rush in and pluck off the sheets, as in Greek peasant weddings in Turkey. As things turned out it was all right, and they burst into the room after the cloth had been presented, kissed her, and after that I do not know where they went. Even after all she had suffered at the breaking of the hymen, the girl roused up to curse them and push them off! What a curious temperament she has, to keep it all bottled up for four years, and she is one of the most quiet, good-natured creatures imaginable. The young couple are living near the Bab Zuweyla now, have two children, and we have never had to interfere in quarrellings with her husband or neighbours, as we have so often with other girls. All her hate seems to be concentrated into that one day with the donkey.

E. E. PERKINS.

Disposal of the Dead in Tibet. *By Rev. Walter Asboe, Local Correspondent of the Royal Anthropological Institute.*

81 Tibetans dispose of their dead in three ways. In order of precedence they are: 1. Chopping the body in pieces and scattering them in all directions; 2. Cremation on a funeral pyre; 3. Burying or throwing the corpse into the water.

A lama (Buddhist priest) explained to me that the first method was specially pleasing to the gods, as they relished the flavour of human flesh.

In Central Tibet there are certain people specially deputed to hack the body in pieces. Being ceremonially unclean they are never allowed within the precincts of a temple.

Burning the corpse on a funeral pyre is also considered a favourable mode of disposing of the dead, as the gods enjoy the odour arising from the body thus cremated.

The most abhorrent method of disposing of the dead, however, is held to be that of burying or casting into a river. This occurs when the deceased is of a low caste, destitute, or one who has died from a malignant or specially infectious disease.

It falls, however, to the lot of the officiating lama to decide what method should be adopted for the disposal of the deceased.

A not uncommon practice in disposing of very young children who die, as the Tibetans say, "before they have got their first teeth," is to secrete their bodies in the walls of their houses, or in a cleft of a rock. This is done in the hope that the soul of the deceased child will re-enter its mother's womb, and that its ghost will protect the inmates of the house from further molestation by evil spirits.

In Western Tibet the usual method of disposing of the deceased is by cremation.

Immediately a man dies, messengers are dispatched to call the officiating priest. No time is lost in summoning this ecclesiastic, hence the current proverb, "In securing the services of a lama, a galloping horse could not overtake him." The relations of the deceased are also hurriedly called to the house of mourning.

Waddell in his "Buddhism of Tibet," has described in detail the ceremony of extracting the soul of the dead, and his account of it is typical of the practice throughout Tibet.

No one may on any account disturb the corpse until the soul-extracting lama has entered the death chamber, and in profound meditation ascertained the future destiny of the soul.

The reason for this precaution is that any movement of the deceased may cause the soul to be ejected prematurely, and thus be exposed to the caprice of wandering demons.

It is thought that if the soul escapes through an invisible aperture in the head, from the eyes, nose, ears, or mouth, it is a favourable omen, whilst it is unfavourable if it should find vent through any other orifice of the body.

The lama having seated himself in front of the corpse, proceeds to draw up a death horoscope of the deceased; and, warning the spirit of the dangers which beset it on its course to the Western paradise, he plucks out a hair from the crown of the head, and it is supposed that a minute perforation is made, thereby liberating the spirit. This ceremony usually lasts about half an hour to an hour.

The lama next gives instructions as to the propitious moment for the transference of the corpse to the site of cremation. The body is burnt from one to three days after death.

In the meanwhile a few men from the village mount guard on the corpse lest it should be disturbed in any way. They make doubly sure of this by tying it in a sitting posture with a white scarf already blessed by the clergy.

In Ladakh it is customary to break the back of the corpse, this office being performed by the nearest relatives.

During the lying-in-state period, food and beer are placed before the deceased, and much feasting goes on in which both laity and clergy participate. As this orgy of feasting proceeds, the clergy are busily employed saying masses for the departed. Waddell very properly says that this ceremony is suggestive of an Irish Wake.

At the appointed time the body is carried on a litter or chair to the cremating ground to the accompaniment of much drumming.

One frequently sees the curious spectacle of a lama leading the corpse by a white scarf to guide it to the Western paradise. A deceased lama, however, does not require this assistance as he is supposed to be familiar with the path to be traversed after death.

On arrival at the funeral pyre, the body, covered with a white cloth, is laid upon the logs (and in Ladakh inside a specially constructed earthen oven), the officiating lama feeding the flames with rancid butter or mustard oil applied on a long-handled temple ladle.

When the body is burnt, the ashes are collected and an effigy of the deceased is made and suitably adorned with clothes and ornaments. It is then mounted on a pony and conveyed to the confluence of two rivers where the ashes are thrown into the water. It is thought that the water will carry them to the sacred river of the Ganges.

In other parts of the country the ashes of the deceased are deposited in a *chorten* (a cenotaph of mud and stone in the shape of a stupa) erected over the site of cremation.

When a death occurs, the surviving relation is regarded as ceremonially unclean. If she be a surviving wife, the custom observed in Manchat is that she must wear her clothes back to front, unplait her hair, discard every safety-pin or button used to keep her clothes together, and substitute pieces of stick for all fastenings. She is not permitted to approach the family hearth, and when eating food she must use a stick instead of a spoon. Other relations of the deceased are also forbidden to eat food until the body has been burnt.

In Bunan (a district in Lahoul) the restrictions for mourners are not so severe. There the husband discards one of his ear-rings, and wears the rim of his cloth cap turned down over his ears, whilst a surviving wife takes off the gold petals from her silver head-cup.

Funeral ceremonies in Tibet entail a great deal of expense, as a large body of lamas have to be entertained. Not less expensive are the feasts which have to be given to the members of the community.

The first feast is given on the day of the funeral, followed a week after by another.

At the expiration of the forty-nine days after death when the soul is free to roam about, yet another free distribution of food and beer is made by the surviving relatives.

It is also customary to feed the community before the threshing period subsequent to a death, and again at the end of the New Year festival.

At the anniversary of a death the ceremony of *gay-wa* (virtue) is performed, when the community is feasted on a very large scale. This last ceremony is considered of special importance, as this meritorious deed is supposed to secure for the soul of the departed a good rebirth in the six regions of rebirth.

WALTER ASBOE.

Burma. **Cooper Clark.**

Burmese Tatu. *By J. Cooper Clark.*

The following notes were gathered from a Burman on the passage up the Irrawaddy from Rangoon to Thayetmyo and deal with the application and design adopted by the natives of this district when they are tatued. **82**

The ink is obtained from the lamp-black[1] of sesame-oil[2], or kerosene, water[3] being added as required and contained in a small wooden pot. It is applied with needles in a group of eight, six

[1] kyat-kho'. [2] hnan-tshee. [3] yā.

or two. The instrument[1] is a hollow tube about two feet long into which is fitted the *yat* or punch (Fig. 1) of solid metal 14 cm. in length and 3·5 cm. in circumference at its widest part, the pointed



FIG. 1.—BURMESE TATUING NEEDLE. *Full size.*

end being slit up 8 cm. into one double and one single groove at right angles so as to form six points or needles which retain the colouring matter and when not in use is protected by a tin sheath. For certain designs red ochre is used.



FIG. 2.—BURMAN TATUED.

The part of the body tatued—to which all males submit—is from the waist, in line with the navel, downwards to just below the knee-cap (Fig. 2). Women only have red spots put on their necks as beauty marks. The operation may be completed in two stages, one thigh being done from 6 a.m. to 2 p.m. and after four days the other, but as the operation is very painful, especially the tender parts inside the thigh, the boy, who is only six years of age when the operation is performed, is given opium and for this reason seldom more than three or four figures are done at a time. When finished the design in general emphasizes and enhances the natural features and contours of the body and gives the impression that the individual is wearing skin-tight silk shorts. A similar remark has been made about the Gambier Islanders whose tatuing from loins to ankles with small lines was likened to pantaloons.

The designs are conventional but always contain a demon (*bulu*) in red (Fig. 3) on the right thigh (*poung*) against snake bites and the dangers of the jungle, and a cat (*kyaung*) in order that the man may have the agility of that animal (Fig. 4). Another animal frequently chosen is the dragon (*nagā*) (Fig. 5). These are arranged in a vertical series of oval medallions (Fig. 6) beginning from the thigh-bone downwards and ending in a "frill" below the knee, each loop of which contains a quail-like bird (Fig. 7). These designs are first sketched in with an ordinary paint-brush, or stamped on with a wooden block having the desired pattern, and are not copied from any carved figures or personal ornaments.

Sir George Scott in "The Burman," p. 39, says—"The origin of the custom may or may "not be the shameful reason assigned by foreign writers. No true Burman believes it. But in any "case the tattooing looks very well on the olive skin, and I have heard English ladies admire it. "The custom will probably never die out."

[1] tsŏk.



FIG. 3.—BULU DEMON.



FIG. 4.—CAT DEMON.

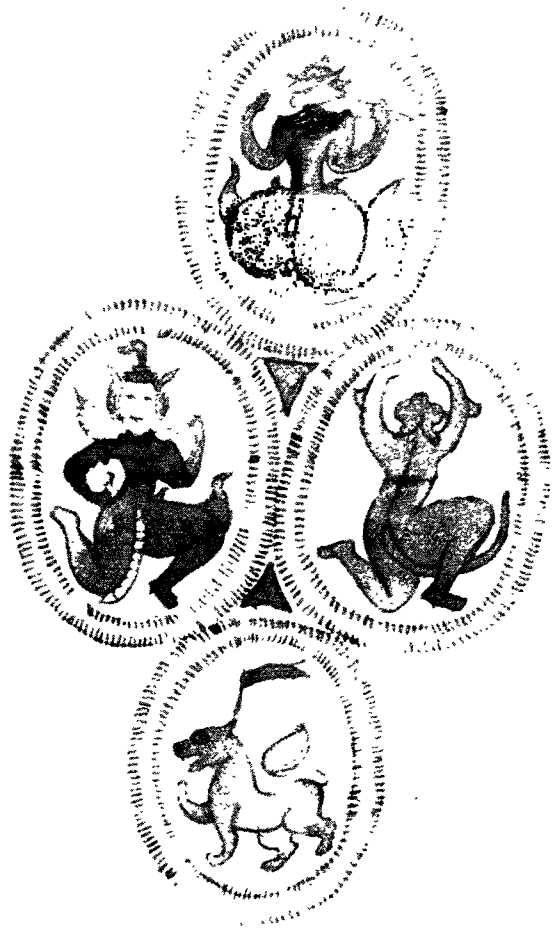


FIG. 6.—DEMONS IN MEDALLIONS, TATUED ON THE THIGH.



FIG. 5.—DRAGON DEMON.

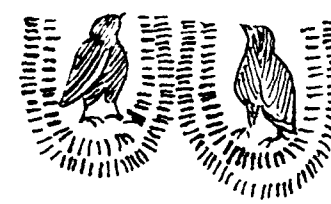


FIG. 7.—BIRDS IN LOOPS, TATUED BELOW THE KNEE.

My informant said that the tatuing (*hto°-kweng°*) of every male in this manner was ordered by King Babia so that a man might be recognized at a distance when he wore a *pu-hso°* or loin cloth.

J. COOPER CLARK.

Papua. **Christian.**

A New Musical Instrument from Papua. *By Geoffrey Christian.*

83 A peculiar type of musical instrument is used by the natives of the Upper Purari river, calling themselves the Menada Kukukuku.

My first sight of these instruments was in a large tree-house some 30 miles above what I believe are known as the Bwano rapids, on the Purari river. I then wondered what was the purpose of the large polished wooden disks, about 3 inches thick and 3 to 4 feet in diameter (one or two were even larger). Evidently each was a section cut with adzes from some large hardwood tree after it had been felled: an enormous labour, when the extreme hardness of the wood and the very primitive tools employed are taken into consideration. Being unable to talk their language or they ours (the coast Motuan generally employed in Papua), I could not find out the use of these objects until some time later, when I came upon some similar disks in a very big tree-house some considerable distance further inland. I then had with me a local native, by name Omaka, who in some miraculous way had mastered Motu by means of signs, etc., and a word or two here and there, when talking to the carriers, so that I was able to discover what these disks were.

It appears that they were used during the dances, which seemed to coincide with the full moon and to last from 10 to 16 days. During this time the men, who occupy the upper floor of the two-storey houses, eat little, but drink vast quantities of water, conveyed to them through long sections of bamboo (from 10–15 feet) which line the walls of the house like hot-water-pipes in one of our own houses. Five or six of the men sit around in a circle and balance the disks either on their toes or on their knees. Each man lifts his diaphragm, and the edge of the disk is thrust deeply into the pit of the stomach: all then depress their diaphragms on to the upper surface of the circumference of the disk and open their mouths. An old man then takes a stone-headed hammer and gently hits the centre of the disk. The sound appears to reverberate from the distended lungs, and issues forth from the mouths of the seated men: the effect is a deep booming sound, similar to the sound of the big skin-headed drums of other parts.

This may seem hardly credible, but I heard and saw a demonstration, given for my benefit by four of the Kukukuku, with Omaka beating the centre of the disk. GEOFFREY CHRISTIAN.

ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE: PROCEEDINGS.

Ordinary Meetings of the Institute.

Excavations at Thermi in Lesbos. *Summary of a Communication presented by Miss Winifred Lamb, F.S.A., 9 February,* 1932.

84 The excavation of Thermi is so nearly complete that we can give a coherent account of the development of its five successive towns and, with their help, reconstruct the history of the Troadic peoples in the Early Bronze Age (till about 2000 B.C.). Thermi I and II, contemporary, as far as we can judge, with Troy I and Protesilaos I, were built on a more or less radiating plan, with the long narrow Anatolian house as the predominant but not the universal type. Two copper pins decorated with birds are paralleled by the pins from Chalandriani in the Cyclades; other objects testify to trade with the Cyclades and with Asia Minor; a terracotta head with animals' ears recalls Cycladic style, but suggests alien beliefs.

Thermi III may have flourished at the same time as Protesilaos II *a* or *b*, Yortan, and Senirdje, during the interlude between Troy I and II. The *bothroi*, typical of this stage of the settlement, are proved by their pottery to be earlier than those of Greece and Macedonia.

Thermi IV–V, differently oriented and differently planned to their predecessors, are contemporary with the earlier stages of Troy II: with Bos Euyuk, Protesilaos III, and the spread of Troadic influence over the North-West Ægean. Town V possesses the foundations of a town wall, and contains a house with antæ. This house is in many ways like the megaron of Troy II, but cannot be called a true megaron because it is not isolated, and because its hearth is not central.

The break which occurs in the Troadic or Anatolian culture after the desertion of Thermi V and the destruction of Troy II is all the more complete because the settlements we know best do not survive it. Certain material from Schliemann's unpublished sites in the Troad, indicating possible lines of enquiry, must be discussed: but further excavation alone can decide whether the curious pottery from Besika Tepe represents foreign influence or an earlier date, and what links the more unconventional wares from Hanai Tepe to those of Troy.

The final phase of this culture is characterized by the fully developed grey wares of Troy VI. Concerning the problems presented by their curious peculiarities, their long pedigree and remarkable descendants, fresh evidence is given by sites like Hanai Tepe and Bali Dagh in the Troad; and by four sites in Lesbos: Antissa, Methymna, Pyrrha, and the outer settlement at Thermi.

The Wellcome Gold Medal for Anthropological Research.

85 In MAN, 1931, 271, was announced the generous offer of Sir Henry S. Wellcome to establish a gold medal for the best anthropological research essay, together with the conditions under which the medal is to be awarded by the Royal Anthropological Institute. Essays intended for competition in 1932 must reach the office of the Institute, 52, Upper Bedford Place, W.C.1, on or before 31 March, 1932.





The gold medal, of which the obverse and reverse are reproduced above, has been designed by Mr. F. Bowcher. The likeness of Hippocrates is based on the reputed portrait-busts, of which there are casts in the British Museum and in the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum.

Social Mechanisms in Primitive Education. *Summary of a Communication presented by T. J. A. Yates, 23 February,* 1932.

86 The education a native child receives is a study which has been much neglected by anthropologists. We have consequently no precise knowledge of the process. We can, however, distinguish two types of social forces or mechanisms involved in it. There are those directly contributing to the acquisition of knowledge and of control of the environment, and to the formation of behaviour-patterns and sentiments. These include institutions such as the family, the clan, tribal organizations for administrative, military and religious purposes, which define and control

social behaviour. There are also certain social mechanisms working in a more indirect manner, but, perhaps, not the less important for that. The division of life into a series of stages each having its own ideals and standards of behaviour, privileges and duties, supplies the framework in which the directly acting influences can work. These stages are marked off from one another by ritual performances, long ago classified by van Gennep as *rites de passage*. When these ceremonies are examined from the functional point of view, we find that they are, in fact, a dramatic affirmation of the child's transition from one stage to the next, and also of the change this is presumed to effect in the child, thus imposing on him the ideals and duties of the new stage by bringing into action social expectation, with its concomitant manifestations in behaviour.

Human Biological Research Committee.

87 The first meeting of this Committee was held on 8 January, 1931, Professor Seligman presiding. Professor Elliot Smith, proposed by Sir Arthur Keith, seconded by Mr. Miles Burkitt, was elected Chairman of the Committee.

88 **Human Remains from a Rock Shelter, Matje River, Cape Province.** *Summary of a communication by Sir Arthur Keith, M.D., F.R.S., 8 January* 1931.

This series of human skulls has been excavated by Professor T. F. Dreyer from the Matje River Rock Shelter, a newly discovered prehistoric site in the Zitzikama district, on the coast of Cape Province. Professor Dreyer assigns the earliest occupation levels —amounting in depth to 14 ft.—to the Mossel Bay culture, provisionally equated with one of the later palæolithic cultures of Europe. The skulls show racial resemblances to the Boskop cranium. Three of those from the lowest strata are trigonocephalic, having a malformed frontal, compressed laterally, with a high median keel. Trigonocephaly occurs occasionally in modern white races and a tendency thereto is not uncommon among Bushmen and Hottentots who may be regarded as descendants of this prehistoric stock of South Africa. The prehistoric stock is remarkable in its tendency to produce very large-brained individuals, and also to retain infantile and juvenile characters into adult life. All the evidence at present points to South Africa as its evolutionary home.

Sociological Research Committee.

89 **The Conception of Stages in Social Evolution.** *Abstract of paper by Professor M. Ginsberg: 15 January,* 1932: *to be published in full in* MAN.

The conception of stages has been employed in five ways by anthropology and sociology, the first three of which all imply a genetic continuity.

(1) Stages as regular sequences of some form or element in culture, supposed to recur in the same order among different peoples and to describe a kind of evolutionary tendency. This may be described as a conception of unilinear recurrence. It is now generally rejected.

(2) Stages as describing general trends of social development in the culture of humanity taken as a whole. Development, though along different lines, reaches focal points of expression in different parts of the world. This stresses interconnection and continuity of history (*cf.* Comte, Hegel, Marx, Hobhouse). Despite objections raised by Troeltsch, some synthesis based on a comprehensive survey of the data of anthropology and of history and the facts of comparative psychology, must be the goal of sociological inquiry, if sociology is ever to go beyond the mere compilation of data. A study devoted to the analysis of the various factors involved and to forms of contact, together with a resultant synthesis of cultures, is manifestly of assistance even to students of European history alone.

(3) A scheme of change for one or more elements of culture confined to the history of one people or culture area (*cf.* Schmoller and Proesler). A genetic continuity is implied in most of the schemes under this head. There is a danger under this scheme of lumping all the simpler peoples together, and of assuming a causal relationship in choosing the characters which are to form the basis of classification. For instance, economic stages are often distinguished on the basis of the degree of social differentiation or political structure, an assumption which may prove erroneous. Nevertheless there is need for schemes restricted to single culture areas after the manner of Proesler's work, and if such schemes are worked out not only for economic, but for other aspects of culture as well, the correlating work of the sociologist will be facilitated and put on a securer basis.

(4) This leaves the question of genetic continuity open, and regards stages not as descriptive of actual sequences, but rather as heuristic constructions or theoretical types, useful as instruments of measurements comparison and correlation (*cf.* Max Weber and Below); a method of research which may be valuable, rather than an embodiment of evolutionary laws.

(5) A theory of *Kultur-kreise* or the stratification of different complexes of cultural elements.

What value have these conceptions to sociology? In the first place we have to discover what elements in social life are functionally related. This implies a use of the comparative method to establish associations and correlations. Then we have to ascertain whether there are any regularities in the change of institutions and whether the changes in one institution are functionally correlated with changes in other institutions or other aspects of social life. For instance, are changes in the institution of public justice correlated with changes in the economic order?

With advanced peoples, having a history, parallel changes and regularity of sequence can be estimated, but with primitive peoples this cannot be established owing to an insufficiency of data.

But association between different aspects of social life or correlations in sequences of change between them is not enough to prove causation. This is only possible if we can discover the deeper causes and can predict their continued operation under specific conditions.

Conclusion: the conception of stages of growth is still useful and necessary in sociology, and it does not commit us to any particular theory of social evolution. The tracing of sequences in orderly phases is a necessary preliminary to *any* theory of social development. There is an urgent need for the establishment of a more complete social morphology and a more refined analysis of the complex life of social institutions, in order ultimately to arrive at a causal explanation.

PROCEEDINGS OF SOCIETIES.

SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL STUDIES.

Open Public Lectures.

The Development of Native Education in Kenya. *By C. W. Hobley, C.M.G. :* 3 *February*, 1932. **90**

When British administration was established in Kenya, we established law and order whether the natives liked it or not. We often had to use force to do this, but less and less as time went on. We taught them that there was no dispute that could not be settled by conference and arbitration, and we refrained from interference with old customs and beliefs. All this can be counted as education. Meanwhile, missionaries introduced ethical education of other types, conflicting with old beliefs: settlers had educational influence of another sort; the Great War gave birth to self consciousness and a political evolution which will not be denied.

It has been suggested that the natives should be left alone. But they were left alone for many thousands of years, and they evolved a sociology of their own. This has many admirable characters; but it took them only so far and no further. In view of the inter-tribal raiding and bloodshed, cannibalism, and many other tribal amusements of only a few decades ago, would anyone wish to withdraw all the control that good government imposes?

While devoted work is done by the missions, sectarian teaching saps the whole system of tribal sanctions, and the duties which hold native society together. Religious bias in chiefs would result in unfairness in patronage.

For native rulers there should be ethical training on broad lines by the State, to develop character, civic sense, responsibility, financial probity, the spirit of service and self discipline.

Especially among Akamba and Kavirondo, where the tendency to break away from mission education was not complicated as in the Kikuyn Province by dispute about certain customs, it is a momentous sign; dominant tribes realizing that education leads to greater power and affluence. Natives ask to control their own schools, and are forming sects which try to accommodate Christian and inherited native beliefs. The lines upon which native education is to be conducted can only be settled by close co-operation with the native himself; not that he has any knowledge of the subject, but he can be led, and his advice as to whether any innovation is likely to conflict with the old order or whether it fits in with his aspirations, will be invaluable. The whole outlook must be practical; no real good will be obtained by idealizing the native or by being sentimental.

Practical training is illustrated by chiefs ploughing with their own hands, and packing home-grown fruit for Nairobi market; model houses, shops, manure pits, and the activities of the Sanitary Service within the native villages. Improved health leads to greater prosperity, and technical training to the establishment, in each village, of bricklayer, carpenter and blacksmith, rendering life in the Reserves more attractive. Excellent work is being done on these lines in the villages by the Jeanes teachers and their wives.

A Hausa Translation of the Poetic Works of Imruil Kaisi. *Summary of a communication presented by Captain R. S. Rattray, C.B.E., D.Sc. :* 10 *February*, 1932. **91**

Genuine Hausa literature is rare. There exist some manuscripts dealing with historical subjects connected with the race, and a number of tales and songs. These documents are, however, always rather disappointing and generally lack any pretension to literary style. They cannot be taken as specimens of the Hausa language as spoken by the better educated members of the Hausa race.

The facts are that the average Hausa scribe neglects his own language—from a literary point of view—and not only writes Hausa in Arabic characters, but prefers to use Arabic as a means of written communication.

A translation by a Hausa, Liman Alhaji Umaru, into Hausa from Arabic, of the 34 poems or odes of the pre-Islamic Bedouin poet Imruil Kaisi which came under the writer's notice while he was in West Africa presents a striking exception to the above general principle. His renderings of these Arabian masterpieces show that the Hausa language, when handled by one of that race, determined to show its capacity for literary force of expression and beauty, becomes a medium which possesses considerable powers of poetic expression.

The works of Imruil Kaisi are not, of course, unknown to European scholars. Firstly, we have the translation by Baron de Slane, who translated Imruil Kaisi's works into Latin. His book does not, however, contain Ode I. For a previous translation of this, we have to turn to the works of Sir William Jones, Captain Johnson, Arnold, Lyall and Lady Anne Blunt. The translations by the last three writers are very free poetic renderings and do not serve as a very useful basis of comparison with the original. There is no gainsaying the fact that Arabic culture has exercised considerable influence on the Hausas. Consequently it is at least probable that a Hausa will be as much *en rapport* with the spirit of the time when Imruil Kaisi wrote, as these European scholars who have attempted from time to time the translation of these Arabian poems. The Hausa translator has not made any attempt in his translation to follow or imitate the peculiarities of the Arabic metres or to conform to the complicated rules of Arabic prosody.

In these poems, which vary somewhat in merit, a nomad people is set before us whose chief interests are bound up in the use and well-being of their flocks and herds. The horse, the Arab's friend *par*

excellence, is constantly alluded to, and praised. We gather from these odes that manufactures were in those days either in the hands of the people of Yemen or of the Jews or of the Eastern nations generally. The sports and pastimes of the people of pre-Islamic Arabia are well illustrated. They were story-telling, gambling, horse-racing, hunting buffalo, antelope and wild asses.

When we seek for passages in these odes which would throw light on religious beliefs, we are disappointed at finding very few, although a kind of monotheistic idea seems to run like an undercurrent through the poems, with Allah as the one High God. Not infrequently we are reminded of the philosophy of a later Eastern poet—Omar Khayam. There are references also to magic, charms and superstitions, which indeed we would have expected, but instead of such beliefs being accepted and accredited, it is a somewhat curious fact that when mentioned they are generally treated as objects of derision or dislike. Finally, there are vague and somewhat shadowy references to contemporary history and to the Old Testament.

These are but a few aspects of a work which can only be fairly judged and dealt with by a presentation of the original.

FOLKLORE SOCIETY.

Folk-Stories from the Northern Solomons. *Summary of a paper by Beatrice Blackwood:* 20 *January*, 1932.

92

The folk-stories discussed in this paper were collected on Buka and on the north coast of Bougainville, the most northerly of the Solomon Islands, in 1929–30. Some account was given of the circumstances under which they were obtained. Many were recorded in the native language, the rest in Pidgin-English. They were classified as follows: I. Culture-Hero Stories, dealing with the doings of those legendary persons from whom the people consider themselves to be descended and to have derived the essential features of their culture. II. Culture-Origin Stories, explaining certain practices and customs. III. Natural History Stories, accounting for natural phenomena, the moon, rocks, etc. IV. Real-life Stories, comprising hunting, fishing and domestic incidents, some concerning individuals whose names are given, some shown by the existence of alternative versions to be traditional. V. Animal Stories, in which creatures behave like human beings. VI. Animal Association Stories, illustrating the personal association thought to exist between certain creatures and certain human beings. VII. Transformation Stories, in which a man or a woman changes into some creature, out of pique or in revenge for a supposed insult. VIII. Stories about the spirits of the dead, including journeys to the place of the dead. IX. Stories about Pinari and Tukis, beings who dwell in the bush and make mischief; stories of beings corresponding to these, under different names, are widely distributed throughout the Melanesian area, and parallels to many of those recorded by the writer occur in other collections. X. Miscellaneous, comprising stories which do not come under any of the other headings. Examples of each of these ten categories were given. Some of the ethnological questions raised by the tales were indicated, and reference was made to the existing records of similar tales from other parts of Melanesia, with which the present collection falls into line.

The Function of Folk-Lore. *Summary of Address by the President, Rev. Dr. E. O. James:* 17 *February*, 1932.

93

Human culture to be stable and truly progressive must have an inner vitality; it must be in touch with the life of nature and of human nature, for progress is something more than the sum total of the products of civilization. Every culture embodies an attitude to life and a conception of reality, and any change in these brings with it a change in the whole character of the culture, as we see in the case of the transformation of the peasant folk mentality by the rationalized thought and mechanized civilization of modern times. But a study of the "classical" civilization of Greece and Rome shows that it is possible for great intellectual and scientific achievement to exist side by side with a process of cultural and social disintegration and decay, when society loses its roots in the past, and is cut off from the source of its original life.

It is the function of folk-lore to reveal the conditions under which cultural forms have developed in the past by preserving in fantastic patterns the great emotional reactions of a human group, their relations to the supernatural order, their movements and racial and culture contacts, and their collective consciousness and adaptations of experience. Myth-making may take strange shapes, but it invariably reflects the actual occurrences of human life in the past and the present, and particularly those which stir the emotions. In short, myth is not merely a story told but a reality lived, so that it has a functional value, in that it strengthens tradition and gives a meaning and solidarity to life and to its operations, evaluations and sanctions.

When fantasy-thinking gives place to sophisticated thought folk-lore may acquire a new function by becoming re-fashioned in an allegorical and poetical form, where "truth embodied in a tale" may outsoar philosophy, or science, in the appreciation of the final meanings of life. But true folk-lore is neither poetry, nor philosophy, still less is it science. It is, however, an expression of a particular psychological and sociological attitude to life which has given a solidarity to society which is less conspicuous in a modern mechanized community. The scientific study of this substratum of civilization is of more than academic interest, having something of very real value and significance to contribute to the cultural history of mankind, and to the determination of the present and future destinies of the human race.

HELLENIC SOCIETY.

The Minoan Palace of Mallia in Crete. *A Lecture by M. Fernand Chapouthier, Professor at the University of Bordeaux: 2 February,* 1932. **94**

The French School of Athens has entrusted M. Chapouthier, for six seasons, with the excavation of the Cretan Palace at Mallia.

The "palatial" civilization, revealed at Knossos and Phaestos, dates back to about 2100 B.C. At Mallia, a small port on the north coast of Crete, the "palace" buildings lie four-square round a central court in characteristic native fashion. The magazines in the east wing contain many jars and vessels, filled with carbonized beans, which can be identified. An ingenious device avoided of waste in case of breakage of an oil-jar. On a bench in the entrance corridor an official supervised the entry and despatch of provisions. His seal, which has been recovered, represents him seated before the oil-jars, and sealing them. An enormous jar, 5 ft. 6 in. high, contained the oil; near it was an oil-separator. The armoury workshop contained the moulds in which bronze was smelted. In the workshop of the vase-drillers was an enormous stone jar, unfinished. These magazines may be compared to those of Asia Minor or Cyprus, but the plan and arrangement are more varied. Cretans detested symmetry. In adapting a hypostyle hall to their palace, they intentionally made it unsymmetrical. A little chapel with *dromos* and *prodomos* seems the "ancestor" of the Mycenæan *megaron* and of the Hellenic temple.

In Crete, as in the East, the king was also high priest. Several terraces above the central court were used for religious rites. One of these, a *loggia*, with ceiling supported by round columns, contained an altar, and communicated by a staircase with a sacristy, for the ceremonial weapons. The insignia of royalty, the sceptre, an axe in schist, representing a leopard, such as were trained for hunting, and an immense bronze sword, with hilt and knob of rock-crystal, decorated with gold-plate, to be carried by the royal high-priest at such ceremonies as took place in the *loggia*; a truly Oriental custom, comparable with the representation of the King of Persia, which soldiers of the garrison of Dura, on the Euphrates, sketched on the fortress walls.

Another terrace draws us from the East and reminds us of Greece. Here a round slab, deeply sunk into the earth, has 34 slight depressions round a deeper central cavity: recalling the portable *kernos* used in Greek mysteries for agrarian offerings to the divinities of the soil.

One room, in the north of the palace, contains the archives, a collection of pastilles, medallions, bars, or tablets in clay, with hieroglyphic and early linear signs. Twenty new signs occur at Mallia; a human head in profile under a branch, a galloping bull, a bird, a bow with its arrow, a three-footed pot, are amongst the most original. If we cannot yet seize the phonetic value, we can study the forms. Figures of everyday life gradually take more geometrical shapes, till they develop into letters of our alphabet.

In conveying the thanks of the Society to Professor Chapouthier, Sir Arthur Evans, as a worker in a neighbouring field, laid stress on the singular importance of the discoveries made by the lecturer and his colleagues at Mallia, on behalf of the French School, and the excellence of the work of the excavation itself. While at Knossos the earliest Palace remains were largely destroyed or concealed by the later building, Mallia, where the earliest palatial stage was largely left untouched, supplied the best evidence of the high civilization attained by Minoan Crete at the beginning of the Age of Palaces. It afforded a valuable link of connection with the East Mediterranean lands in the days of Abraham and Hammurabi.

REVIEWS.

Greece, and Ægean.

The Early Age of Greece. *By Sir William Ridgeway. Vol. II, edited by A. S. F. Gow and D. S. Robertson. Cambridge University Press,* 1931. *Pp. xxviii + 747. 158 illus. in text, and portrait frontispiece. 30s. net.* **95**

Volume I of this work appeared in 1901, and promised speedy issue of the second. An advertisement of 1910 says: "Vol. II nearly ready." Meanwhile Ridgeway was accumulating material, making rough drafts, even sending copy to the press and correcting proofs. The work, if completed as he meant it to be, would have been gigantic, and that, with failing health and eyesight, he continued to plan and write shows his courage and energy. Finally he died, leaving behind him a huge mass of material in all stages of unreadiness; and his literary executors, five years after his death, have put together all that they judged utilizable. Hence this book, though published in 1931, was really composed in its main outlines about thirty years ago, and it needs the introductory chapter which Mr. A. J. B. Wace has contributed to remind its younger readers what exactly Ridgeway's views were. Much of it is largely of historical interest, showing the student what was new in archæology, and incidentally what strange things passed for argument in sociology, in 1901. What has been printed is not a complete book, but four chapters; one, on "Kinship and Marriage" running to 355 pages, others, of less unusual size but still not short, dealing respectively with "Murder and "Homicide" and "Fetish, Totem, and Ancestor"; while the last, of over 200 pages, deals with "Ireland "in the Heroic Age," a subject interesting enough in itself, especially when handled by an eloquent

enthusiast, but connected with the main theme of the work by rather slender threads.

Ridgeway held that Greece in pre-Achaian days was inhabited by a "Pelasgian" people, of Mediterranean type and Bronze civilization, whose language was Wiro, or as he prefers to call it, Aryan, in essence an early form of Greek. These were invaded from the north by the tall, fair Achaians, who were Kelts in the early Iron stage of culture, and destroyed the native (Minoan)-Mycenæan civilization, founding on its ruins the culture described by Homer. Last of all came the Dorians, who were Thrako-Illyrians. The Pelasgians were matrilineal, the Achaians patrilineal; the former were fetish-worshippers and had an elaborate cult of the dead, the latter neither; the former inhumed their dead, the latter cremated; and numerous other, less salient differences existed. In Italy there was a similar state of things, the parts of Pelasgians and Achaians being played respectively by Sabines (= Patricians) and Latins (= Plebeians) at Rome. Like most writers of his day, Ridgeway paid comparatively little attention to the other Italian states of antiquity.

Broadly speaking, it may be said that Ridgeway was brilliantly right, in opposition to certain theories then current, on two important points. The Minoan-Mycenæan civilization was not the Homeric culture, but an earlier stage; and the Achaians were northerners, probably from central Europe, whether akin or not to the Kelts. Save for these facts, however, scarcely anything of his views is likely to survive. That the "Pelasgians" were matrilineal is not disproved; but anything like proof of it has never been forthcoming, and the balance of probability is slightly the other way. Racial difference of any kind between Patrician and Plebeian is decidedly unlikely, except in so far as the latter probably included a number of landless men from various parts of Italy. Mycenæan culture, as distinct from the other phases of Helladic, has at least some claim to be the product of the first wave of Hellenic invasion, strongly influenced by the civilization of Minoan Crete. The religious differences which he and his followers found between invaders and invaded were far less sharply definable than he or they supposed, though some differences did exist. As to the "Aryan"-speaking inhabitants of prehistoric Greece, Italy, and much more of early Europe, they seem in a fair way to take their place alongside of the solar myth and the migrations of the children of Gomer. Ridgeway's best title to remembrance, among those who never knew the charm of his personality or his brilliance as a teacher, is the greatness and boldness of his effort to reconstruct the early history of the most important regions of Europe on the basis of all the evidence, from language and from material remains, from art and culture, religion and social structure, as interpreted by a powerful and active constructive imagination.

In this very power lay his weakness. However much he might preach the doctrine that fact, especially archæological fact, and not theory, must be our guide, he was in spirit always the clever advocate of his own views, never the impartial judge which, perhaps, a duller man might have been. Hence his curious inability to see or evaluate those parts of the evidence which made against him, coupled with a faculty for making the most out of those which were in his favour such as would have brought him fame and money at the Bar, had that been his chosen field. I give a few samples, culled from the book under review, of this persistent defect; naturally no mention is made of points on which recent discoveries have caused all scholars to alter their views.

In linguistics, he shows (pp. 154, 157) apparent ignorance of two quite elementary facts in Greek philology, and thus vitiates a great part of his argument at that point. The Spartan σ for θ is a comparatively late phenomenon, much too late to be of any service for reconstructing primitive Doric; and the τ in such words as $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\sigma\alpha\rho\epsilon\varsigma$ represents an earlier π, and therefore is as much a labializing form as those, like $\pi\acute{\iota}\sigma\upsilon\rho\epsilon\varsigma$, with which he contrasts it. His criticism (p. 324) of the commonly held view that place-names with the suffix $-\nu\theta-$ are prehellenic is ruined by neglecting a primary fact, namely, that such names fail to show any connection with known Greek or other Wiro roots, and therefore it may be supposed that they are foreign, suffix and all. If this were a journal devoted to classical or other philology, a dozen examples, equally noteworthy, might be given.

In discussing social structure, he, of course, gives, in this book, the arguments of his day. I will not discuss them in detail,* but merely point out the strange mixture of acuteness and insensibility which characterize them. On pp. 3 foll., for instance, he combines a smashing refutation of McLennan's views of Greek mother-right with the acceptance of the flimsiest evidence for its existence among the "Pelasgians"; on p. 350 and elsewhere, he uses the words "promiscuous" and "polyandrous" so vaguely that it is hard to attach any more definite meaning to them than "non-monogamous": when the Greek attitude towards the blood-feud is in question, he cites (p. 377) a highly characteristic passage of Euripides as representing Athenian ideas of the fifth century, which is as if one were to take Samuel Butler as the typical Victorian; when he seeks parallels (p. 454) outside Europe, he commits himself to the statement that all Amerindian tribes were matrilineal and exogamous, which is simply untrue. Side by side with such errors are to be found brilliant suggestions, mostly at points where the facts are few and obscure, as for instance the very ingenious theory (p. 397) that the Servian constitution at Rome was based, not on property in land, but on wergelt, originally expressed in terms of cattle. When he speaks of race, as he continually does, he fluctuates bewilderingly between insisting on the impermanence of the stock criteria, such as head-shape, and tacitly assuming (one is tempted to believe) the long survival of such features as will

* I have dealt with several points in *Folk-Lore*, xxii, 277–291; xxxi, 93–108; xxxvii, 213–244; *Journ. Rom. Stud.*, xii, 106–133.

make for his views. When religion and magic are his theme, he combines with much sound sense occasional lapses, such as taking the learned and late Orphic *Lithika* (p. 429) as evidence for popular Greek views on the efficacy of certain gems.

Such unfortunate shortcomings as these weaken the confidence which a non-archæologist might otherwise feel with regard to his numerous and interesting discussions of archæological data, especially Irish; nevertheless, the reviewer is inclined to regard these parts of the book as the best, if only for the power which Ridgeway had, to use his own comparison (p. 603), of making a revivifying breath breathe through the valley of dry bones which is too often offered to students looking for some more congenial path. H. J. ROSE.

Through Basque to Minoan. *F. G. Gordon, M.A., F.S.A. Oxford University Press.* 1931. *8vo. Pp.* 84. *Price* 10*s.* 6*d. net.* **96**

If this book did not bear a respected imprint, it would be thought a tiresome joke. Modern dialects of Basque (*e.g.*, "the French Basque dialects, which "favour an aspirate" when this is wanted, p. 8) are used to provide values for Cretan pictographs of the second millennium B.C. When no modern Basque word suits Mr. Gordon, he invents one (pp. 10–11) "from "its context here": so an arrow-sign is pronounced *byiliadz*. This is a convenient word, for on p. 10 a quite different sign reads *byidadz* and means a "door-handle": and in the inscription S.M. 22 the sequence "door: "door-handle: hide" reads *byili-byiliadz-adzal* and means "arrow-hide," *i.e.*, a leather bag full of arrows, no doubt laid up in a chest and sealed. It helps, apparently, to know that in Basque *latch* "is used alone for a form of "rock-cactus." Similarly (p. 11), a sign not very like a bow is *iali*; "there is no word of this kind in modern "Basque, but it does seem to survive in *illargi*, moon, "*i.e.*, crescent." Under *byili* (as above) for a "gate," use is made of Greek πύλη, and Basque *ibilli* "walking"; for, as Mr. Gordon correctly says "it almost looks "as though there were some connection between a "gate and walking out." But such lapses into the obvious are rare.

On these and similar guesses rest Mr. Gordon's "translations" of three Minoan "poems" and a "metrical calendar," the well-known "Phæstos-disk," which, though in a different script, and not demonstrably Cretan, "yields to the method already applied"; its "summer" half is in hexameters; the winter half "seems "to be elegiac," a metre "probably regarded as appro-"priate to the more melancholy season." The archaic Cretan summer also "probably comes second in order "of time," because "in classical times the Cretan "year began on 24th September." Here are the opening phrases of this "poem," in Mr. Gordon's translation:—"The lordling skimming the girdle-"tracks; the lord clenching the fist, bruising the skin "with delight, hewing at the flower of the teeth, smiting "with cestus, driving home." Mr. Gordon's notions of metre allow the syllable *adz* to be either long or short (p. 75), and *bidadz* to be a single long syllable: in his grammar, a sign rendered *qu* or *qad* "would be useful "as representing the Basque suffix *ko* or *qo*, which is "used in a genitival, adjectival, comparative, and "future sense." Frankly, "the result of some years' "work" is not comparable (as Mr. Gordon's preface seems to claim) with that of Champollion: and his theory does not "seem to work in practice"; for his "translations" make no sense. C. D.

Britain: Archæology.

The Archæology of Berkshire. *By Harold Peake, M.A., F.S.A. London. Price* 10*s.* 6*d.*

There can be little doubt that the man best fitted to describe the archæology of Berkshire is Mr. Peake, the well-known curator of the Newbury Museum; and we may therefore congratulate the Editor of the County Archæologies on having secured the best man for the work to be done. We are not so sure, however, that we can congratulate Mr. Peake upon the task which has fallen to his share, for, though there can be no question as to its having been well done, it must have been dull work fitting the mass of material at his disposal into a plan so stereotyped as that of the County Archæologies, a plan which leaves the author so little scope for the exercise of his individuality. **97**

This is the third of the County Archæologies which we have been asked to review and, frankly, we are getting rather tired of them for, though they will prove most valuable books of reference: and, though it would be difficult to suggest a scheme more serviceable than the one laid down, it is a dry task to have to read in cold print the long lists of artifacts found in different parts of each county. These, of course, must all be recorded or the books, for reference purposes, become incomplete and unreliable, but the finds are now so many that the authors have little room to discuss at any length their meanings and human associations.

Writing, as we do, for readers of MAN, the latter point seems regrettable, though we must remember that most of the readers, or at least buyers, of these books are people endowed with the museum instinct who want to know where specimens like their own were found and are to be seen, and care little what they have to tell about the men who made them.

Sometimes, however, Mr. Peake finds room to escape from his inventories and catalogues and talks to us as he would over the smoking-room fire: as, for example, when he is discussing the ancient tracks and highways, Weyland's Smithy and the designs of Julius Cæsar, who, he thinks, was induced to invade Britain by the internal strifes between the Belgic tribes in the South-East of the country. Of course these may have made his task easier, but I fear that the rôle of professional peacemaker was one which Cæsar seldom cared to play, and that politics in Rome, money for the party chest and the notoriety gained by extending the Empire were the main things which brought him to Britain.

In the Saxon period the author reviews a good deal of old English history and shows how well informed he is about this epoch. He has been responsible in the past for adding a good deal to our knowledge of the physical characters of the West Saxons, though he says little about them here, probably because neither the physical nor mental attributes of the makers of weapons, ornaments and pottery greatly interest the modern archæologist, for whom he is catering.

One thing we miss dreadfully, and that is a simple map of Berkshire with all the places dealt with in the text marked upon it. Of course to an inhabitant this seems unnecessary, but, to the dweller outside the pale, names like Radley, Wooton and Hinksey Hill are meaningless and take a lot of finding on a county map, even if one is available. Is it a great thing to suggest that a map of the county, divided into squares, should accompany each of these County Archæologies, and that, after every place mentioned, the square in which it is located should be shown in brackets?

The suggestion above does not imply that the present volume is devoid of maps; there are six excellent ones of the county at different epochs, but they are useless to outsiders in finding where places of interest lie.

The illustrations are numerous and good, and a third of the volume is occupied by the Archæological Gazetteer which will be of great value to researchers in archæology.

The book fully maintains, indeed does more than maintain, the standard of the County Series as handy and accurate volumes of reference; the mass of information in it is enormous, though, from the nature of things, it makes no pretence to being a fascinating, nor even a very readable work. F. G. PARSONS.

Anthropology: Physical. **Boas.**

Materials for the Study of Inheritance in Man.

By Franz Boas. New York, 1928. *pp.* 540. $10.

98 Here are masses of measurements of families of immigrants living in New York. But readers will have to work out the results for themselves.

A. M. HOCART.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Nāyar Polyandry.

99 SIR,—In his paper "Some aspects of Nāyar life" (*J.R.A.I.*, Vol. XLVIII), Mr. K. M. Panikkar makes two original observations, viz.: (*a*) that non-fraternal polyandry had no existence among the Nāyars and that McLennan was wrong in "giving the "Nāyar name to a particular type of polyandry *supposed* "by him to be practised universally among them (Nāyars)" and (*b*) that the only type of polyandry to be found among the Nāyars is of the fraternal variety. Mr. Panikkar is a distinguished member of the Nāyar community and a statement of his is certainly bound to carry some weight. He is virtually asking anthropologists to revise their ideas about Nāyar institutions and to disbelieve the accounts of the various European travellers who have given us descriptions of Malabar Society. Mr. Panikkar is of opinion that Buchanan's observations about the state of Nāyar society could apply only to certain areas of Malabar where the Nambūtiri tyrannized over the Nāyars. I should like to show that Mr. Panikkar has done justice neither to the historical nor the anthropological aspect of the problem of Nāyar polyandry and his loose statements serve simply to mislead students of the subject.

Nāyar polyandry is now an obsolete institution. We have to depend upon scrappy historical evidence to get even a faint idea of it. To what extent are the facts supplied by Barbosa and Buchanan and others relating to Nāyar polyandry to be relied upon? We have absolutely no reason to think that they are all misrepresentations. A very important statement made by Barbosa relates to the practice of defloration of nubile girls prior to marriage by some grandee at the request of the mothers. Nowadays it is unknown, and even unheard of, and a practice like ceremonial defloration is revolting to the sense of decency of any Nāyar. But I have been able to verify the statement of Barbosa; the village school master—Āśān—did perform the defloration as an ordinary initiatory rite with no further significance attached to the function. To give another instance of Barbosa's acuteness, his accounts of partners in a polyandrous marriage using swords, shields, etc., as signs to ward off their fellows are fully endorsed by the author of "Malabar and its Folk," who is also a Nāyar well known to anthropologists. As Justice Mr. Marar says, "there is no reason whatever to suppose "they (the travellers) were not recording what they "saw . . . this kind of plain speaking may offend "many." Mr. Panikkar ought not to have allowed caste-pride to cloud his vision.

Mr. Kannan Nayar, a Nāyar official, wrote some twenty years ago that personally he knew several instances of non-fraternal polyandry; many of his elderly female relatives had known times when polyandry was very common. There were endogamous groups called Iṇangu, membership of which gave preferential treatment in mating. "Although the right is sometimes "disregarded from considerations of wealth, etc., it "was until a century ago so much respected that even "a married woman was sometimes compelled by local "chiefs to accept as additional husbands, those of her "Iṇangu who wished to marry her." Non-fraternal polyandry was thus generally circumscribed within an Iṇangu and was subject to the supervision and control of the head of the extended matrilineal family. As among the Todas, polyandry was supplemented by polygyny which is but natural among people with the normal sex ratio.

Traditional evidence also supports the prevalence of Nāyar polyandry. The Nambūtiri legends say that Paraśu Rama ordained that there should be no enforced chastity among the Nāyars. Such an idea would not have taken root in the Nambūtiri mind to be embodied later on in the Kerala Charitra, if the Nāyars had a rigid marital system. Even to this day Nāyar women retain some of their ancient prerogatives. Within her private apartments she is absolutely free from the control of her male relatives. The brother-sister tabu operates against the brother's interference, and the uncle's control over the feminine section of his household is also limited. The absence of definite relationship terms for relatives on the father's side shows the subordinate position of the father in the Nāyar society; he was not an equal partner in marriage. At funeral ceremonies a person's own children have a secondary rôle, while sister's children act as chief mourners. Disregard of the father factor goes to such an extent among the Nāyars as to tolerate marriage of parallel cousins on the father's side—a thing uncommon among the Hindus. The relatively insignificant position of the father is a natural consequence of polyandry; matriliny of the Nāyars is not wholly responsible for it.

The Tāli-keṭṭu kalyāṇam of the Nāyars is sometimes brought as an argument against Nāyar polyandry. It is said that the Tāli shows that monandrous marriage was the rule for the Nāyars and that later on as a consequence of Nambūtiri manipulations it became the sham it is to-day, and was replaced by forms of marriage that suggest looseness in sex life. The Tāli has in Malabar none of its usual significance as a symbol of marriage except among the Nambūtiris. The Tāli-tying forms one of the essential rites of Nambūtiri marriage. On the contrary, among the lower castes, we find sometimes the mother tying the Tāli, sometimes the sister, either on the marriage day or on some auspicious day prior to the marriage in the presence of the household gods. The Tāli is without significance even among the castes with whom the Nambūtiri never came in close contact. There is ample ground for surmising that the Tāli is a later adoption into Malabar culture due to the Nambūtiri. Even now among the Nāyars the person who ties the Tāli during the Tāli-keṭṭu kalyāṇam is generally an Iṇangan, which is a significant fact.

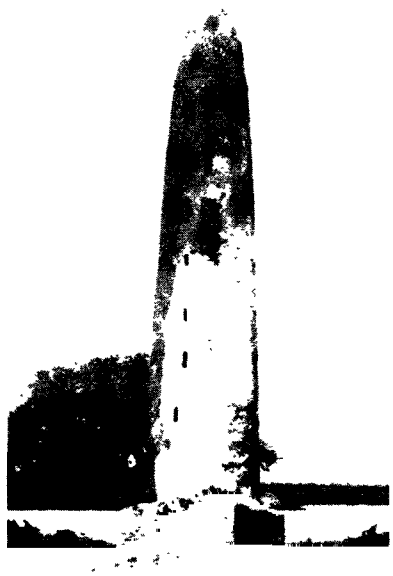
Mr. Panikkar exaggerates the importance of sporadic and rare instances of fraternal polyandry among some Nāyars, especially in Travancore, with the object of putting out of court any probability of the non-fraternal variety of polyandry. Non-fraternal polyandry is very rare among Nāyars, unlike the Īlavas and Kammāḷans. Some menial sects among the Nāyars, for *e.g.* the Viḷakkattalavans, practise it, because they are few in numbers, generally poor and isolated from their fellows in other localities. Adelphic polyandry among the Nāyars was never wide in its incidence and is directly opposed to all Nāyar social regulations. There is a rule prohibiting a person marrying his brother's wife's sister; sororate and levirate are unknown. With these strict prohibitions it is difficult to consider adelphic polyandry even as a survival. A. AIYAPPAN.

Madras Museum.

An Arab Minaret on Mombasa Island.

SIR,—Much discussion has been evoked in the past with regard to the conical tower in the elliptical enclosure at Zimbabwe and Miss Caton-Thompson has in her recent work on the Rhodesian ruins figured a minaret from Zanzibar which she considers

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ANCIENT MOSLEM MINARET, S. SIDE OF MOMBASA ISLAND.

By kind permission of Messrs. Wardle & Co., Mombasa.

might possibly have been the type which suggested to the builders of Zimbabwe the erection of a similar structure.

The idea that native builders may have copied something seen in a coast town has long been in my mind, and allowing for the limitations due to the lack of mortar the similarity is, I venture to consider, very marked. Obviously a tower built without mortar as at Zimbabwe could not have such slender proportions as one in which mortar was used.

I now reproduce a well-known minaret which still stands on Mombasa Island, and some years ago I was able to reserve against possible sale the area on which it stands, in order that it may not be swept away to make room for so-called town development.

It is believed to be the oldest ruin on Mombasa Island and it is said that an early Portuguese chronicler mentions its existence early in the 16th century, but unfortunately I have not the exact reference.

Minarets of this character always, as far as I am aware, mark the existence of a mosque, but in the present example the mosque has entirely disappeared. They also stood quite separate from the mosque as this evidently did. Similar specimens are to be found at nearly every town along the East coast from Kismayu to Kilwa, but few are as fine as this example, which is about 60 feet in height.

These minarets are hollow but usually without an internal staircase; there are, however, recesses in the stone work inside, by which an agile muezzin could climb to the top and give the call to prayer.

At Mambrui there is a pillar about 20 feet high at the head of an old grave, but the fact that it is not hollow shows that it was only an exceptionally lofty gravestone. By the way, this pillar at Mambrui was decorated near the top by some Chinese porcelain bowls cemented in place. One day a native iconoclast fired a gun at one of these bowls and shattered it; whether the enormity of his act preyed on his mind is not known, but I was assured that he died 24 hours later.

The next point is to endeavour to ascertain the date of erection of the structure, for if the theory that it was the model for the Zimbabwe tower is correct, the point is of some importance.

The brand of Mohamadan belief favoured by most of the East African Arabs is that of the Shafei Sunnis; but the reigning house, *i.e.* the Al bu Said dynasty, belong to the puritanical Ibadhi sect.

Exact dates are not easy to arrive at, but the Sunnis seem to have definitely established themselves on the East coast between A.D. 800 and 1000. The Ibadhi line of Sultans arrived much later, and when they did arrive they brought no distinctive type of architecture.

If, as is alleged, the tower was there in, say, 1600, we have a choice of date for its erection from 1000 to 1600—a long stretch.

At any rate, if such a tower was copied by the builders of Zimbabwe it would probably be considerably later than A.D. 1000, for permanent structures such as this one were unlikely to be built in the early days of occupancy when they were weak and had to struggle for supremacy.

After watching for many years the erosion caused by the terrific monsoon rains on buildings built of the soft coral rag, I consider that an age of some 400 years is probably the limit which can be assigned to this interesting ruin, even if from time to time it had been replastered. It has, however, received no repairs during the last 42 years. C. W. HOBLEY.

Abrasives.

SIR,—"Diamond cut diamond" is true, in a measure, but the cutting is slow; in the trade the cutting is done with diamond dust. A few days ago I applied a piece of granular stone to a flake of obsidian, and was surprised to find, when the dust had been swept aside, that a scratch had been made on the surface of the harder stone. The granular stone,

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by crumbling, had supplied an abrasive. What is it that makes small pieces of stone more effective for cutting than a large piece of the same material?

Pondering over this matter, I decided that it must be the multiplicity of cutting-edges; and thereupon I called upon Dr. Harry Moore, of the British Scientific Instrument Research Association, by whom my ideas were further clarified. Material is broken not by compression, but by tension or shearing stresses. Cutting-points, in effect, are always slightly rounded; cutting-edges are cylindrical. The sharper the point, for a given load, the more concentrated is the load; the greater is both the pressure and the consequent tendency to fracture. The larger the number of cutting-points, the more numerous the cracks produced. These cracks, by intersecting, cause minute fragments to be released. By moving the grinding-tool laterally the abrasive material underneath is moved, so that pressure is brought to bear at fresh places, whereby multiple fractures are caused, and they, by their intersection, release fragments of the substance that is to be abraded, ground or polished. The size of the abrasive particles is comparable with that of the fragments detached; therefore almost ultramicroscopic particles are required for polishing. The aid of water is necessary to keep the abrasive free to move under the grinding-tool, and thereby give a rolling or sliding motion to the particles over the surface to be abraded. A wheel loaded with bort (fragments of diamond too small or too coarse in quality to be used for jewellery) held in minute notches at intervals around the circumference will provide a repetitive contact with a small number of cutting-points, each of which is brought many times to bear upon the surface without the points becoming seriously blunted.

These considerations may be useful apropos of the use of tubular copper drills with emery in ancient Egypt or of bamboo drills with sand and water in New Guinea.

T. A. RICKARD.

The Dates of the Beaker Invasions.

102 SIR,—The thesis that Abercromby's A–C and B types of beaker represent distinct groups of invaders in Britain, first explicitly formulated in my *Bronze Age* (p. 154), has been well-nigh established by the subsequent work of Clark (*Antiquity*, 1931, p. 415) and Stone (*Wilts. Arch. Mag.*, 1931, p. 370). It is then worth while drawing attention to some disquieting implications of this new orientation. Since our B beakers agree most closely with generalized types of continental Bell-beakers and are associated with the West European daggers, believed both in Almeria and Bohemia to precede the round-heeled riveted daggers that accompany type A here, they should represent the earlier group of invaders. But to such beakers the most decisive criteria for determining the immediate starting-point and precise date of the movement are inapplicable; the panelling and saltires, betokening Central European as opposed to Spanish or Breton affinities, are proper to type A. B beakers therefore might have arrived here prior to the development of those peculiarities in the Central European series, probably between the Rhine and the Elbe.

So again the beginning of the beaker period here would not necessarily coincide with the Middle Passage Grave period in Denmark (Eckholm's phase III) when beakers of distinctly Thuringian-Bohemian affinities were imported into the peninsula. (As Stocký in 1926 could enumerate over 160 beaker graves in Bohemia alone, they must cover an appreciable space of time to the close of which the Danish examples should belong.) The possibility of thus shifting the beginning of the beaker period in Britain towards an earlier phase of the Passage Grave period might open the way to an explanation of the surprisingly close similarities between certain Scottish food-vessels and vases of the Early Passage Grave epoch (phase I) to which Rosenberg has recently drawn attention (*Kulturströmungen in Europa zur Steinzeit*, p. 157). On the other hand it threatens to blur what seemed the first fixed date in British prehistory.

V. GORDON CHILDE.

Trident Sceptres from West Africa.

Cf. MAN, 1932, 47.

103 SIR,—May I thank Mr. Palmer for his contribution about the "tridents," MAN, 1932, 47. I particularly note his sub-heading (*b*) where he says that the Jukon of the Benue and Aros of Arochuku have a type of trident almost exactly the same as that reproduced by me in MAN, 1929, 147. I must try to procure a photograph from one or other of these areas. Here I will only add a sentence.

All my later investigations since 1924 have gone to prove that the incoming peoples with whom these tridents are associated were certainly of original Western origin, and that their Arab appearance was nothing more than the adoption of the Arab modes of wearing cloth. I have also found among the Ngonde people of North Nyasa (who, however, have produced so far no tridents) a tradition that their ancient fathers came from "the country of the river Kyah." This river, I take it, is the "Chari," which connects at once with Lake Chad. Beyond this we cannot at present go, but I am most grateful for what Mr. Palmer has been able to contribute towards the solution of our North Nyasan problem.

T. CULLEN YOUNG.

Bride-Price.

104 SIR,—Referring to Mr. Driberg's letter (MAN, 1931, 278), I would point out that my statement about Nandi divorce in MAN, 1931, 187 (which Mr. Driberg has torn from its context), was a general one, intended to show that it was possible for the *hedna* to be claimed back after a divorce both among the ancient "Homeric" people and among the modern Nandi. Had further details been necessary, I should naturally have been more explicit; but they did not seem necessary for the purposes of my comparison.

I am sorry Mr. Driberg does not like the fact that Nandi girls are regarded as a source of wealth; but facts must be faced. I shall be glad to give such details as I can on the position of Nandi women, etc., and will make a further communication later.

G. W. B. HUNTINGFORD.

Kipkaren, Kenya.

The Name Tuareg, Tuwarik.

105 SIR,—In MAN, 1932, 47, Mr. H. R. Palmer speaks of "the masculine suffix *gi* (as in *Tar-gi*) plural *Tuwarik*."

I believe I am correct in saying that this word, which Mr. Palmer spells *Tuareg* a few lines below, is simply the Arabic *târiqî*, plural *tawâriq*, a tribesman.

RAGLAN.

Corrections.

106 MAN, 1931, 40. *For* "Rev. E. Talhay" *read* "Rev. E. Jalhay": *for* "Archéoloques" *read* "Archéologues."

MAN, 1931, 70. *For* "better illustrations, of the "objects themselves" *read* "or the objects themselves."

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1. 'AFRIKANDER': ♂ ca 60 years.



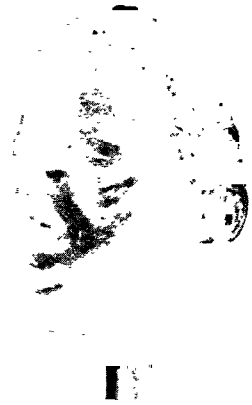
2. 'VELDSCHOENDRAGER': ca 30 years.



3. 'ROTE NATION HOCHLANA': ♂ 29 years.



4. 'HANET': ♂ 17 years.



5. 'JOHN' (Etirup). ♂ 28 years.



6. 'DAMER,' NAMIB: ♂ ca 50 years.







7–9. 'ISAAK WITBOOI,' GRANDSON OF THE FAMOUS CHIEF, HENDRIK WITBOOI.

RACIAL TYPES FROM SOUTH AFRICA: 1–3. Hottentot : 4–6. Bushmen : 7–9. Witbooi.

Photographs of Masks made from living individuals by Dr. R. Lichtenecker.

MAN

A MONTHLY RECORD OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL SCIENCE

PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE
ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

XXXII, 107-132. APRIL, 1932.

ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

South Africa. **With Plate D.** **Lichtenecker.**

Racial Types from South Africa. *Modelled and Photographed by Dr. R. Lichtenecker, Gotha.*

During an expedition to South-West Africa, on behalf of the Anthropological Institute of the University of Munich and the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute of Anthropology in Berlin, Dr. R. Lichtenecker succeeded in making a very lifelike series of face-masks, whole heads, ears and hands of Bushmen, Hottentots, Ovambos, Hereros, Bergdamas, and Bastards, and also a complete head, chest and hands of a female Bushman. He has also moulded some rock-engravings of animals made by Bushmen. **107**

These reproductions—nearly forty in all—are now on sale accurately coloured at prices from 500 Rm. upwards, from Dr. Lichtenecker, at 3, Roststrasse, Gotha. Plain plaster casts are supplied at half price. Packing and freight from Gotha are in all cases additional.

It adds appreciably to the interest of these reproductions that Dr. Lichtenecker has taken from each of the originals a gramophone record, partly spoken, partly in singing voice.

The Witboois are a hybrid tribe with a preponderance of black, but a good dash of white blood. Isaac Witbooi is the grandson of Hendrik Witbooi, a famous chieftain defeated by the Germans in 1894. *See* Margaretta von Eckenbrecher, "Was Afrika mir gab und nam" (1908), and Mrs. Millin, "The South Africans." (1926.)

J. L. M.

Congress. **Krause.**

International Congresses for Anthropology and Ethnology. (*cf.* MAN, 1932, 6). *By Dr. Fritz Krause, Leipzig.*

SIR,—Your article in MAN (1932, 6) leads me to think that you would welcome a frank expression of views about an International Congress for Anthropology and Ethnology, even before the projected preparatory conference is convened. **108**

In the autumn of 1929 an Ethnological Society (the *Gesellschaft für Völkerkunde*) was established with the aim of promoting the science of ethnology in all countries which take an active part in the advancement of mankind; and especially, in those countries where this science still stands in historical connections with other sciences, to release it from those connections and set it on its own feet, so that it may develop freely in accordance with its own aims. That this project was recognized as necessary is shown by the success of that foundation. It has now over 180 members actively engaged in scientific ethnology, in Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Holland, Sweden and Denmark; a number in England, France, Italy and Russia; and individuals in the United States, Africa, Indonesia and Eastern Asia. Naturally, as its president, and quite apart from any personal interests, I am quite specially concerned with the projected international congress.

It is still not clear whether ethnologists, in agreeing to this proposal, also support the association of anthropology and ethnology in such a congress. From my own experience as president of our Society, this does not seem certain. So I have taken the opportunity to ask, quite privately, some leading ethnologists of Austria, Switzerland, Holland, Sweden and Denmark, who are members of it, whether in their opinion such a combined congress was necessary or desirable, or whether a purely ethnological one would be preferred. Almost all those whom I asked said that they preferred, and would welcome, a purely ethnological congress. This view, which agrees with my own conviction,

will certainly be of weight in the negotiations for defining the scope of the projected congress. If you wish for more explicit evidence of the views of ethnologists about this congress, I am prepared on behalf of the officers of our Society, to send a similar enquiry to all its members, specially the European ones. I should state in it, that it is being made in agreement with you. It would be limited to the following questions, which are quite colourless, so as to elicit the real opinion of each person :—

1. Do you regard a combined congress of anthropology and ethnology as necessary or desirable; or so far as ethnology is concerned, a distinct international congress of ethnology?

2. Should a separate ethnological congress limit itself purely to ethnology, or should adjacent sciences also be considered, and which?

3. Should the sections to be established in an ethnological congress for adjacent sciences be permanently established: or only instituted temporarily according to need and occasion?

4. Do you regard the holding of a separate ethnological congress as practicable?

I believe that in this way the prospects of the congress would be made far clearer, so far as continental ethnologists are affected, and that this would be of great use to the preparatory conference.

As to my personal views, I think that we ought to free the question from the alternatives "anthro-" pology" and "ethnology," and find a phrase to enable us to bring together all the sciences that are concerned with the cultural relations of the peoples of the earth. I could imagine that it might be both useful and possible to found a "Congress for Ethnic Sciences." The mainstay and principal field of this congress would be *Ethnology*. It would subdivide into the following sections :—

A. Ethnology—

(*a*) *General :* methods, etc.

(*b*) *Systematic :* economics, technology, social life, law, religion, art, etc.

(*c*) *Special Ethnology* (*Völkerkunde*) of the several regions arranged under continents. Here ethnological questions would be treated from the respective standpoints of prehistory and archæology, ethnography and folklore, linguistics, racial anthropology.

B. Adjacent Sciences : We should take account of the following :—ethnic psychology, sociology, comparative mental sciences (*Geisteswissenschaften*), linguistics, physical anthropology (problems of races, and of their inheritance of physical and psychical *qualities*).

These "adjacent sciences" could perhaps be permanently recognized. But there would also be the possibility that one or other of them might be recognized exceptionally if one congress were united occasionally with a session of this or that special science.

The subdivision of ethnology under (*c*) for the treatment of the ethnological problems of the several continents, leaves quite open the possibility of uniting this congress (as indeed has been proposed) with the European sessions of the Americanist Congress, and also occasionally with other similar congresses concerned with special regions.

I think that, from the ethnological point of view, we should thus create a congress which would include all the departments of knowledge and research which are of importance to ethnologists, and on which ethnology in turn can react fruitfully. Moreover, with such an extension of scope, a large enough membership would be guaranteed from the outset; so that, provided economic and political conditions were favourable, the success of such a congress would be assured.

In this proposal it is provided that—

(1) ethnology takes its proper place as the science which is the centre (*kern*) of all investigation of peoples and their cultures.

(2) those other sciences which can contribute in any way to the solution of those problems, are likewise taken into account:

(3) physical anthropology is included, so far as its researches are of importance for the solution of the above problems: compare its function in investigating the special conditions in the several continents (as in (*c*)), and the facilities provided (as in B) for dealing with its own problems quite independently.

Please regard this letter as inspired by a strong desire to further the development of the science of ethnology, and especially through international co-operation. FRITZ KRAUSE.

[*Note.*—Since this letter was written, the enquiry, so courteously offered, has been made, in complete agreement as to its terms between Dr. Krause and Professor Myres. The results will be published in due course.]

Congress. **Schmidt.**

Congresses, Ethnological and Anthropological: *cf.* MAN, *1931, 6. By the Very Rev. P. W. Schmidt, St. Gabriel-Mödling, near Vienna.*

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In response to your invitation (MAN, 1931, 6) to express my views about the objects to which we should aim, let me first define briefly my position in regard to principles, and then proceed to practical proposals.

With the great majority of ethnologists, anthropologists, and prehistorians in Vienna, I take the view, which is realized here, both in the University and its research institutes, and in the public museums, that ethnology, anthropology, and prehistory are independent sciences, with their own fields of research, their own methods and equipment, and their own workers. But the more fully these three sciences of man have become conscious of their individuality and independence, the more fruitfully and spontaneously should they be able to co-operate, without forfeiting their independence.

From this statement of principle I should draw the conclusion, both (1) that each of these three sciences ought to have its own international congress, and also (2) that there should be a general international congress which, in accord with the principle I have stated, should include them all. But if that does not seem at present possible, for practical and also for historical reasons, then, for the majority of Vienna ethnologists, prehistory is a more closely related and more important science than anthropology, which unfortunately, and to our own regret, has not yet developed correspondingly, on its own ground, towards such co-operation.

But we also see, with regret, that in the Congress of Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences founded at Bern, ethnology, especially in so far as it is the scientific study of living peoples, does not quite take its full place; so that, notwithstanding our hesitation already expressed in regard to anthropology, we should adhere to a new congress for ethnology and anthropology, if a separate congress for ethnology could not be achieved at present.

But, personally, I should keep this in view, in the future, and work towards it: that in the course of time (1) ethnology should have its own independent congress; (2) all sciences of man—ethnology, prehistory, anthropology—should have a joint congress.

The procedure by which both objects could be realized, seems to me to be as follows:—

(1) Over a period of *six* years, each of the three sciences of man would hold its own international congress *once*, at an interval of *two* years from the congresses of the other two sister sciences, *i.e.*,

1934. International Congress for Ethnology.
1936. International Congress for Anthropology.
1938. International Congress for Prehistory.

(2) Each separate congress would include also a section to discuss questions of co-operation with the other two sister sciences. To avoid competition with the separate congresses of the two sister sciences, the arrangements for this section would be regulated in concert with the presidents of the other two separate congresses, *e.g.*,

1934. International Congress for Ethnology, with section for Anthropology and Prehistory.
1936. International Congress for Anthropology, with section for Ethnology and Prehistory.
1938. International Congress for Prehistory, with section for Anthropology and Ethnology.

(3) After such a period of six years, one of the three sciences would forgo its separate congress in favour of a joint congress of all the three sciences of man: or rather, at the end of *eight* years a general congress for all these sciences would be held, and in that year the corresponding separate congress would be postponed; the cycle of these congresses, that is, would only begin again two years later. The result would be as follows:—

1934. Ethnology.	1942. Ethnology.
1936. Anthropology.	1944. Anthropology.
1938. Prehistory.	1946. Prehistory.
1940. GENERAL CONGRESS.	1948. GENERAL CONGRESS, and so forth.

These are the general outlines of this scheme; as to details, there are many ways of executing it.

P. W. SCHMIDT.

India. Cammiade.

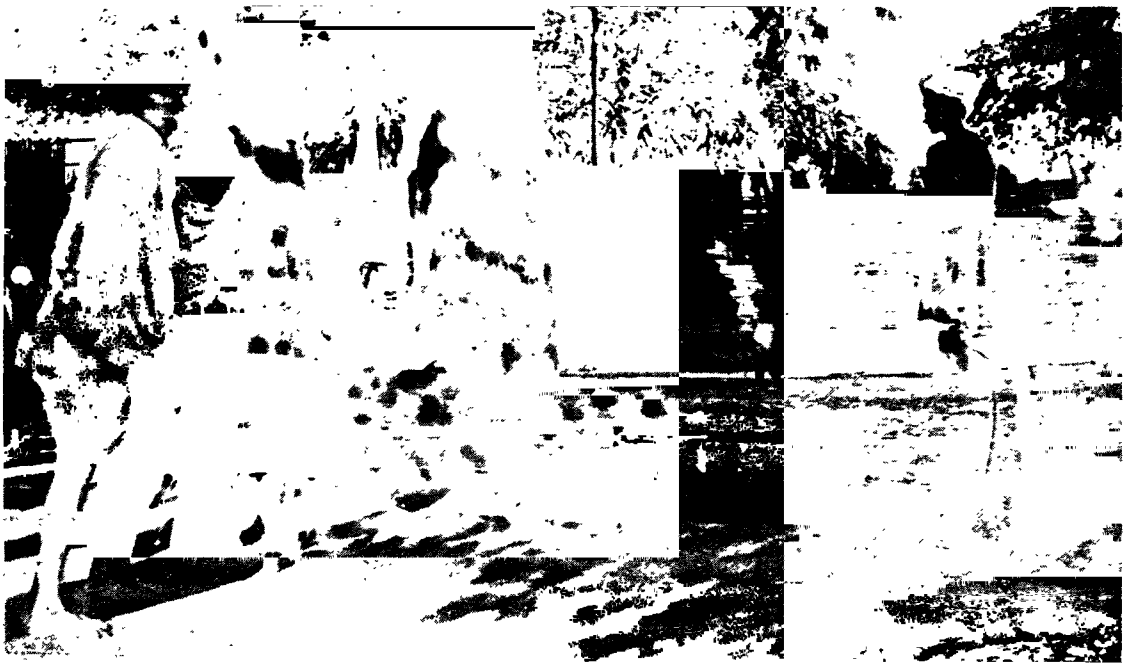
A Primitive Oil-Extractor from the Godavari District. *By L. A. Cammiade: with photograph.*

110 The locality where this instrument is used is in the interior of the Pôlavaram Taluk, Godavari District. The people who use it are Kois, a Dravidian hill-tribe.

Oil-seeds are placed in a shallow flexible box made of palm leaf, and are then crushed between two heavy logs. The nuts crushed were of the *Bassia latifolia* (Mowha). A shallow dish on the ground under the logs receives the oil.

The logs act like a nut-cracker. A fulcrum is obtained by roping the logs together at one end, as shown to the right in the photograph. A stake passes through the two logs just inside (to left of) the fulcrum. The object of the stake is partly to keep the two logs in position, and partly to support them at a convenient height above ground.

In order to increase the pressure on the nuts a second lever is brought to bear transversely on the distal end of the two logs (to left in the photograph). The fulcrum for the second lever is a



A PRIMITIVE OIL-EXTRACTOR FROM THE GODAVARI DISTRICT.

horizontal piece of wood secured through two uprights; against this the end of the lever pressed upwards. In the illustration two men are shown pressing down the second lever.

The chief point of ethnological interest in connection with this oil-extractor is the use of the double lever. The Kois use the double lever again and again in their traps. They seem to have thoroughly understood its advantages, and have varied its application in a number of ingenious ways. The same principle of a double lever is to be found in traps in Malabar, and probably in other parts also. It would be of interest to trace the evolution of the idea of using one lever at the end of another as a means of counterbalancing a big force by means of a small one: or, as in the case of the oil-extractor, of reversing the process and developing a greater force out of a lesser.

L. A. CAMMIADE

Africa. **Driberg.**

State Marriages in Africa. *By J. H. Driberg.*

111

It is usual to speak of state marriages in Africa—whether of chiefs or more powerful rulers, or whether of rainmakers—as outside of the ordinary rules of African marriage. The object of this short note is to suggest that they are a completely normal development. We naturally find such marriages most frequent in those communities which have monarchical institutions, and the Bantu tribes of South Africa offer a larger number of instances. Among them the ruler's official wife is not necessarily his first wife, but the wife whom he marries after his accession to office. The marriage-wealth is not paid by the husband, but is contributed by the whole tribe, and however many wives the ruler has already married as a private individual (even though he was the heir presumptive) and however prolific they may have been, it is the state wife, the cattle for whose marriage have been publicly subscribed, who provides the heir to the throne. Her child is the ruler's spiritual heir and inherits the royal qualities, which have more than a spark of divinity in them. The other marriages are, officially speaking, morganatic.

It is strange that this should ever have been considered an anomalous institution. If the tribe is a logical and organic development of the family through the clan, and if tribal institutions are an extension of the simpler institutions which are to be found in the clan, this form of marriage should also have had clan recognition. Looked at in this light, the so-called state marriages may, perhaps, be explained by earlier marriages and may also throw some light on the normal marriages which private individuals contract.

We have divergent evidence concerning the status of wives in polygamous households. Among Bantu the first wife is normally considered the Great Wife, and she has a large measure of authority over the other wives, who among some peoples may be regarded as honourable concubines. Among more democratic peoples there is not, superficially, the same distinction made between the women of a household, but they appear to share their duties and privileges impartially. Even there, however, there is an obvious difference, as the first wife has the right of veto, should the husband desire to expend his wealth in the contraction of subsidiary marriages. She indeed has to approve his choice before he can diminish the herd of which he is the trustee for her children—and she exercises this right in her capacity of what we may call by analogy the state wife.

That is the whole point. Every eldest son of an eldest son (as the representative of his local community) has a state wife, provision for whose marriage has been made by the community at large. This is his first wife. Though the marriage is an affair intimately affecting only two individuals, the contract is one between two clans—or even, as we shall see, between three clans, if we accept the family as a bilateral unit. The purpose of the marriage is to ensure the continuity of the family (and, through it, of the clan) and to make possible the reincarnation of an ancestor. The clan, then, is intimately concerned in the provision of the first wife of a member whose status will involve certain religious or economic duties. Some proportion therefore of the marriage-wealth must be contributed by the clan. Generally speaking, all those who would benefit materially by the marriage of a girl are expected to contribute to the marriage-wealth necessary for the first wife of her brother. That is to say, that both the maternal and paternal clans take an interest in the matter. But the contribution may be even wider than this, and members of the paternal clan who have nothing to expect on the credit side may nevertheless contribute to the first marriage of a clansman. For it must be borne in mind that the cattle, even when (as is usual) individually held, are ultimately clan property, carrying the clan brand, and are always available for clan purposes. A clan official may, for instance, distrain on any animal for a clan feast, sacrifice, or rain ceremony, and its owner (or, more properly, trustee) can offer no objection. As the ruler of monarchical Bantu tribes is the sole trustee for tribal property, he has the legal right to distrain on any and every animal in the possession of his tribesmen, though he has the corresponding duty to support them in time of necessity. This is mentioned to show that on this point at any rate the tribal extension of property ideas conforms with the old clan conception.

This contribution by the clan is not only the usual practice, because a young bachelor is not expected to have sufficient wealth to make his initial marriage independently, but even where this is not the case the clan always tries to insist on its rights. A warrior may have been unusually successful

in war, with the result that he has acquired property which, when the time comes, would enable him to marry without asking for help. On the rare occasions that this happens the marriage is not recognized as a clan transaction at all, and the issue of the marriage have no clan affiliation, because no clan cattle are involved in the marriage, but they form a new clan of which the husband is the eponymous founder.

As a rule, however, the clan insists on its right to contribute to the bride-wealth of a member, however economically independent, because it wishes to retain control over the children of the marriage. This control is maintained, of course, if the husband uses any of his inherited wealth in the contraction of the marriage, even if he does not have to apply outside his immediate family for assistance, as all inherited wealth carries the clan lien. Only the use of wealth exclusively earned by the individual enables him to start an independent line and a new clan.

Already, then, we have found two types of marriage. The first is not recognized by the clan at all. It is an entirely individual affair, on which individual wealth has been expended. Choice, motive and procedure, all are individual, whether it is a first or a subsidiary marriage, and in any case the clan connection is completely broken, so far as the children are concerned.

The second form of marriage is a union recognised and *implicitly* sanctioned by the clan because clan property, the usufruct of which is vested in the bridegroom, has been expended on the marriage. The children are affiliated to the clan and are entitled to inherit the trusteeship of clan property. All subsidiary marriages are of this nature; unless, of course, they are of the first type.

In the case of the first marriage, however, the community often does more than give its implicit sanction. This is the third, and the most important, form of marriage, and the prototype from which (as it seems) the regal state-marriages are derived. This marriage is of importance to the individual, but of supreme importance to the clan, whose momentary representative the individual is. The community therefore gives its sanction very *explicitly* by contributing to the bride-wealth and thereby making the succession secure, just as in a state-marriage the tribe contributes the wealth and makes the succession to the throne secure. The king is equally the representative of the community, and the state wife is the first woman whom he marries after his accession. His earlier wives do not count, as his status at the time of those marriages was quite different.

So with every eldest son—and even possibly with every individual, for the evidence is not clear on the point—his first wife is virtually a state wife, largely provided by the community for communal ends. If his private choice meets with approval—as it generally does—the marriage may have an emotional foundation as well. This is present in both the other forms of marriage, but may be entirely absent in the case of the first marriage. Particularly is this the case if the first marriage has to be one of the enjoined forms of marriage, such as that of cross-cousins. It may well be that the two parties may have no emotional regard for each other whatever and yet the marriage is incumbent on them. It has no sanction in private desire or selection, but is forced on the pair by the community for communal ends. It is as much a state-marriage as any royal union.

The importance of the first-born son to the community at large is indicated in a number of different ways, and it is this importance which is implicit in the first marriage of the individual and which is recognized by a marriage ceremonial more complex than that which attends subsidiary weddings. In some societies of East Africa we find that the status of the individual is determined by the age and status of his first-born son, and in those communities which have the institution of cyclic age-grades only the first-born son fulfils the conditions of the institution and has any real communal significance. We can therefore appreciate the importance of this marriage to the community, and can the more readily understand why it is that it is really a state-marriage. Theoretically there can be no dissolution of such a marriage, unless the union is infertile; compatibility does not enter into the question, as the marriage may or may not have been the result of individual choice. During the period of formal education that a youth receives he is given instruction, not only in sex, but in the choice of a mate. His elders orientate his volition in the direction which they desire it to take for his first marriage. Subsequent unions are his own affair, and these may be more ephemeral. But the first marriage is for life, unless it fails of its object in providing an heir to the community. In that case the doctrine of the sororate comes into play, and this form of marriage appears to offer a far better explanation of the sororate than was done by the old belief in group-marriage, of which the sororate was thought

to be a survival. Its extension to subsidiary marriages is a logical development, though the possibility of dissolution makes it a less important factor in such cases. J. H. DRIBERG.

Sociology. **Ginsberg.**

The Conception of Stages in Social Evolution. *By Prof. M. Ginsberg, London School of Economics.*

It is proposed in this paper to discuss in outline the various ways in which the conception of stages or phases has been used in anthropology and sociology and to inquire whether, and in what sense, it still has value as an instrument of investigation. **112** We may distinguish five ways in which the notion of stages has been employed, having different roots in the history of thought and, as will appear later, possessed of very unequal value for sociological theory. There is, first of all, the notion of stages as regular sequences of some element or form of culture, such as forms of the family or economic organization, supposed to recur in the same order among different peoples and to describe a kind of evolutionary tendency. This may be described as the conception of unilinear recurrence, and is connected with the early and somewhat crude application of evolutionary ideas to sociological problems. There is, secondly, the notion of stages as describing general trends of social development in humanity or rather in the culture of humanity, taken as a whole. This view has its roots partly in modern evolutionary ideas, but more profoundly in older conceptions of development derived from the philosophy of history and general philosophical theory. The notion of recurrence or orderly repetition of given sequences of stages does not on this view play an important rôle. It is recognized that development proceeds on different lines and reaches focal points of expression in different parts of the world. What it stresses rather is the interconnection and continuity of human history, and the possibility of detecting in it general trends characteristic of human culture as a whole. Examples are the schemes of development formulated by Comte, Hegel, Marx, Hobhouse. Thirdly, there are the less ambitious schemes of those who formulate schemes of change for one or more elements of culture but confine themselves, at any rate primarily, to the history of one people or culture area, though no doubt leaving open the possibility of parallel schemes being found to apply also to other peoples or areas. Compare here Schmoller's[1] scheme of stages describing the economic growth of Germany, or the scheme of Proesler[2] more deliberately restricted to Germany. In most of the schemes coming under the heads so far mentioned there is implied the notion of genetic continuity, that is, subsequent stages are held to arise or evolve out of precedent stages. The fourth point of view is to leave the question of genetic continuity open and to regard the stages distinguished not as descriptive of sequences supposed to have actually occurred but rather as heuristic constructions or theoretical "types" useful as instruments of measurement, comparison and correlation. Here belongs the notion of "ideal types" used by Max Weber[3] and adopted by even the severest critic of the theory of stages in general such as von Below.[4] Finally there is the theory of Kultur-kreise or culture complexes according to which social development consists in the stratification or superposition of different complexes of cultural elements, their fusion and mutual modification through migration or other contacts in the course of time.[5]

A detailed examination of the numerous inquiries included under these five modes of procedure would require and perhaps justify a lengthy volume. Here I must confine myself to a somewhat summary evaluation. The first type of theory, namely, that of unilinear recurrence, has been subjected to much criticism and is now perhaps hardly held by anyone. The sequence, for example, of "hunting, "pastoral, agricultural," often put forward by earlier writers has been shown by ethnologists to be quite unfounded. Pastoral nomadism never developed for obvious geographical reasons in the South Sea Islands nor has it existed in America, where agriculture grew up side by side with hunting and did not pass through the supposedly universal intermediate pastoral phase. Similarly there is no reason for accepting any particular scheme of the forms of the family as judged by the number of the partners (monogamy, polygamy, polyandry, etc.) as universal, or to hold that mankind everywhere passed from a stage of mother-right to one of father-right. Instances could be multiplied from other spheres of social evolution to show the falsity of any hypothesis of uniform repetition of sequences in different parts of the world.

Despite the admitted failure of these earlier schemes it would be a mistake to regard them as having been useless or even to conclude that the problems which they were intended to solve have been satisfactorily disposed of. They have undoubtedly revealed the existence of deep-seated parallel

or common elements in the cultures of different peoples, as for example in the sphere of mythology[6] or in religion.[7] Some but by no means all the earlier writers erred in not paying sufficient attention to the influence of contact between different peoples and to the phenomena of borrowing and diffusion. They also seem to have assumed far too readily that the stages they distinguished were genetically connected in the sense that each stage necessarily or automatically gave rise to a subsequent one. In doing so they failed to take account of diffusion or of the possibility of convergent evolution from sources originally different and by stages not necessarily similar. The problems suggested by the occurrence of parallel development remain and it is conceivable that further analysis and comparative study may yet succeed in the formulation of trends of development immanent in the human race though not necessarily capable of being expressed in the crude form of sequences artificially contrived for purposes of provisional classification, trends possibly masked by the occurrence of deviations due to variations in geographical conditions or to the subtle and infinitely interwoven relationships and interactions of social evolution.

Any attempt to deal with the schemes included in the second group with the brevity here necessary must be very difficult and may be thought presumptuous. I will confine myself to an enumeration of their chief characteristics and to a brief statement of their standing in the present stage of knowledge. They have certain characteristics in common which may be first mentioned. (i) They seek to formulate the general trends of human evolution and are not primarily interested in the question whether the processes they describe are necessarily repeated in the same order in different periods of time, or among different peoples. (ii) They are schemes of correlated growth linking up the various elements of culture between which they see essential interrelations. (iii) They suggest a theory of the causes underlying the historical process, of which they show a much richer insight than do the schemes hitherto discussed. Hegel's conception of social development as a series of processes through which there takes place an expansion of the area of freedom is generally regarded as seizing something essential in, at any rate European, history and his description of the dialectical movement of thought has drawn attention to the numerous instances of changes occurring by way of action and reaction in the history of thought and speculation as well as in other movements in social life. Comte's law of the three stages, though it can be criticized in the light of our better knowledge of primitive mentality and also of later thought, is generally admitted as summing up in fruitful and suggestive way at least certain aspects of the movement of thought.[8] Whatever estimate may be formed of the value of the Marxian theory, its heuristic importance cannot be doubted and it has in fact affected recent workers in history and sociology profoundly. Hobhouse's synthesis[9] differs from all the others in being based on a very comprehensive survey of the data of anthropology and history and on the facts of comparative psychology. Without attempting any examination of these ambitious theories, I wish to urge that syntheses of the kind sought by them must be the goal of sociological inquiry, if sociology is ever to go beyond the mere compilation of data. Comte and Hegel have been criticized on the ground that they concentrate too much on European history and that they tend to regard the European civilizations as the standard by which all the other civilizations are to be measured. In this criticism there is some justice, but the limitation censured was inevitable at the time when Hegel and Comte were writing. A more fundamental objection is that made familiar by Troeltsch[10] and his followers, who urge that there can be no such thing as a history of humanity as a whole. There seem to be two points in Troeltsch's argument which require to be distinguished. One is that with regard to other culture areas, with the exception perhaps of the Islamic, we do not possess the necessary historical material of the scientific nature required by the European historian. This, of course, is true, and the remedy can be found, if at all, in more intensive preparatory studies by Europeans and still more by scholars native to the areas in question. The second point is far more fundamental. Universal history is impossible, for humanity has no unity and cannot be studied as a whole. Any attempt at a universal history that goes beyond mere "Buchbinder-synthese" which brings together in one volume distinct histories of numerous peoples, results either in a vague romantic contemplation and falls a prey in the end to a relativistic scepticism, as in the case of Spengler, or else results in a tacit application of European standards to the whole world as in the case of H. G. Wells, "the characteristic Anglo-Saxon counterpart to the German romantic, Spengler." Yet Troeltsch does not deny the importance of sociological as distinct from historical attempts at drawing up schemes of development for the whole of mankind, and speaks with approval of the efforts of Breysig, Vierkandt

and Max Weber. His further argument that European culture is a unique product in which numerous lines of development converge and fuse into a new whole, does not affect the value of a study devoted to an analysis of the various factors involved, and in such an analysis a study of forms of contact and resulting syntheses of cultures elsewhere must manifestly be of assistance even to the student of European history.

To my third group belong those schemes of social evolution which avoid the assumption of unilinear occurrence, and in many cases are frankly designed as descriptive of a single culture only. They are very numerous. For economic stages alone Proesler in his survey enumerates about fifty schemes. If schemes dealing with all aspects of culture were included, *e.g.*, mythology, religion, forms of government, etc., the list would be probably more than doubled. Here I must confine myself to a brief statement—somewhat dogmatic I fear—of the conclusions relating to method which a survey of these numerous schemes has suggested to me :—

1. In dealing with the simpler peoples the chief mistake made by theorists has been to lump them all together as though they belonged to one level. There is need for an agreed classification at any rate on the basis of the economic level attained by the various peoples.

2. Despite formal repudiation of any belief in unilinear recurrence writers often unconsciously tend to extend their particular sequence of stages to other areas or cultures.

3. Care should be taken to avoid question-begging assumptions of causal relationship in choosing the characters which are to form the basis of classification. Thus, for example, economic stages are often distinguished on the basis of the degree of social differentiation or political structure, thus implying a necessary relation between them. This may easily lead to error. A good example of this is Schmoller's category of Territorial Economy (16th–18th centuries). Below[11] shows that the growth of territorial states did not fundamentally alter the economic order which could still be adequately described by Bücher's category of Town Economy.

4. There is great need of schemes deliberately restricted to single culture areas after the manner of Proesler's work on the economic development of Germany.[12] If such schemes were worked out by specialists for other countries, and not only for economic, but also for other aspects of culture, the correlating work of the sociologist would be facilitated and put on a securer basis.

5. For some aspects of culture, notably religion and morals, and possibly, law, the data are already so vast that a concerted effort might well be made now to work out comparable schemes of development for the different civilizations.

Before dealing further with the problems involved I will give a brief account of the fourth way of conceiving stages, namely, that connected with the theory of Ideal Types worked out by Weber and others. Weber recognizes that in dealing with the entities of sociology and history, *e.g.*, the State, Christianity, etc., we cannot hope to seize, and embody in a set of words, the infinite complexity and variety of the phenomena which are intended to be conveyed by the terms. We are bound to use what he calls "ideal types" and which are perhaps better described as heuristic constructions. They are not definitions nor averages. They are rather constructions which we arrive at by intensifying or emphasizing certain characteristics of a group of occurrences, and by linking up with them others which perhaps are not always found in association or do not always take place in the same way, but are so combined by us as to form a coherent or unitary whole. Thus in working with the notion of mediæval Christianity we do not attempt to gather together the infinitely varied and even contradictory beliefs, feelings and forms of behaviour of an endless number of individuals of a given time. We construct a scheme which is what may be described as a limiting concept, including certain dogmatic beliefs, moral ideas and maxims of conduct, which we weave into a whole and with which we compare the actual reality. No doubt the elements which we use in our constructions are all derived from experience and we bring them together in accordance with our notion of what is objectively possible. But the scheme is confessedly relative, an instrument for measurement and comparison and not supposed to be exemplified empirically in its pure form. This notion of ideal types is applied by Weber to individual historical entities (in Rickert's sense), but, as he shows, it can also be used in the study of development. We may in other words construct an ideal series by taking into consideration objective possibilities of growth and then use the series as a measure of the actual historical happenings which also then form a test of the validity of our construction. Thus, for example, if we start with the ideal type of a handicraft economy, we deduce that in a society so organized, the only source of capital

accumulation is to be found in ground rent. We then infer that the factors leading to a transformation of the system would be found in a limited supply of land, an increase of the population, an influx of precious metals, and an increasing rationalization of conduct or behaviour. We then compare our deductions with the actual facts, and if they do not correspond we can infer that the society with which we started was not based exclusively on handicraft, and we are led to a deeper investigation. In Weber's view the so-called laws of evolution are such constructions and as such they are of great utility. They become misleading when they are regarded as empirically valid or still worse as forces. He thinks the Marxian formulæ are of this nature and are heuristically important. They are thus admittedly relative, are bound to change with increasing knowledge, and are inevitable in the early stages of a discipline such as the social sciences. It may be added that the severest critic of the notion of stages, von Below, readily admits the importance of this method of investigation.[13] Weber himself applied it with great success in his numerous studies, especially in his work on the various forms of domination or authority or in his study of the forms of towns, and it is important to note that a conclusion of the greatest significance emerges from his work, namely, the discovery of a general trend; the increasing rationalization of social life and culture.

We may now examine whether and in what sense the conception of stages has value in sociology. Sociology I take to be the study of the relations and interactions between men living in societies, including the conditions and the consequences of such interactions. Since social life is also "historical," *i.e.*, has duration in time, we must also study and disentangle the permanent from the changing elements in it, and seek to determine whether there are any regularities of sequence or general trends of change. Such a study clearly involves some form of morphology or the setting up of types of social life. This is implied in the mere division of social life into, say, "economic," "religious," "moral," "legal," etc. The further growth of the science necessitates finer classification, and the more consciously and deliberately we make the classification the better. Assuming such a refined morphology we must inquire further:

1. What elements in social life are functionally related, and the first step in this inquiry is to establish associations or correlations. This is the method employed by Tylor[14] and may be called the method of tracing adhesions. It will be recalled that he employed it in the study of the institutions connected with the family, but it can be and has been generalized in anthropoly and sociology. The use of the comparative method is here implied, since the adhesions are found in different societies.

2. We must ascertain whether there are any regularities in the changes of institutions, and whether the changes in any one institution are functionally correlated with changes in other institutions or other aspects of social life. Thus, for example, we may ask whether changes in the institutions of public justice are correlated with changes in the economic order. Now in dealing with peoples that have a history we can sometimes ascertain the changes which each has undergone and can show parallel changes in them directly. For example, in the study of the forms of capitalism in the countries of Europe, it has been shown that everywhere the industrial capitalism of the 18th century was preceded by a growth in commercial capitalism[15] (*cf.* H. See, p. 163). Similarly, we can trace large numbers of important parallel sequences in the languages or religions of the civilized peoples (*cf.* Otto[16]). On the other hand, in dealing with the primitive peoples, regularities of sequence cannot be established directly, since generally we know little about the changes which they have undergone and have to study them, so to speak, as at one moment of time. We can only establish sequences or orders of development by the method of tracing adhesions applied to an ideal typical series of changes. Thus, for example, we may find that a form of public justice "high" in the series formulated for public justice is frequently associated with a form of economic growth "high" in the series relating to the economic order. This is simply to employ the method of adhesions in tracing a serial order. Very often we can confirm conclusions reached by the aid of the comparative method in relation to the primitive peoples by direct historical evidence of parallel changes in a people whose historical development has been traced. This, I think, is the case, for example, with the institution of public justice. Compare, for example, Hobhouse's study of justice among the primitives with the history of English law by Pollock and Maitland.[17] It may be added that when a number of serial orders of change has been worked out for different aspects of social life and are shown or, more generally, assumed to be interrelated we obtain the notion of a "general level" of a people's development and we speak of stages or phases of its civilization as a whole. Here there is always the danger of

introducing ethical valuations. The "higher" levels are taken to be "better" or ideally more satisfactory. Personally I do not think the problem of ethical valuation is hopeless, but it need not necessarily be undertaken in a purely sociological inquiry. Some notion of a general level of development has been found practically necessary by all inquirers, since comparison is infinitely facilitated by looking for examples among peoples of more or less the same general level of civilization (*cf.* the remarks of Carveth Read[18]).

There are difficulties innumerable in the use of the method here outlined. The most important of these were noted in the discussion which followed Tylor's paper by Galton and others, and were, to some extent, met in his reply. Others are discussed in the *Simpler Peoples*, to which I may here refer.[19] I wish, however, to discuss certain ambiguities and difficulties of a more general nature, with the hope of clearing away important misconceptions.

(1) The establishment of associations between different aspects of social life or of correlations in sequences of change between them does not in itself enable us to establish what are called social laws or laws of social development. Association or correlation is not enough to yield causation. If we show a correlation between changes in the economic order and changes in the political order, we have not necessarily shown that they are causally related one to the other. The entities called economic and political are so ill-defined that we may not, in fact, be dealing with different events functionally interrelated but to a great extent with the same events looked at from different points of view. If this be once realized it will be seen that we cannot generalize any serial order of change found to hold good and extend it readily to other cases. The notion of unilinear sequences in social phenomena, everywhere repeated in the same sense or order, is really so naïve that it is difficult to take it seriously. It follows that the tracing of sequences in interrelation is not in itself sufficient to give us the "direction" of social development (Müller-Lyer's *Richtungslinien*[20]). This will only be possible, if at all, when we have discovered the deeper causes of the sequences and can predict their continued operation under specified conditions.

(2) The use of the method of "adhesions" is rather to suggest hypotheses relating to causation or to check them. For example, the hypothesis put forward by Freud[21] to explain the laws of exogamy implies a necessary association between totemism and exogamy, and may be checked in part by inquiring whether the alleged association exists in fact, and whether the exceptions or deviations can be explained by reference to different conditions which are yet in harmony with the general theory. In giving this example, I am not suggesting that the only type of causal explanation in sociology is psychological in nature. Other factors are clearly involved. It is only when these factors have been isolated and universal propositions about them been established that it will be possible to speak of social laws.

I.—I conclude that the conception of stages of growth is still necessary and useful in sociology, and that it may be defended against the objections which have been raised against it.

II.—That its use does not commit us to any particular theory of social evolution, still less to any theory of progressive evolution; the tracing of sequences in orderly phases is a necessary preliminary to *any* theory of social development.

III.—What is now urgently needed is further work towards the establishment of a more complete social morphology and more refined analysis of the complex life of social institutions, with the object of facilitating the task of comparison, and ultimately, of causal explanation. M. GINSBERG.

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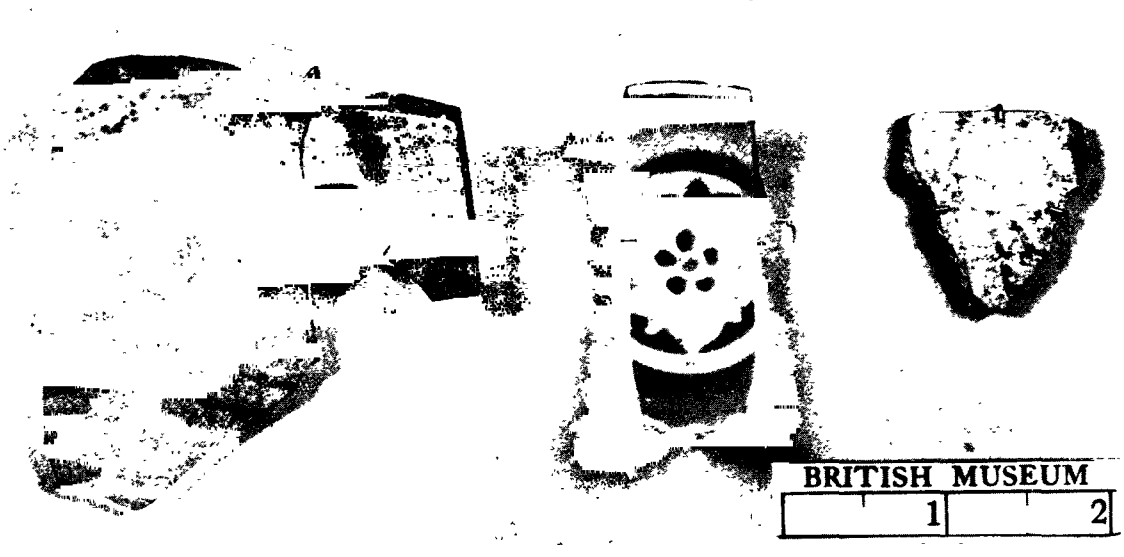
Southern Rhodesia. **Maufe.**

Antiquities from an "Ancient Working" in Southern Rhodesia. *By H. B. Maufe and R. L. Hobson.*

113 The following letters record a fresh discovery of objects which at all events contributes towards a lower limit of date for the "ancient workings," of which much has been written in connection with Zimbabwe and other Rhodesian ruins :—

"Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia.
"3rd October, 1931.

"Sir,—Some little time ago a miner, Mr. George Brown, put down a shaft in an 'ancient 'working' in the Darwin District. In the filling between depths of 6 and 30 feet he came on sherds, a few bones, etc., which he has handed over to me. I venture to send them to you by parcel



1. 2. 3.

FRAGMENTS OF ORIENTAL WARES FROM AN ANCIENT WORKING IN SOUTHERN RHODESIA.

post in the hope that you will get them examined for dates. There are fragments of a square, green glass bottle with rounded shoulders, which makes one say 'schnapps' just as the Dhlo-Dhlo bottle does. Some of the sherds ought to be datable too.

"I am getting details of locality and the circumstances of the find, and will forward them to you. Mr. Brown tells me that there was also kafir pottery which, of course, he threw away! I don't know whether any of this is recoverable, but of course it might help correlation with the kafir pottery succession in the ruins. I am hoping to retrieve some of it.

"H. B. MAUFE,
Director, Geological Survey."

In a later letter, Mr. Maufe adds :—

"Salisbury.
"10th December, 1931.

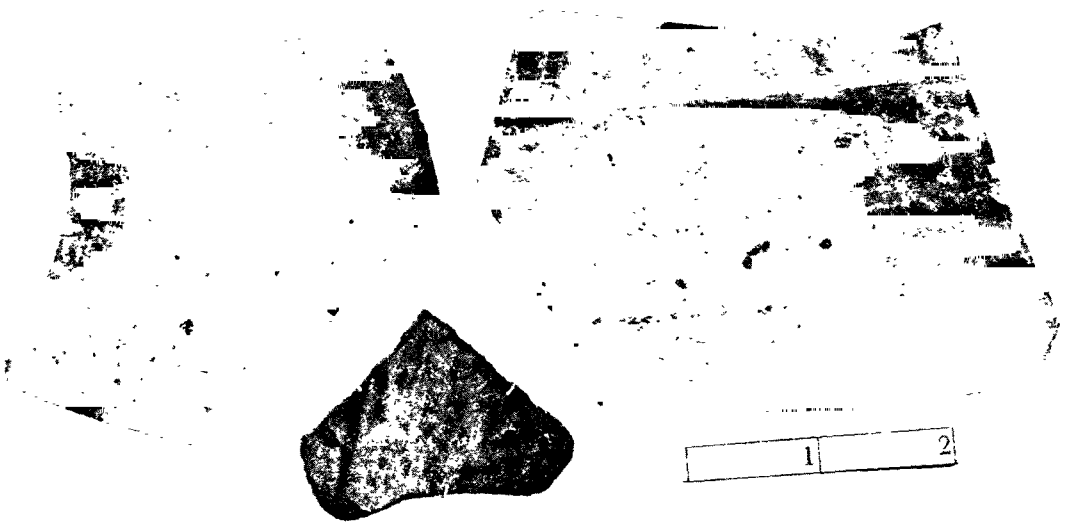
"Mr. George Brown has just sent in some Kafir sherds which he has picked up close to the head of "the old shaft in which he found the sherds already sent to you. The shaft has been filled in again. "It is, of course, not absolutely certain that these sherds, which are being posted to you under "separate cover, come from the old shaft.

"He also writes, 'As far as I can recollect I found the white pottery (1) first, the glass bottle (2) "'about half-way down, and the glazed pottery (3) in different places. As the pottery was "'scattered about, I have every reason to think that the working was deliberately filled in, and "'no doubt if the workings were cleaned out on either side of the old shaft, some more of the pottery

" ' would be found. The name of the claim on which the pottery was found is the Duke of Cornwall,
" ' Reg. No. 1630.'

"The Duke of Cornwall claims are three miles east-south-east of Arcadia homestead on the south
" flank of the Umkaradzi valley, and about six miles south-east of Mount Darwin village in an air
" line. They must lie, therefore, about two miles north-east of Darwin Mountain itself, the ' Fura '
" of the Portuguese records."

Mr. R. L. Hobson, Keeper of the Department of Ceramics and Ethnography at the British Museum, who has kindly examined the fragments of pottery sent by Mr. Maufe, describes them as follows: the numbering is that of the photographs (Figs. 1, 2).



4. FRAGMENTS OF CHINESE GLAZED EARTHENWARE FROM AN ANCIENT WORKING IN SOUTHERN RHODESIA.

1. Fragment of a bowl: Chinese porcelain, seventeenth or eighteenth century: mottled blue striped pattern, on white ground.
2. Fragment of a cup: Chinese porcelain, seventeenth century or later: blue floral pattern on white ground.
3. Fragment of white glazed earthenware: Near-Eastern, perhaps Egypt, seventeenth to nineteenth century.
4. Five fragments of Chinese glazed earthenware: Chihli Province, sixteenth to eighteenth century: black exterior, dark brown interior with black splashes. This ware was made largely for export to the Philippines and East Indies.

Mr. H. J. Braunholtz adds the following notes on other objects:—

5. Base of a square green glass bottle (Dutch gin-bottle: not photographed) resembling the bottle found in a native hut-burial at Dhlo-Dhlo by Miss Caton-Thompson (*The Zimbabwe Culture* [Oxford, 1931], pp. 171-174 and Pl. xliv, 2) and dated round about A.D. 1700: with it was found a china bowl (Pl. xliv, 1) of coarse export Ming from a provincial factory independently dated by Mr. Hobson "round about A.D. 1700."
6. Fragment of native (Makalanga?) ware with graphite burnish. This type of pottery has persisted from medieval times to the present day in Rhodesia, and cannot be dated accurately. Miss Caton-Thompson found a few fragments of it (designated as "Class B ware") under cement floors and one sherd under the conical tower at Zimbabwe. Above the cement floors it becomes the dominant type. Graphite-polished pottery is also made by the Ba-Venda of N. Transvaal at the present time.

All the fragments have been returned to the Director of the Geological Survey at Salisbury.

ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE: PROCEEDINGS.

Ordinary Meetings of the Institute.

Anthropological Observations in Central and North Australia. *Summary of a Communication presented by W. D. Walker, B.Sc., M.B., B.S.*

114 During journeys into various parts of the Australian interior the different types of native encountered were described. Special reference was made to the Narrinyeri, Arundta, Loritja (Aluritja), Ilpera, Rimpuringa, Chingilla, Wurramurra and Yuntawanta.

Common Problems in Psycho-analysis and Anthropology. *Summary of a Communication presented by Dr. E. Glover: 15th March,* 1932.

115 The paper is based on a suggestion from Dr. E. E. Evans-Pritchard that it might be possible to discuss a number of common interests and at the same time remove possible misapprehensions existing between the sciences of psycho-analysis and anthropology.

Commencing with a problem of interest to psycho-analysts, viz., "The problem of drug addiction" and its relation to drug rituals and drug addictions in the primitive," it became clear that this one subject would provide adequate opportunities for discussing general principles. The argument is as follows:—

Psycho-analysis is now able to indicate with more precision the general outline of development in the first few years of life. The child passes through stages during which instructual difficulties are dealt with by means of alternating mechanisms, viz., introjection and projection. Exaggerations of these phases provide the basis for what later are termed psychoses. In course of development phases are reached which are essentially neurotic in type, and can be related to the neuroses of adult life. Drug addiction when analysed is found to relate to a phase of development following the infantile psychotic stage and preceding the infantile neurotic stage.

Turning to comparative methods, psycho-analysis has always favoured the view that interesting parallels can be drawn between individual and racial development, *e.g.*, between infantile neurotic and psychotic phenomena on the one hand and primitive manifestations both individual and social, on the other. Are anthropologists in a position then to classify their data in some order comprehensible to a psycho-analyst? Can they subdivide different tribal organizations in accordance with the balance of psychotic, neurotic and "reality" reactions? If so, is there any subdivision corresponding to the individual phase which is responsible for drug addiction? What are the criteria for such estimations? What is the significance of primitive drug ritual and primitive drug addiction respectively?

The writer describes his own attempts to deal with this problem along anthropological lines, and its almost complete lack of success. He attributes this failure to the absence of any common criteria, and proceeds to discuss these criteria. His tentative conclusions are (*a*) that a rough quantitative criterion can be established with reference to the distribution of anxiety, guilt or hate in the organization; (*b*) that a useful descriptive criterion can be established by a study of the products of introjection and projection respectively.

A contrast is drawn between the "functional" methods of anthropology and the functional methods of psycho-analysis. It would appear essential to achieve a closer degree of correspondence between the two methods, before any effective probing of energies between the sciences can be brought about. The main stumbling block is the existence of a radically different perspective. The perspective of the psycho-analyst is determined by individual unconscious phenomena, that of the anthropologist, it would appear, by social (tribal) regulation of primitive instinct. The two have something in common but are by no means identical.

Human Biology Research Committee.

General Discussion of Purposes, Scope, and Procedure: opened by the Chairman, Professor G. Elliot Smith, F.R.S., 4 March, 1932. **116**

The Human Biology Research Committee met on 4 March for a general discussion of the purposes, scope and procedure to be adopted. Prof. G. Elliot Smith presided, and the following is a summary of his introductory remarks:—

Instead of discussing some specific topic at this meeting, I have thought it desirable to ask you to consider what the purposes, the scope and the procedure of the committee should be if it is to fulfil the object for which it was created. Unfortunately, it is only too obvious that during recent years the Royal Anthropological Institute has in large measure lost touch with the biological side of anthropology, and its proceedings have not reflected or been influenced by the great advances which have been made in the biological approach to the study of man. Its publications will be searched in vain for any adequate record even of the great discoveries of the fossil remains of man which have been made during recent years, and when one comes to consider the study of the anatomical and physiological evidence relating to the evolution of man and such problems as those of blood-grouping, immunity and inheritance—subjects which in other countries play an obtrusive part in the proceedings of anthropological congresses and societies—it will be realized that these important aspects of anthropological progress have been almost wholly neglected here. Even the opportunities presented by the selection of Huxley Lecturers to remedy this shortcoming have not been taken.

The question is, what can the committee do to remedy this state of affairs?

In the first place, it is essential that the results of the momentous investigations in the biological side of anthropology should be reported to the Institute and discussed, not simply as popular expositions, but as serious and intensive contributions to, and criticisms of, the work being done. In the second place, in order that this programme should be carried out, it is essential that we should attract to our meetings the people really competent to discuss such matters. This aspect of the question presents the real difficulty. For there is no ignoring the fact that within recent years biologists have neglected the Institute and left the way open for popular expositions of some of the more hackneyed aspects of physical anthropology.

This committee can fulfil its purpose only if it envisages the whole range of the biological approach to anthropology and is able to attract competent biologists to discuss specific problems of race and inheritance, of the evolution of human structure and function, of the psychological implications of the changes in cerebral structure and function, of blood reactions, blood-grouping and immunity, of the comparative anatomy of apes and men, the study of simian behaviour, and of the technical procedures involved in making observations and measurements and the statistical examination of the evidence so acquired in reference to human variations, races and species.

On the present occasion the time can best be employed in a general discussion of this issue, in defining subjects for consideration and recommending people to be invited to discuss them.

In the informal discussion which followed there was general agreement as to the desirability of devoting more attention to the biological aspects of anthropology. Original contributions; reports bringing up to date the knowledge of the various aspects; and full opportunity for serious and informal discussion; were the means by which this would be sought. Non-Fellows having special knowledge of these various subjects would be invited on occasion to contribute reports of the kind specified.

It was decided to devote the next meeting to the subject of blood-groups, and that in May to a discussion of any proposals concerning the standardization of techniques which the committee might wish to put forward at the Conference of Eugenics Organizations which would take place in New York in August next. A group of three: Sir Arthur Keith, Miss M. L. Tildesley, and Dr. G. M. Morant, were appointed to consider and make recommendations to the committee for their discussion in May, and to send replies to a questionnaire sent to the Council of the Institute by Prof. Fabio Frassetto concerning this same matter of standardization.

Sociological Research Committee.

The Economic Life of Melanesia. *Abstract of a paper read by Miss Wedgwood at a meeting of the above Committee on 11 March, 1932.* **117**

The islands which are classed as "Melanesian" are inhabited by a very large number of tribes speaking different dialects or languages and having very diverse cultures. Strictly the term "Melanesian" is restricted to peoples speaking a "Melanesian" language, but in the islands of Melanesia there are, even if we exclude the island of New Guinea from this group, tribes who speak a so-called Papuan language. This great diversity of tribes and cultures makes any survey of the economic life of the West Pacific peculiarly difficult, and the task is not rendered easier by the almost complete ignorance about the vast majority of the tribes and the lack of any complete or reasonably detailed study of the culture of any one Melanesian people. In particular has the economic life and organization been only very partially sketched, for even in *The Argonauts of the Western Pacific*, the picture of the economic life of the Trobrianders is not complete, rich as it is.

In examining the economic life of the Melanesian peoples then, the survey will necessarily be superficial. For convenience we may divide it up into four sections: (1) the different types of food-getting activity. (2) Non-food-producing types of economic activity. (3) The organization of labour. (4) The ownership and distribution of goods.

(1) Throughout all the islands garden culture is the most important source of food—yams, taro and coconuts being, perhaps, the most important of the crops cultivated. Some tribes on the larger islands practice *jhuming*; more usually different plots of land are cultivated in rotation. Among a few tribes the evidence suggests a rudimentary rotation of crops. Manuring of a kind is carried out in some islands by turning pigs loose on the fallow land and by scattering the ash resulting from burning the undergrowth when clearing over the soil; but whether the natives do this with the intent to enrich the ground is doubtful. Irrigation for taro crops is practised sporadically. The different agricultural processes are often accompanied or initiated by ritual performances; and everywhere there appears to be some form of harvest festival, usually accompanied by the display of food in rivalry.

Fishing is relatively less important, except for villages lying on the coast, and even for these it is not usually the chief economic interest or source of food. Hunting is never an important occupation on the small islands owing to the dearth of game, but on such islands as New Guinea, New Britain, and New Ireland, it is often important, though it never eclipses the prime occupation of garden culture. Wild fruits, etc., are also commonly

gathered, but they only supplement the garden produce.

The chief domestic animals are the pig, the fowl, and the dog. This last was in some islands apparently not known until after the advent of the Europeans. The other two appear to be pre-European. The fowl in many islands is or was apparently seldom eaten; the pig has often a social position which prevents us from regarding it as of primarily economic importance, though it is eaten on festival occasions.

(2) *Non-food-producing types of activity.*—Villages and house building—considerable variety of house type, but in general the villages are fixed and not moved, according to the needs of cultivation. If gardens inconveniently far off, temporary garden huts erected. The importance of the village as a social unit. Basketry and mat-making highly developed. Weaving not known in true Melanesian islands, but may possibly have existed formerly in the Northern New Hebrides. Loom used till recently in Santa Cruz and certain small islands in the Bismark archipelago, which are Micronesian rather than Melanesian in culture. Pottery made by coiled and modelled technique in many islands, but noticeably absent in the north-central New Hebrides, though clear indications of its former existence there. In some islands technique of pot-making remarkably highly developed. Triumph of Malekulan craftsmanship is the woodwork—club-houses, canoes, effigies, gongs, etc., etc. Not all islanders have canoes, but this does not necessarily imply lack of craftsmanship in wood.

Tools used in agriculture, and arts and crafts of the simplest. Stone, bone, shell, wood and bamboo used. Good workmanship in their manufacture often shown.

(3) *Organization of labour.*—Individual, communal and organized co-operative activities all found according largely to type of occupation. Marked sex dichotomy in occupation. Men and women engage in different branches of agriculture, *e.g.*, men—the clearing and fencing; women—the weeding and cleaning. Basketry, mat-making and pottery mostly women's work; woodwork and work in stone and shell mostly men's work. Little specialization of occupation; no occupational classes. People gain social prestige through reputation for skill in any occupation.

(4) *Ownership and Distribution of Goods.*—The myth of Melanesian communism. Land ownership and land tenure, rules of trespass; methods of protecting private property. Gift exchange and individual ownership of goods. Ownership a subjective rather than objective relationship between individual and goods. *Distribution of goods*: the rights of relatives; the exchange of goods—markets and overseas trading; their social and economic importance.

General similarity of food-getting activities throughout Melanesia; belong to Hobhouse's class of "Agriculturists pure" or "A2." This general similarity masks a considerable diversity. Are the criteria which Hobhouse selected satisfactory for a differentiation of different degrees of economic cultural development? The type of economic organization not sufficiently stressed by him; this in some respects more significant than the types of food-getting activity. Economic life cannot be studied outside its general cultural setting.

The difficulty in selecting criteria on which to base judgment of a people's economic development; *e.g.*, how far, if at all, are we justified in taking pottery and weaving as such criteria since they are by no means the only crafts demanding high technical skill and mechanical appliances. The selection of criteria demands much more intimate knowledge of economic life of divers primitive peoples than we yet have. The data for all parts of the world—certainly for Melanesia—far too scanty still to enable us to make any deductions of scientific value.

PROCEEDINGS OF SOCIETIES.

BRITISH ACADEMY.

Archæology and Tradition. *Sir John Rhys Memorial Lecture. By Professor H. J. Fleure, D.Sc., F.S.A.: 17 February*, 1932.

118 It is well from time to time to review the border land between material archæology and legend in which Rhys was a pioneer explorer. In his day the work of Schliemann and Dörpfeld at Troy was barely recognized, that of Evans at Knossos just beginning, the idea of a pre-Aryan urban civilization in India in the legends disregarded for lack of work subsequently achieved by Marshall; the stories of the Shu-King lacked the hints of confirmation they are beginning to acquire through the work of Andersson and Arne, the studies of the background of Greek culture by Myres and others were still to come, and the evidences of a great flood time in Mesopotamia were still unsuspected. Rhys was specially interested in the thought that legend and folk-lore were built on an historical basis in Western Europe, where the problem is made difficult by the fact that legendary histories were written down only long after classical times, and it is thus almost impossible to say how much may be derived by copying and adaptation from Virgil and other classical writers.

Norse legend and mythology gather around Thor and Odin. Thor's hammer may be the implement with which he makes the thunder, but it stands contrasted with Odin's spear. Thor is homely. Odin lordly. Archæology, now clearer than ever, thanks to Rosenberg, helps to demonstrate the coming of two waves of culture from the south and south-east, that of the axe-hammer of stone, and that of the bronze weapons and the legends of the age of the gods tell of its ending in a monster winter, three winters in succession with no summer between. The evidences of a worsening of climate in the last millennium B.C. are now very strong and are based on tidal observations, pollen counts and archæology, as well as on studies far away from the Baltic.

The Irish legendary histories emphasize repeated culture-movements from Spain and the connection is visualized as a direct one. Archæology shows ever more clearly that such connections have occurred from the dawn of the bronze age down to the iron age. The legends of the Tuatha Dé Danann, magicians rich in treasure, coming from the north similarly have some relation to the Danish-Irish connections so clear in the archæological record.

Geoffrey of Monmouth's story of the removal of Stonehenge from Ireland has received much illumi-

nation from the discovery of H. H. Thomas, that nearly 60 of its stones were brought from Pembrokeshire, but a considerable gap remains between the facts of archæology and the statements of a romantic writer.

The legendary histories divide Britain into Cornwall (the south-west), Loegria (Midlands and south-east), Cambria (Wales) and Albany (north of the Humber), and that these are related to archæological provinces few will dispute. From the story of Lear onwards in legendary history indications of intercourse and transactions across the English Channel are multiplied, and roads and laws are brought into the story. The importance of cross-channel connections in La Téne times, and in a preceding phase as well, is very clear.

Not only written legendary history but rural folk-lore may be drawn into the study, as Rhys was fond of showing. Welsh tales of relations between pre-iron civilizations of the open uplands and later intrusions in the valleys may owe something to borrowings from other countries, but they have a reference to the evolution of Welsh life, and so have the tales of sea-traders in Pembrokeshire, with their gold balls and their strange language and methods.

SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL STUDIES.

Open Public Lectures.

The Place of Folktales in African Life. *By Rev. E. W. Smith : 2nd March*, 1932.

119

Everybody who knows anything about Africans knows that they are great story-tellers. These stories serve the purpose of recreation, in the first place. They are told in the evening when the work of the day is finished; they are amusing, graphic, and often told with very great skill. And the tedium of the day is forgotten as the listeners are drawn into this world of wonder and fun. They are carried out of their cramped, narrow, earthly existence into the freer atmosphere of fancy. Some tales are of animals, some of human beings, others of animals and human beings. They are intended to amuse, and they do amuse. They also offer a means of release for pent-up emotions. As Krylov, the Russian fabulist, lampooned the reactionary officials of his day in the guise of the amiable blunt-headed bear, the stupid elephant and other beasts, and the people experienced infinite satisfaction on hearing their oppressors made to look ridiculous in this way; so the African finds an outlet for outraged feelings in telling tales of powerful persons whom he fears to name and represents in the guise of animals. Captain Rattray has suggested that in the Akan stories the names of animals, and even the name of the sky-god himself, have been substituted for the names of real individuals whom it would have been very impolitic to mention. The tales afford satisfaction by expressing thought and emotions that are habitually repressed through fear. And in a similar way may be explained what Captain Rattray calls "Rabelaisian passages" in the tales. That what he says of the Akan people is true also of other Africans, is seen in, for example, the dramatic tale of the Pitso of the Birds which is told, or acted, in Basutoland. It is all in reality a delicious satire upon certain chiefs, and from it the listeners get some release for their deep-seated resentment. African tales are also educative—education being understood here as the process by which a people's culture is handed on from one generation to another. In recent years the educative value of story-telling has come to be recognized by educationists in Europe and America. Tales are declared to be the natural carriers of racial traditions, or information and ideals. This truth has for long been realized by Africans. They teach very largely by telling stories. The group assembled around the evening fire is a school of language. We know very little about the process by which African children learn so rapidly to speak their complicated language with fluency and accuracy; there are no books of grammar, there is no formal instruction in language; they learn by the natural method of listening and imitating, and no doubt the tales perform an essential part in this, for these are repeated again and again until they become thoroughly familiar. Some of the tales draw attention to particular modes of expression and ridicule people who make mistakes in regard to them—in the matter of tones, for example, and the enunciation of nasal sounds. Moreover the tales convey to the new generation what their predecessors learnt (or think they learnt) about the world around them. A large proportion of the African tales takes the form of etiological myths. They are not abreast with the latest scientific explanations of the universe, but they convey the elders' observation and reflection upon the facts of their experience. If they do not teach exact zoology, at least they draw children's attention to natural phenomena and make the animal world interesting. The great facts of human life and the origin of things are also illuminated to the young African's mind by the tales. They form the background of his thinking about the universe. The tales are, further, moulders of ideals. If certain recognized standards of conduct are necessary for life in community, it is also necessary that these be made known to the young. Moral instruction there must be, and many people might be surprised by the excellence of the morality that is taught. To a large degree it is conveyed in maxims, but a still more sure method of instilling the rules into the mind of the rising generation is to embody them in interesting tales. The "moral" is not always explicitly stated : the tale is told and left to work upon the listeners. In a multitude of fascinating stories young people are taught that they cannot transgress with impunity. Ridicule is a formidable (and dangerous) weapon in the hand of those who seek to mould the younger generation to tribal pattern. Tales make use of the principle that laughter is the supreme corrective, and poke fun at people who make fools of themselves in various ways. Conundrums, or problem stories, are told for the purpose of sharpening the wits and so are

educative in intention. Africans propound problems in the form of a tale and end with a question: "Which of these did the best?" The Dagomba tale recorded by Mr. Cardinall which concludes with the question, "Now tell which of these two was "the greater friend?" is a fine illustration of the African's genius for friendship and a good example of the imaginative power exhibited by the tales at their best.

A study such as this has practical value. All who in any way work with Africans may learn from it the enormous power that imagination holds over them. Teachers of Africans should make large use of stories.

THIRD INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF EUGENICS.

120 The third International Congress of Eugenics will be held at the American Museum of Natural History, New York, on August 21, 22 and 23, 1932. An Exhibition in connection with the Congress will be open in the Museum from August 22 to September 22. The materials shown will be mainly (1) pedigree charts and their genetical analysis, (2) statistical charts and tables, (3) photographs and maps, (4) models, casts and drawings, (5) books and scientific papers, (6) scientific apparatus, (7) living specimens. Investigators in eugenics, and in allied sciences which bear upon eugenics, are invited to offer material on loan for exhibition. Prospective exhibitors should communicate at once with H. H. Laughlin, Chairman, Exhibits Committee, Third International Congress of Eugenics, Cold Spring Harbor, Long Island, New York, U.S.A. Each exhibitor is assured that all of his accepted material will be installed skilfully and duly exhibited in proper correlation with related work. Exhibitors are invited to offer suggestions in the arrangement, display, and demonstration of their own material.

REVIEWS.

Australia.

The Psychology of a Primitive People. A Study of the Australian Aborigine. *By S. D. Porteus.* **121** *London (Arnold): 1931. Pp. xv, 438. Illustrated. Price 30s. net.*

Prof. Porteus' book is not the first to lure us, by its ambitious title, to eventual disappointment. He writes with that fluid lucidity which carries one unreflectingly through the most technical discussion; and he tempts us further by a number of excellent illustrations.

The book is divided into two parts, entitled respectively "Aboriginal Environment," and "Aboriginal Intelligence." Actually, however, the latter part splits logically into an anthropological section and a purely psychological—in the academic sense—section. The new point of view claimed by the author in his preface, consists, apparently, in the correlation of aboriginal intelligence with aboriginal environment by a method not unfamiliar to those versed in recent anthropological literature. But this subdivision has a further significance. It indicates the scope of Prof. Porteus' excursus; for his psychological quest is confined almost solely to the *intelligence* of the Australian aborigine.

It is perhaps unfortunate that the author elected, in his first part, to depict the environment of the aborigine by means of what amounts to a personal travel-diary. The frequent obtrusion of the narrator detracts from the objectivity and clarity of the picture. The account is, moreover, interspersed with numerous *obiter dicta*, psychological, anthropological, and mundane, which serve to convince one of the author's sympathetic and broad-minded attitude towards the aborigines and their problems, but do not contribute to a scientific analysis of their environment. One or two more maps, and some recourse to standard documentary evidence, would have enhanced the value of this part and supplied a surer foundation for Prof. Porteus' theses.

In the first half of the second part Prof. Porteus essays what he calls a psychological interpretation of the main customs, practices, and beliefs of the aborigine. This proves, however, to bear a close resemblance to the methods of anthropological analysis which have been christened functionalism. Few will quarrel with the author's thesis that these customs, practices, and beliefs cannot be understood except in their inter-relationships and by reference to the entire life of the people, or with his contention that they exist to maintain social cohesion. In the further development of this standpoint, however, when he endeavours to show that many ostensibly *unintelligent* features of aboriginal social organization actually deserve to be recognized as very intelligent adaptations to the exigencies of life in the desert, Prof. Porteus sometimes illustrates the dangers of too facile an application of his "psychological" method. To defend this reasoning, he is, for example, compelled to propound an hypothesis of the course of the dispersion of the earliest Australians through the continent, which will enable him to regard the desert as the cultural centre. Plausible as this reconstruction may be, it does not assist to explain why their contemporary social organization should be advantageous to the present-day tribes, desert dwelling as well as others. It is conceivable that government by the old men skilled in the cultural and natural lore of the people may be an asset in the struggle for survival, as the author affirms, and therefore represents an intelligent adaptation. But it is surely succumbing to the logical trap inherent in this method of explanation, to support the view that the system of exogamic cross-marriage was deliberately planned, at some time or another, in order to ensure the sexual prerogatives of the gerontocrats, and to diminish their rivalry for the

women; or to account for the cross-classification of children on the ground that "the advantages of "(differential) fertility and the disadvantages of "(differential) sterility" are thus spread evenly among the tribe. *Post hoc* and *propter hoc* tend to be confused in this type of explanation.

It must be noted, too, that the author's data are almost entirely taken from the standard sources, his own casual observations being insufficient to provide empirical evidence that the social organization of the aborigines does actually function as he conjectures. Assumptions thus become necessary, which some would consider questionable, *e.g.*, that the desert environment has a disintegrating influence on group unity, which must be counterpoised by socially unifying devices. To call such deductions psychological would be a misnomer, in the reviewer's opinion, since they are developed with but little application of the concepts of modern psychology—and that only incidentally. Indeed, the author's entire effort to detect signs of intelligence in the peculiar customs of the aborigine, smacks of the attempts of early students of animal behaviour to derive evidence of animal intelligence from old ladies' tales about the remarkable performances of their pets.

The true novelty of Prof. Porteus' book lies in the final chapters of Part II. These record the results obtained by administering standard, objective, physical and mental tests to the aborigines. The author and his colleagues travelled 16,000 miles, from mission station to mission station, in search of subjects. Altogether 130 men, 11 women, and 127 children, of various tribes, were tested. We are warned that the subjects were too few, the tests too limited in range and often not sufficiently adapted to the cultural background of the aborigine, and the mental attitude of the subjects at times too incalculable, to allow this to be regarded as more than a pioneer investigation for which no finality is claimed. This does not, however, prevent the author from subsequently lapsing into one or two extreme inferences. Throughout, comparative data obtained with other racial groups are cited.

The physical measurements included head and stature measurements, dynamometer and vital capacity tests. Prof. Porteus finds the average brain capacity of his adult male subjects to correspond to that of the average 13-year-old Australian white boy. He cites investigations proving a positive correlation of 0·2 to 0·3 between brain capacity and intelligence, among white children. Realizing that such low correlations, obtained within a particular racial group, do not validate the direct inference of relative intellectual status from brain capacity measurements of restricted samples of different races, he wisely refrains from stressing these measurements. The dynamometer and vital capacity tests apparently gave somewhat unreliable results, as many of the natives failed to make a sufficiently strong effort. Nevertheless, Prof. Porteus infers from comparative data that Filipinos show a greater tendency towards unidextrality than the aborigines, and that this is further evidence "in "favour of the theory of the selective influence of "environmental habits or possibly of the trans-"mission of acquired characteristics"!

The mental test results raise many controversial points. The history of racial testing must make us cautious of comparing intelligence test scores of different racial groups without the most careful scrutiny. The primary difficulty is to find tests which, while measuring *only intelligence*, are sufficiently independent of differential education and culture. Such tests as the Porteus mazes, the Knox-Squires Xylophone, and the Goddard form board, the main tests used by Prof. Porteus, seem superficially to fulfil the requirements. Actually, however, they make demands upon numerous minor adjustments—*e.g.*, experiences of geometrical forms and of diagrams, habits of speed which Prof. Porteus reports to be disconcertingly lacking among the aborigines—the absence of which might seriously prejudice one's performance. Furthermore, no competent psychologist would accept the estimate given by any one of these tests singly as even an approximate index of intelligence. He would require at least six or eight of such tests to be used conjointly.

Recent work in the theory of intelligence testing, which Prof. Porteus entirely ignores, makes it clear that these tests do not measure simply and solely the intelligence. Success in them depends upon a pattern of mental factors, including intelligence, specific abilities due probably largely to training, and temperamental qualities which may also be in part acquired. In fact Prof. Porteus himself states that his maze-tests, upon which he places greatest reliance in the present inquiry, measure planning-capacity and foresight, as well as intelligence—qualities not demonstrably all identical. It is scientifically inadmissible to treat a measure of a pattern of factors as if it refers to one of the factors only; the more so, as there is no evidence that the pattern of mental factors employed by the aborigines, in this test, was identical with that of the other races compared with them. By the same token, while sharing the author's opinion that the maze tests are to some extent diagnostic of the ability to make adequate industrial and social adjustments *within* our culture, we would consider it fallacious to infer that they are therefore diagnostic of the aborigines' capacity to adapt to western civilization, as Prof. Porteus seems to think. This would be to overlook flagrantly the lengthy (differential) cultural conditioning to which both we and the primitive are subjected.

The pertinent question is, has the aborigine that outfit of habits and aptitudes indispensable for adequate adjustment to the conditions of civilized life? The initial step towards an answer might have been taken by Prof. Porteus, had he devoted more space to a qualitative analysis of his results—say, by the Spearman-Kelly method of tetrad differences, as well as by inductive observation.

Two other rather naïve fallacies are committed by the author. Firstly, he attempts to measure the natives' auditory memory by making them repeat after him series of digits—their system of numeration goes as far as five—and polysyllabic

native names. We wonder what success an uneducated Western European would have if he were asked to repeat a series of Chinese syllables. Yet the Professor concludes, from the very inferior average scores of the aborigines in this test, that this is "unmistakable" evidence of "divergent "mental evolution," and of "their possibilities in "the way of assimilating white education" being "exceedingly remote"! Secondly, Prof. Porteus proffers the results of his Xylophone test (a modification of the Knox cube imitation test) as measures of visual memory; but he is surely aware that this test is commonly utilized as an intelligence test (indeed he himself quotes it elsewhere as such) in which visual memory is at most a component. His conclusion that the Australian aborigine is unfitted for occidental education may be perfectly sound; his premisses are nevertheless certainly impugnable.

Space forbids further discussion of Prof. Porteus' book. Two important findings, however, deserve mention. Firstly, he found considerable variability in the test achievements of his subjects, some of them being very able even by our standards. It would have been interesting to know if this is in any way correlated with variable social success, or perhaps with the tendency to drift away from tribal life. Secondly, he found the Central group to be consistently superior to the North-western group in both physical and mental tests. Prof. Porteus seems to attribute this to the selective influence of the more rigorous conditions of life in the desert. This problem merits more detailed investigation.

In conclusion, we must reiterate Prof. Porteus' warning that this was a pioneer investigation. It is gratifying to note that the work is being continued under the auspices of the sponsors of this investigation, the National Research Council of Australia, and the Rockefeller Foundation. Those concerned with the education of the savage, and his acculturation to western civilization, will follow this work with the greatest interest. M. FORTES.

Europe: Archæology.

Early Altaic Art. *Alt-Altaische Kunstdenkmäler. Briefe- und Bildermaterial von J. R. Aspelin* **122** *Reisen in Sibirien und der Mongolei*, 1887–89, *herausg. v. Hjalmar Appelgren-Kivalo. Finnische Altertumsgesellschaft, Helsingfors*, 1931. *Fol.*, 47 *pp.*, 352 *figures and maps.*

After the publication of his great *Antiquités du Nord Finno-Ougrien* (1877–84), Aspelin made three more journeys to Siberia and Mongolia, sketching sculptures and copying inscriptions. These latter duly appeared, but the sketches were left unpublished. Now they are given us by Dr. Appelgren-Kivalo, who accompanied Aspelin on two of his journeys, with a text consisting of extracts contributed by Aspelin to a Finnish journal and annotations by the editor, more valuable than the text they illustrate. We accordingly have views and plans of graves, a few of them excavated, views of standing stones of which the most interesting have strange mask-like faces engraved upon them, others figures of men and animals, rock engravings of men and animals, and ordinary *kamennïya baby*. The treatment is mainly descriptive and not much help is given towards understanding the representations.

This makes it the more unfortunate that no index or list of the figures is provided, so that one must look right through the book to see whether it contains a figure of any particular representation, accordingly it is difficult to use as a supplement to other books such as Aspelin's former publication. For instance, M. P. Gryanov and E. R. Schneider have in their "Ancient Sculptures of the Minusinsk "Steppes" (*Materialy po Etnografii*, IV. 2, pp. 63–93, 1929) given 73 schematic line drawings of the early type of standing stones and a few photographs; it is very troublesome to find which of these is better figured in the new album. Their results are important: that this type is peculiar to a triangular area to the west of Minusinsk, and as one specimen was already used as a slab in making a grave that can probably be referred to the early Minusinsk Bronze Age (*see* S. A. Teploúkhov, *ib.* p. 52), the stones must be at least as old as the Karasuk stage, somewhere about 1000 B.C. This stage yields bronze chisels and gouges just suitable for executing the work.

The rock engravings are of two kinds: in the older the whole surface of the figures is pecked out; the men are naked but we see them riding horses, sitting in a boat, stirring cauldrons typically Scytho-Siberian; the animals though mostly rather primitive have some of the tricks of the Scythic style, *e.g.*, in the deers' antlers and in the spirals that decorate the surface of their bodies; one example recalls the gold plaques from Western Siberia. This same stylization recurs on the river Tola in Mongolia as figured by G. I. Borovka, "Archæological Investigation of the course of the "R. Tola," Leningrad, 1927. This class of engraving must therefore belong to people of the Scytho-Siberian culture and come down to the last centuries B.C.

Over these we have spirited line engravings of horsemen in helmets, mail-shirts and boots, with pennoned spears, bows and quivers, saddlecloths and stirrups, cruppers and breast-straps; their horses' manes are tied up into three brushes just like the horses on T'ai Tsung's monument (c. A.D. 650). Clearly we have the Turkish conquerors. Their inscriptions make it certain though they mostly bear no relation to the carvings. Finally the typical *kamennïya baby* may be put down to the Kirghiz. Ever since Strahlenberg in the eighteenth century, these Siberian carvings have attracted attention. I do not know of anything so nearly approaching a corpus of them. That the illustrations are from drawings rather than photographs is no drawback. They have been prepared with great care from sketches and squeezes which, between them, give details that no photograph would show. They complete the picture of Siberian culture that has been put together from excavations and chance finds of bronzes and pottery in such books as Merhart's "Bronze-Zeit am Jenissei."

ELLIS H. MINNS.

General.

Garnered Sheaves : Essays, Addresses and Reviews. *By Sir James George Frazer. London :* 1931. *9 in. × 5¾ in. Pp.* xii, 538. *Price* 21*s. net.* **123**

Sir James Frazer has collected together articles, reviews, and addresses that lay scattered throughout various periodicals. That is as much as to say he has added another smaller encyclopædia to the many bulky ones that already stand to his credit: a one-man encyclopædia, which is vastly better, as Sir James reminds us in the sixth address in this book, than one " written by a syndicate." It is, of course, an encyclopædia with a style. It is amazing how Sir James can lead us past his serried files of uniform facts without fatigue or boredom. It is true that imagination, lit up at times with a dry Scotch humour, comes to relieve the dryness of the facts as when he tells us that in the " case of hardened ghosts, upon whom moral per- " suasion would be thrown away, more energetic " measures were resorted to," or that " the Chuwash " had not even the decency to wait till the deceased " was fairly in his grave " before firing on him. But it is imagination that colours the facts without masking the outline.

Sir James is less fortunate in theory than in description. He clings to the old idea that " the attentions " bestowed upon the dead spring not so much from the " affection as from the fear of the survivors." By collecting the proper set of facts isolated from their connections it is easy to make out that " savages " or " primitives " are ruled by fear. By collecting another set it is equally easy to prove that the survivors have no greater preoccupation than to keep the dead with them, and maintain close relations. Sir James himself produces instances in the second appendix to the first chapter.

The first essay, it is true, was written in 1885, but as he says in his preface that he sees no reason for changing his opinion on any essential point, this essay must be taken to represent his present views. The recent essays confirm that Sir James remains uninfluenced by the movements which tend more and more to treat cultures as organisms. It may be said that this tendency has definitely gained the upper hand. The Tylor tradition has certainly played an indispensable rôle, and still must, like those Museums which classify by kind and not by region: but such collections of facts from all over the world are useful rather in giving us clues, than as a basis for the reconstruction of the history of thought. Isolated from their contexts these facts are often misleading, like the reference on p. 21 to the Fijian sextons. When we know all about these sextons Sir James' theory cannot hold.

To be ancient is not always to be out of date. The article on taboo reprinted from the *Encyclopædia Britannica* of 1888 still stands in the main. In twelve pages Sir James gives all the essentials which have been obscured by the over-subtlety of later writers and the wearisome completeness of Lehmann's three hundred and forty-four pages on *Die Polynesische Tabu-sitte*. So far is novelty from always being an improvement. In this case the old wine is certainly better. Where there is nothing big to quarrel with, the reviewer must carp at small points. Why is it always necessary, when drawing instances of taboo from Fiji, to apologize for their being Melanesian and not Polynesian? In everything but race and language the Fijians are much more closely related to Tonga and Samoa than to any Melanesians I know of. Melanesia and Polynesia are useful geographical terms, but we should not reason as if the imaginary line drawn between them is real, like those children who think ships bump on the equator. Why repeat an absurd etymology of *tapu*? I failed to recognize Tongan *ngofoua*, until I discovered from the dictionary that it was a primitive spelling for *gofua* or *nofua*, according to modern spellings.

Set Sir James any topic from the language of animals to the cursing of Venezelos and he will cap it with a parallel, and that parallel with another, and so on, and leave one wondering how so much scholarly reading can be crowded into one existence. His reviews and addresses, where he is emancipated from the tyranny of the enumeration of facts, make one almost regret that his style is not oftener thus set free. Even transposition into a foreign language does not detract from it: the address on Renan reads as if it might have been thought in French, not merely translated.

The get-up of the book, as usual, is worthy of the workmanship of the contents. The index is, needless to say, not an ordinary index, but a catalogue *raisonné*.

A. M. HOCART.

The Story of the Road. *By J. W. Gregory, F.R.S. Alexander MacLehose & Co.*, 1931. *Price*, 12*s.* 6*d.* **124**

This book deals with a fascinating theme. Which one of us can walk along some ancient track which has been a highway for mankind since social order started without occasionally thrilling at the thought of the countless men and women of past ages who have preceded us? Even more recent highroads have a romance of their own. I have often wondered what Cæsar's emotions would be could he stand for a moment to-day and watch the traffic on the Barnet By-Pass of the Great North Road? What, too, of the great paved ways in Peru, not to mention those in China, which are described by Professor Gregory and often illustrated from his photographs?

There is a great deal of information in this book about ancient highways and their history and the problems of construction of a modern tarmac road. But there is a good deal of repetition. It would not be surprising to learn that a number of the chapters were originally written as independent, slightly overlapping, lectures. But where so much information is given and the technicalities are presented in a readable form, it is only a carping critic who would complain.

M. C. B.

Technical Methods in the Preservation of Anthropological Museum Specimens. *By D. Leechman. (Ann. Rep. Nat. Museum of Canada*, 1929, *pp.* 127–58.) *Ottawa*, 1931. **125**

This concise and practical summary of approved methods shows that the technique of the National Museum of Canada is well up to date. It includes directions to field collectors for the " first aid " which is so often necessary, and for packing specimens of various kinds. There is no false sentiment about the dust of ages: " specimens should appear as nearly as " possible as they would if they had just left the " owner's hands." The special conditions of Canadian work are illustrated by precautions against extreme cold, and frozen soil, and against extreme dryness in the Museum itself. Another caution is interesting— " the fact that a specimen was brought from a Blackfoot " Indian is no guarantee that he did not first obtain it " from a Sioux and that it was not made by a Cree." And here is the golden rule for all concerned—" treat " every specimen as though it were the only one of its " kind in the world, and you may be sure that, in a " good many cases, it actually is."

J. L. M.

India.

126 **The Mysore Tribes and Castes, Vol. III.** *By the late H. V. Nanjundayya and Rao Bahadur L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer. Published under the auspices of the Mysore University. Bangalore*, 1930. *Pp.* cv, 619, *with* 76 *illustrations.*

This volume continues the reissue, with revision, of the concise and scholarly monographs of the late Mr. H. V. Nanjundayya's preliminary ethnographic survey, together with a number of new articles, including a lengthy account of Indian Christians and an elaborate treatise on the Jains. Some of the shorter articles, *e.g.*, those on the Kahars, Kare Okkalus and Hale Paikas, reproduce almost verbatim the accounts already published by Mr. Enthoven in his *Tribes and Castes of Bombay.*

Following the principles advocated by Ibbetson, Nesfield, Risley and other pioneers of Indian ethnography, the authors are rigorously systematic in the arrangement of their material, and thereby make it easy to compare and contrast the social system of the Kanarese people with those of the nations with whom they are in contact. Thus a typical Kanarese caste (*e.g.*, the Okkalu) is made up of a number of exogamous clans of "totemic aspect"; the Tulu type (Hasālar, Hale Paika) is similar, except that it is usually matrilineal; Telugu exogamy, on the other hand, is mainly a matter of "house-names" (*intí-pēru*); while the Marāthās (Darzi, Jingar, etc.) and some of the Telugu castes (Komati, Idiga, Jetti) grafton to a "house-name," or totemic system, a scheme of Brahmanic Rishi-*gotras* like those of Northern India, though the operative factor which regulates marriage is still the "house name," or totemic clan. Among the Gangas some clan names are totemic and some are "house-names," while the Gudikāras appear to have suppressed the southern forms in favour of Rishi-*gotras*. Among other points of interest in this volume are the survival of cairn burial, the privileges of the youngest son, and the propitiation of men who die unmarried. The details recorded in respect of the Korachas, or Koravas, as the older name would seem to have been, give rise to a suspicion of some connection in the distant past between these folk and the Korwās (*i.e.*, Korovas) of the hill and jungle tracts of the Sargūja and Jashpur States, in the north-east corner of the Central Provinces, whence they have spread into Mirzāpur and Palāmau and, in small numbers, into the fringes of the hills in adjoining districts.

Want of care in editing is very noticeable in the case of the botanical names of trees and plants. To cite only three out of many instances, on p. 353 the date-palm (*Phœnix sylvestris*) is called *Boswellia thurifera* (*Thuraiya*), which is a tree belonging to an entirely different order; on p. 123 *Paspalum* becomes *Pashupam*; and on p. 282 the *Cerbera Odollam* becomes *Cebera odallum*. The illustrations deserve a word of commendation: they have been well produced. A suggestion may be added that when the next volume is published, the opportunity should be taken to figure and describe the jewellery and ornaments enumerated at pages 196, 218, 294, etc. The Government of Mysore is to be congratulated on the publication of this series. C. E. A. W. O.

127 **Hindu Exogamy.** *By S. V. Karandikar. Bombay.* (*Taraporevala.*) 1929 *Pp.* 308. *Rs.* 6.

India possesses the finest anthropological literature in the world; not from curiosity, but because it has always seemed so important to the Indian to know how to act in every conceivable circumstance. The ancient writers thus give us the most objective and minute account of local usage that is to be found anywhere; but no theories of origin. Unfortunately their descendants have heard of Morgan, Maclennan, and the rest, usually by the time they have gone out of fashion in their own country. The result is that their work loses the objectivity of the ancient literature. Like many others, the present work dilutes valuable facts with inferior imitations of European speculations concerning exogamy, sept and clan, totemism, Aryans, etc.

Even so the work compares favourably with many European accounts which give us the author's impressions, rather than the evidence. Mr. Karandikar, in the course of long and involved arguments, gives us useful cases, notably of casuistry, which has strangely received little attention, though it plays an important part in the conflict between ideal and practice, tradition and new conditions. India is a land of extreme conservative idealism and thorough-going opportunism; hence casuistry probably plays a greater part there even than in Europe. Thus "it is a usual custom of commen-" tators and Nibandhur writers that they will not " directly condemn a rule given by the ancients— " even when they disagree with it. They will either " accept the rule with such provisions as will render " the original text almost inoperative, or they will " place the rule under Kalivarjaya (things not to be " performed in the Kali age)." Anyone who is interested to see how man exerts his ingenuity to reconcile theory with practice will find interesting instances and can compare them with the casuistry of modern political theorists when they get into power.

A. M. HOCART.

128 **The Cūlavamsa.** *Translated by Wilhelm Geiger, and from the German into English by Mrs. C. M. Rickmers, under the Patronage of the Government of Ceylon. Oxford. Published for the Pali Text Society by Humphrey Milford: Part I. pp. xlv+362.* 1929. *Part II. pp. xxxv+365.* 1930. *Price* 10*s. each Part.*

Much work has been done on Sinhalese history and archæology since 1889, when the Government of Ceylon reprinted Turnour's 1837 translation of chapters 1-37 of the *Mahāvamsa*, together with Wijesinha's rendering of the remainder of that national chronicle. A revised version, by Prof. Geiger, of the *Mahāvamsa* properly so called, was published, again under Government patronage, by the Pali Text Society in 1912, to be followed, nearly two decades later, by this edition of the *Cūlavamsa*, which carries the record down to 1815 A.D.

The delay is by no means unfortunate, for it has enabled Prof. Geiger to utilize the results attained during the interval by an active group of workers (A. M. Hocart, H. W. Codrington, P. E. Pieris and others), and by touring Ceylon with local experts to familiarize himself with many knotty problems of Sinhalese antiquity.

Thus equipped, Prof. Geiger surveys afresh the whole field of Sinhalese history, and finds much to revise and supplement in his former work. These new volumes contain a complete set of genealogies of the various dynasties that have ruled Ceylon from the beginning. The whole chronological scheme is readjusted. A concise introduction discusses *inter alia* the credibility of the *Cūlavamsa* and the conflict of patrilineal and matrilineal principles in dynastic succession, and an exhaustive series of classified indices is appended with full references to every conceivable subject, religion, administration, warfare, kingship, domestic and social life, etc.; an amazing epitome of Sinhalese culture.

Prof. Geiger's scholarship is beyond criticism; so also is his treatment of the topography and antiquities

of Ceylon. With the closely associated history and geography of South India he is less at home, and he is seemingly unacquainted with work that has recently been done in that field.

Mrs. Rickmers' rendering of the original German, apart from one or two trifling slips, is clear and idiomatic. A general index would have been useful, for it is not too easy to track down any particular item in the 47 pages of special indices. But all will agree that Prof. Geiger and those who have assisted him are to be congratulated on the production, at an astonishingly low price, of the most important work that has yet been published on Ceylon.

F. J. RICHARDS.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Sackcloth and Ashes.

SIR,—In an article on 'Fasting,' in the *Encyclopædia of the Social Sciences*, Mr. A. M. Hocart has observed that fasting is one of the most common incidents in that type of ceremony denoted by the term 'sacrament,' 'sacrifice,' 'consecration.' By fasting, the king prepares for his installation, the priest for his ordination, the initiate for his initiation, the bride and bridegroom for marriage. The ceremonies in all these cases, he explains, are such as portray rebirth, or are derived from ceremonies which portray rebirth. They begin with a period of quiescence which seems to represent the state of non-existence preceding conception or the state of lifelessness following decease. Fasting is merely a part of this quiescence. So we find in the Old Testament that fasting is common after a death, when apparently the mourners undergo a fictitious death in sympathy with the deceased (I *Sam.*, xxxi, 13, I *Chron.* x, 12). We even find it practised before the issuing of a new code (*Exodus* xxxiv, 28). Fasting is thus a mode of initiation into a new life. The new life is like reanimation after death. 129

Thus regarded, it is interesting to find it associated with the custom of tearing off the clothes, putting on sackcloth, and lying or sitting in ashes (*Isa.* lviii, 5, *Dan.* ix, 3, *Esth.* iv, 1, 3, *Jonah* iii, 6; cp. I, *Kings* xxi, 27), because the idea behind the custom of lying or sitting in sackcloth and ashes seems again to be that of preservation, restoration, and reanimation of the body for a new life. I have sought to show elsewhere that ashes, like sand, have been accredited with a life-giving potency (*Journ. of the Manch. Eg. & Or. Soc.*, No. XIV., 1929, pp. 37–39). Sackcloth, I submit, has the same significance. If this be so, it may be suggested that in 'sackcloth and ashes,' the sackcloth represents the cloth of mummification or of mat-burial, while the ashes represent the sand of sand or earth burial. Mummy-wrappings and sand both seemed to insure the body against decay.

It should be added, however, that ashes may very well have a significance of their own. This is suggested by the late Miss Mary Levin's papers on 'Mummification ' and Cremation ' (MAN, 1930, 18, 32, 48.)

Miss Levin sought to show that in India when the dead were mummified first and cremated afterwards, this was done in the belief that, while mummification restored the body, cremation reanimated it. In that case, sackcloth would symbolize mummification, and ashes cremation.

In the much-edited writings of the Old Testament, of course, a new idea has entered, but the old idea is not entirely effaced. If 'sackcloth and ashes' came to be identified with expressions of sorrow and sinfulness, they still symbolized a turning or returning to a new life, for this is the meaning of repentance. And the old idea was carried over into the New Testament, where to repent in sackcloth and ashes (*Matth.* xi, 21, *Luke* x, 13) is to be ready to enter upon a new life.

MAURICE A. CANNEY.

SIR,—The *Aitareya Brahmana* I, 3, in describing the preliminary consecration (*dikṣā*) prescribes that, after robing, the consecrated should retire to a hut. Fasting is not actually mentioned, but he has to remain from sunrise to sunset in the hut, and may not be spoken to. He sits with clenched fists like an embryo. The hut is identified with the womb, and his robes with the placenta. The period of quiescence, with the implied fast, is here definitely in imitation of the embryo in the womb.

A. M. HOCART.

Polyandry.

SIR,—Mr. A. Aiyappan's useful letter in your issue of March (No. 99) would be more useful if he made it quite clear whether he is using brother and sister in the individual or the classificatory sense. By fraternal polyandry he presumably means marriage with several brothers in our sense of the word. That leaves it doubtful what the rules of non-fraternal polyandry may have been. Apparently a woman was limited to her own *inangu*. Was she restricted within that *inangu* to certain kinsmen, *e.g.*, classificatory brothers, or might she marry other relations? 130

This illustrates the need for a special terminology in describing classificatory systems.

The controversy also illustrates the unfortunate effect on science of the moral arrogance of nineteenth and twentieth century Europe. In our moral self-satisfaction we have expressed such horror at practices not in accordance with our code, that customs we have condemned are concealed or denied. I have known Europeanized natives to deny the existence of caste where its existence is notorious and taken into account by government. It is becoming harder and harder to get the truth.

A. M. HOCART.

The Industries of Sinanthropus. *Cf.* MAN, 1932, 5, 70.

SIR,—In MAN, 1932, 70, Mr. Reid Moir takes exception to certain references to the industries of *Sinanthropus* that appear in MAN, 1932, 5. It is hardly necessary for me to repeat the statements which were made in my note, which does not claim to be more than a *précis* of the memoir written by Mr. W. C. Pei (who is also responsible for all the illustrations), with some suggestions by the Abbé Breuil. The observations of Mr. Pei and Professor Davidson Black have been confirmed by the high authority of the Abbé Breuil and Père Teilhard de Chardin. They all regard it as unquestionable that the stones in question were definitely flaked by human beings. 131

In a full memoir which is now in course of publication in the *Bulletin of the Geological Survey of China*, the statement is made that the members of the staff of the Cenozoic Research Laboratory are in essential agreement with Professor Breuil's interpretation of the evidence of the use of fire and of the manufacture of stone artifacts by *Sinanthropus*. They are not so sure, however, of his claims regarding the bone and horn material, and are doubtful whether they can subscribe to his statement that the working of the stone implements is of an advanced character. On the contrary, they are inclined to think that the undoubted working of the stone implements found in association with *Sinanthropus* is about as primitive as it can be. It is the simplest kind of chipping that can well be done, and there is no

evidence that *Sinanthropus* deliberately set to work to fashion pieces of quartz or quartzite into definite forms. The shape of the tool made by him was essentially that of the original pebble with a slight amount of flaking to provide a cutting edge. It seems to be desirable to make clear the consideration that whereas all competent observers who have examined the material agree as to the reality of the stone-working, there is less unanimity as to its interpretation.

G. ELLIOT SMITH.

Vernacular Plant Names.

132 SIR,—In MAN, 1930, 27, Mr. W. H. Purvis suggests a line of research (Vernacular Plant Names) as a possible solution to the Migrations of the Polynesians.

I have compiled the accompanying table of some of the plants in general use throughout the Pacific Islands, which includes Melanesian dialects from the British Solomon Islands, passing through Buka, New Britain New Guinea (the two Ramu dialects are those of native, situated over 100 miles from the sea coast), Admiralty Islands and the Micronesian dialects in the Carolines, Ladrone and Pelew.

The word *niu* (coconut), or a contraction thereof, appears to be the most widely used, extending from South Malaita, through New Britain (where it appears generally throughout the North Coast of that island), and the Admiralty Islands until it reaches Yap in the Carolines. The word *to* (sugar cane) similarly has an extensive range.

Neither of these words is so generally used, however, as *lima*, denoting the numeral five, which is common in all dialects contained in the comparative table—with the exception of No. 4—as well as in five Papuan dialects that I know of.

E. L. GORDON-THOMAS.

COMPARATIVE TABLE.

Dialect.	Coconut (palm).	Bamboo.	Sugar Cane.	Yam.	Taro.	Banana.	Betel Nut.	Sweet Potato.
1. SOLOMON ISLANDS:								
Malaita (To'a Baita)	niu	oni		kai		bau		
,, (Pau) - -	niu	au		ubi		husi		
,, (Sa'a) - -	niu	aio	sato	uhi	hui	huti		
Guadalcanar (Vaturanga) - - -	niu	hau	aso			vudi		
New Georgia (Marovo)	nochera		imi	uwi	talu	batia		
,, (Rubiana)	nohara		rimata	marihi		nuakua		
Ysabel (Bogutu) -	niu	gau	ahu	uvi		bundi		
2. Buka (Pororan) -	huil	kwohi	toh	wesay	koritz	pos	mah	kumour
,, (Solos) - -	huil	koheno	toh	ndrunum	korit	pos	mani	kuman
Bougainville (Saposa)	niun	takilum	toh	pat	kapu	apos	oris	kumour
Buka (Lontis) - -	hoyl	hiown	toh	wesay	potut	posa	ira	kumour
,, (Hanahan) -	huilay	hiown	toh	wesay	wuson	posa	bok	kumour
Bougainville (Sailau)	waray	lahot	toh	pat	wusona	posa	bok	kumour
3. NEW BRITAIN:								
(Blanche Bay) - -	lama	kaur	tup	aup	pa	wudu	bu	kaukau
(Kalingi) - -	naniu	nalutu						
(Garua) - - -	niu		tobu	viri	mawu			teriwati
(Iboki) - - -	niu		to	biri	mai		bua	sirivati
(Wariai) - - -	niu	eri						
4. NEW GUINEA:								
Aitape (Matapau) -	au	anis	bena	kakisi	ninga-u	ipaup	bubus	malu
Ramu River (Atemble)	koim	atakaramus	ger	imanga	onser		agwos	ikiri
,, ,,	ovuku		samaka	imuta			ere	iangamanga
5. ADMIRALTY ISLANDS:								
(Mauk) - -	niu	bonio	patandodo		ma	bal	bui	
6. CAROLINE ISLANDS:								
(Ponape) - -	ni	plarri	cheu	kap	wot	mangat		
(Kusai) - - -	nu	alkesem	to	mato	katak	kalas		
(Truk) - - -	nu		kou	ep	oh	ute		
(Uluthi) - - -					woth	uth		
(Yap) - - -	niu	mor	maquil	dook	dak	pau		
7. LADRONE (Mariana) -	nidjok	piau	tupo	dago	suna	ago		
8. PELEW GROUP - -	leus	bau	tupo	thap	kuko			

Reference.— British Admiralty Sailing Directions, Vol. I, Fifth Edition, 1921, for Nos. 1, 6, 7 and 8.

EYRE AND SPOTTISWOODE LIMITED, His Majesty's Printers, East Harding St., London, E.C.4.



FIG. 1.



FIG. 2.

Fig. 1. Ossuary-hut containing log-coffins, etc.

Fig. 2. - Life-size Wooden Body of the Deceased into which his skull and bones have been inserted.

Fig. 3.—Half-canoe containing the body, hung by fibre-ropes. Below are remains of fallen canoes and human skeletons.



FIG. 3.

OSSUARIES IN THE NICOBAR ISLANDS.

(Photographs by C. J. Bonington.)

MAN

A MONTHLY RECORD OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL SCIENCE

PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE
ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

XXXII, 133-157. MAY, 1932.

ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

The Nicobar Islands. With Plate E. Bonington.

Ossuary Practices in the Nicobars, with particular reference to the practice of keeping the skull of an ancestor on or in a life-size wooden body on the islands of Teressa and Bompoka. *By C. J. Bonington.*

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During the recent tour of the Census Party in the Nicobars a hitherto unrecorded ossuary practice was brought to light on the islands of Bompoka and Teressa in the Central Group.

After death, a man of Teressa is buried with the top of his head pointing west and he lies on his back with his legs pointing towards the east. ' A soul figure in the form of a post ' is then placed over the grave, which grave is covered with cloth, and general belongings of the deceased such as spears, ornaments, silver wire, spoons, in fact all his personal property, as well as the head-dress of his wife worn on festive occasions, and the skulls of pigs which he had killed (hung up in his lifetime as ornaments within his hut). It is customary for all relatives and friends to attend the funeral and bring pieces of cloth in which to swathe the dead. The body is buried at sundown so that no shadows ' iwi ' (*i.e.*, spirits) of the attendants shall fall into the grave. In the case of individuals without near kindred the body is placed as soon as possible in a half canoe, and hung by fibre ropes on a pole supported by two trees, in a communal ossuary, in the jungle by the seashore. The body is then left to rot, and in time owing to the breaking up of the canoe, falls to the ground which is covered with the skulls and bones of many generations and there it stays. (*See* Fig. 3.)

Several months or in some cases years after the burial of the deceased, the remains are disinterred, and in the event of his having been a revered personage, the skull is placed in the life-size wooden body which is either in a sitting or standing posture (*see* Fig. 2). The body is hollow and is fitted with a door at the back, the remaining bones of the deceased being placed within. This figure is kept within the hut of the nearest relative of the deceased. The bones of less important people are kept in little hollowed log-coffins about 1 foot in diameter and 3 feet long. These receptacles are stacked around the walls (*see* Fig. 1), as many as ten being observed in one particular hut, as well as a female figure with a human skull as her head. This was the mother of the present head man, who had been a mailuna or witch doctor. At meal times it is customary to place food such as young coconuts and pig before the wooden figures whose spirits are supposed to dwell in the figure. After a period which sometimes covers ten years, during which time the pig stock of the community has considerably increased, a large feast is held and the bones of the less important people preserved in the little receptacles described above, are thrown into the common ossuary near the village. The form of interment described above is current through the Central and Southern groups.

The nearest parallels geographically to the practices of keeping the skull of an ancestor in a life-size wooden body are to be found in the Naga Hills and in Melanesia. Dr. Hutton in his ' Diaries of ' two tours in the un-administered area east of the Naga Hills ' (*A.S.B. Memoirs*, Vol. XI, No. 1, pages 1–72 (1929)), describes two practices which only survive in a few trans-frontier villages, among the men of ' Ukha and the Angain Nagas.' The effigies are very much of the same nature, the body being disposed of in a similar manner slung on four stakes about five feet above the ground outside the village. The effigies are supposed to provide especially for the accommodation of the soul of the deceased, in the same manner as found on Teressa and Bompoka, where they are daily fed as

described above. In a footnote Dr. Hutton cites examples in the Pacific where "wooden effigies "are used as abodes for the soul" quoting Frazer *The Belief in Immortality* and Codrington's *Melanesians*. The effigies of Bompoka and Teressa serve expressly as habitations for the soul of the deceased rather than as memorials, but I was unable to ascertain whether the head or skull served as the actual location of the soul. Dr. Hutton, to whom I am indebted for many suggestions and an excellent thumb-nail etching of the effigy, is of opinion that the practice is essentially Melanesian rather than Munda and suggests the existence of a strong Melanesian element in the Nicobars in spite of their Mon language. In the *J.R.A.I.*, Vol. LXI, 1931, Mr. H. I. Hogbin, in his article on the 'Tribal ceremonies of Cugtong Java (Solomon Islands),' page 36, describes the tug-of-war which takes place between the blood relatives of the dead man and his relatives by marriage. This ceremony, which in some respects resembles a Burmese 'Pongi byan,' is also very similar to the Car Nicobarese custom, in which case the coffin is placed in a large racing canoe, and a violent tug-of-war ensues between teams of men pulling on canoes a hundred feet in length. C. J. BONINGTON.

Sociology. **Raglan.**

The Origin of Cruelty. *By the Right Honourable Lord Raglan.*

134 In *J.R.A.I.*, 1929, vol. LIX, on page 188, Dr. Róheim attributes the institutions of circumcision and castrated priests to the struggles of the old and young men in the "primal horde," and says that in the "bestial pre-human castration would be the lot of those who were "vanquished in the 'struggle.'"

His position is typical of that adopted by psycho-analysts on such questions, and is, in my opinion, a completely false one. Animals are callous, but never cruel, and by cruelty I mean torture, mutilation, or the deliberate infliction of pain. What does Dr. Róheim suppose was in the mind of the "bestial pre-human" when he inflicted this mutilation? Was it the idea of punishment, or was it the idea of preventing a possible recurrence of the struggle? Both these ideas are quite foreign to animal psychology. To the male animal his rival is an obstacle and nothing more. When death or flight removes the obstacle it is promptly forgotten, and attention turned to the female. Does Dr. Róheim believe that gorillas castrate each other?

Similarly, the carnivorous animal, in the pursuit of its prey, has only one idea, to kill it, that is to say, to make it available for food, as speedily as possible. The domestic kitten is an apparent exception, but in reality it regards the mouse as it would a ball, and does not mutilate it or even injure it. If we followed Dr. Róheim we should expect the cat to bite off the mouse's feet before passing it on to her kittens.

Now if animals are not cruel, man could not have derived his cruelty from his animal ancestors; it must have come from another source, and if we trace cruelty through the ages, we find that it invariably has its sources, either certainly or probably, in magical or religious beliefs or practices. In short, all cruelty is of ritual origin.

Rites are sometimes described as ceremonies intended to commemorate past events in the history of the race (Dr. Róheim calls them "dramatic rehearsals"), but there is no explanation as to why people should be at such pains to commemorate real or supposed occurrences in their savage past, and I believe this view to be incorrect. The sole object of ritual is by magical means to confer some benefit on, or avert some calamity from, those by whom, or on whose behalf, the ritual is performed.

Rites may come to be associated with some real or mythical magician, or when their original purpose has been forgotten may be attributed to some historical event, and may thus acquire a pseudo-commemorative character, but there can be no doubt that they are usually much older than the story with which they are associated.

I conclude then that all cruelty had its origin in magical rites intended to confer benefits on or avert calamities from those by or for whom they were performed. In other words, early man was "cruel only to be kind," if not to the victim, at any rate to the community.

I have been led to this conclusion largely by the fact that among the Lotuko of the Southern Sudan, the tribe which I know best, cruelty is practically unknown. Homicide is fairly common,

but always means a short, sharp death at the spearpoint, and blows are, of course, given in anger, but there is no mutilation of the sexual organs, and torture in any form is unheard of. I once heard a story of how the men of a certain village caught a corn-stealer, and were so angry that they piled dry cornstalks on him and burnt him to death, but it was described to me as an unparalleled event. Human sacrifice once formed part of the rain-making ceremonies, but was long ago commuted to a slight cut on the ear of the victim, who had to belong to a particular clan. A sham fight forms part of the initiation ceremonies, but the initiates are not mutilated or maltreated. Children are always treated kindly.

Now it is impossible to suppose that the Lotuko are farther removed from the "bestial pre-human" than the people of Europe, and it is difficult on Dr. Róheim's theory to account for the fact that some races have preserved a vivid recollection of the "struggles in the primal horde," while others have forgotten them. The Lotuko, in my opinion, are less cruel than some other races simply because their magical beliefs and rites happen to have developed in a less cruel manner. Let us now see if we can trace these cruel rites to their source.

It is a belief of the Bushmen that the evil spirit of disease can be charmed into a finger, and if that finger be then amputated the patient will be cured. Prof. Sollas (*Ancient Hunters*) finds reason to believe that the same rite was practised in palæolithic Europe. It is possible that in this finger we have the prototype of human sacrifice. Human sacrifice, or traces of it, are found almost all over the world, and it has been directly or indirectly the cause of more cruelty than any other practice. In the more primitive cultures it is used sparingly, and is usually unaccompanied by torture, except when, for example, it comes to be believed that the victim's tears affect the rainfall. With the advance of culture we find that it is in some places abandoned, while in others the gods demand an increasing number of victims. It was left to the Romans to degrade it from a rite to a spectacle, and there can be little doubt that the gladiatorial shows, which were ritual in origin, had a lastingly demoralising effect.

Early and widespread as human sacrifice is, it is yet impossible to connect it with the pre-human. Nobody, so far as I know, has ventured to assert that animals offer sacrifice, and it is the Romans, rather than the apes, whom we must blame for the cruelties of Europe. The Nordic races also offered human sacrifices, and the earlier races, in their fertility rites, practised human sacrifice by burning, as Miss Murray has shown. To these latter rites we can safely trace the fires of the Inquisition.

The next form of cruelty that I shall mention is torture. This is sometimes a part of the ritual of sacrifice, and at others is connected with the belief that a criminal, by confessing, makes himself responsible for his own death, and his ghost is then less dangerous. The tortures inflicted on themselves by monks, dervishes and other fanatics are obviously of a ritual character. It could be shown, I think, that the chastisements inflicted on offenders can all be derived from one or other of these sources.

Revenge is the cause of much cruelty. Do we inherit the spirit of revenge from the pre-human? It is most unlikely. There is no doubt that animals attack those who have injured them, and from whom they fear a repetition of the injury, but that they cherish thoughts of revenge is unproved and highly improbable. Every child knows the story of the elephant and the tailor, but Sanderson, in his *Wild Beasts of India*, shows its absurdity.

That primæval man practised revenge is also unlikely. All that we can infer as to his activities leads us to suppose that they were purely utilitarian. To impose danger or hardship upon oneself in order to injure someone else without hope of profit cannot be a natural idea.

The idea of revenge is, in my view, derived from the blood-feud, which is a ritual observance connected with ancestor worship and the fear of ghosts.

Cruelty to children is common in Europe, and unknown in Central Africa. The probable reason is that it is connected with religious ideas, such as purgatory and penance, which are unknown to savages.

There is one other phenomenon which, in some cases, at any rate, comes under the head of cruelty, and must therefore be mentioned; I refer to sadism. Dr. Havelock Ellis (*Studies*, III, 184) says "... the starting-point of the whole group of manifestations must be found in the essential

" facts of courtship among primitive human societies." Yet the evidence which he adduces does not seem to justify this conclusion. We should expect to find these manifestations commonest among the most primitive savages, and decreasing as culture increases. The very reverse, however, appears to be the case. The manifestations, in all their forms, are more common among the civilized than the savage, and in their more extreme forms are peculiar to western civilization. It seems probable, then, that they are one of the consequences of repression, and that they are merely morbid imitations of such acts of violence as are most frequently witnessed, discussed or depicted in the countries where they are reported.

Pictures of martyrdoms, infernoes and so forth are a common feature of religious art, so common that they have not been taken into account. I believe, however, that their effect upon all children is considerable, and upon those with a tendency to neurosis or sexual abnormality is sufficient to account for most of the manifestations described by Dr. Ellis. Why should we have to go back to a hypothetical primitive man to get ideas of biting, fettering, flogging or hanging, when we can see them represented on the walls of our schoolrooms?

The alleged " natural " cruelty of children is the result of environmental suggestion. The small boy, who has been accustomed to seeing the dogs rationed, is " sorry for the poor little lion " in the corner, because it hasn't got a Christian to eat ! " He goes home and bites his little sister, and his conduct is attributed by our psychologists to a " subconscious reversion to the primitive."

To return to circumcision and the castration of priests. Mr. Briffault, in *The Mothers*, suggests that the former is a ritual imitation of defloration, and the latter a stage in the transference of the priesthood from women to men. He arrives at these conclusions by the comparative method, and, whether they are correct or not, it is by this method that the truth is to be sought, and not by arbitrarily attributing to the " bestial pre-human " ideas and practices which are utterly unknown both among men and among animals.

RAGLAN.

Europe: Prehistoric. — Blake Whelan.

Time-Sequence of European Prehistoric Industries. *By C. Blake Whelan.*

135 The hypothesis represented by the subjoined table (p. 110), prepared two years ago and since amplified in some minor details, is in no sense an arbitrary scheme first fitted upon a group of local or limited data and subsequently projected to embrace the material of prehistoric archæology. On the contrary, as this has seemed to me the archæologist's besetting sin, I have endeavoured to avoid it. Thus, while the majority of the individual correlations are not new, the synthesis offered rests upon confirmatory evidence from every quarter of the European field, and I put it forward in the hope that, when meeting with the usual concentration of fashionable hostility, it may also serve to stimulate unbiassed criticism and induce similar applications of recent as well as older research.

Since it suggests a viewpoint rather than develops a thesis, the scheme needs little supplementary explanation. The relative durations of the epochs follow mainly the system of Penck and Brückner, as modified by Dr. H. F. Osborn, and depend upon the respective descents of the Alpine snowline and extent of interglacial erosion. The figures are, however, intimately associated with anthropological, archæological, and stratigraphical considerations. If anything has emerged from the remarkable achievements of the East Anglian school it is that, as compared with the enormous stretches of glacial and interglacial time during which the humanoid races passed by stages of well-nigh infinite monotony from one small cultural gain to another, the so-called ' Upper Palæolithic ' period is but as yesterday. Even now this salient fact is insufficiently stressed and appreciated, and the failure to do so is responsible for much ambiguity and error. It is, for instance, more than time that concerted action was taken by English and Continental societies to suppress such misnomers as ' Upper Palæolithic ' and ' Neolithic ' and substitute a nomenclature which would reveal rather than disguise the true position and relatively brief tenure of the cultures indicated. While the adoption by archæology of the term ' Neanthropic ' has much tocommend it, the evidence of the Lloyd's skull and the recent East African Expedition will probably preclude its application to the post-Würmian industries alone, and it may, therefore, be better to adhere in each case to the name more generally

taken for the industry from the Continental type-station. The short-lived culture of the megalithic peoples, referred to in my system as 'Neolithic,' would then be expressly assigned to the race and period whence it came.

The rejection anew of the East Anglian school's correlation, St. Acheul Mindel-Riss, with its sequelæ, is fundamental to the scheme here advanced. It has long been recognized that the deposits of the earliest British ice-sheets were reassorted beyond recognition by succeeding glaciations, and that this is true of the Mindel tills, followed as they were in these islands by at least two major ice-sheets, can hardly be effectively denied. Add to this probability the argument from the advanced technique, hitherto unexplained, of the St. Acheul artifacts, its apparent coalescence with at least one phase of the Early Mousterian, and the likelihood of a vastly longer evolution of the Chelles industry from eolithic beginnings, and the case becomes stronger still. While there is much to be said for according the Levallois technique independent cultural status, or for attaching it to the Clactonian stem, I have preferred to leave it for the present with the Upper Acheulean.* I have also disregarded for more than one reason the much-canvassed objection, on the ground of lag, to any suggestion of the contemporaneity of cultures throughout Europe. Where offered in respect of the interglacial industries, the magnitude of their relative durations effectually disposes of such a denial. The evidence which we possess of the course of post-glacial developments, in so far as it supports the probability of retarded dispersion and the ultimate survival of cultures at the perimeter, does not invalidate a general scheme.

The Late Glacial phases are perhaps least understood, and in this respect the Irish researches with which I have recently been associated, and hope shortly to evaluate, are proving, despite infantile suspicion of all Irish evidence, especially valuable. In conjunction with the Scandinavian discoveries of A. Nummedal, the work of E. Octobon in France, and of C. Absolon in Moravia, they offer some prospect of a complete post-Glacial industrial succession at the perimeter of the culture waves, and convincing evidence of the persistence of 'Upper Palæolithic' technique down to 'Neolithic' times. There is, however, more than one uncut page in the record of North European events between Bühl and Daun, and we may perhaps expect the unexpected. One such surprise, of which a hint is discernible in the Irish deposits of this long period, may prove to be the presence of a crude and atypic flint industry so far removed from 'Upper Palæolithic' technique as to suggest the survival of a primitive race pushed north to Ireland and Scandinavia by racial pressure along the seaboard and the great river valleys, and perhaps in some measure responsible for the extraordinary Lower Palæolithic forms of the Asturian. Southward, the later Magdalenian†—including Azilian and microlithic ('evolved Capsian') elements—is seen to be a series of adaptations within a continuous if declining cultural history, debased by increasingly adverse conditions, and interrupted at length by Mediterranean penetration from coast and river with a final rapid dispersion of the Campignian, megalithic and bronze civilizations.

* On the authority of the Abbé Breuil the evidence of Crayford, Upper Summertown—Radley Terrace, the similar sequence of Montières and the well-known temperate beds of Menchecourt between two Levallois levels, combines to place this industry within the period Riss/Riss-Wurm/Wurm I. Technical peculiarities such as size of flake, absence of implemental retouch, and flaking angle, have further led the Abbé Breuil to distinguish three separate industries among the early flake implements—sub-Crag, Clacton, Levallois—as distinct from the contemporaneous *industries à bifaces* and the skilfully retouched and smaller flakes of subsequent Mousterian tradition. The Acheulean tradition continues in the *Micoquian*. This view, which appears to be supported by the trend of fresh evidence and is of great archæological importance, contrasts with the earlier classification of much of this material as pre- and proto-Mousterian. In any future assessment of the relative positions of these cultures in the glacial sequence—and each is happily associated with a distinctive fauna—much may depend upon the application of Dr. Simpson's recent suggestion that pairs of glaciations with relatively short but temperate intervals between the units of each pair will be found separated by longer interglacial periods of dry cold climate. Breuil's latest views on the terrace chronology of the Thames, together with those expressed generally by Menghin and Denizot, and the revised opinions of Prof. Boswell on the East Anglian glacial series, point to the necessity for an open mind in these critical matters.

† The term 'Magdalenian' is here given its wider and more generally accepted connotation, in which it is not confined to the industry of south-west France.

TIME-SEQUENCE OF EUROPEAN PREHISTORIC INDUSTRIES

Industry	Geological Epoch	Relative Antiquity in Years	Stratigraphical Indices*	Archæological Indices*
			Cantal	Flake implements
Eolithic	Throughout Pliocene	1,000,000	North Downs, consolidated gravel "pan" (S')	Tabular: proto-rostro-carinate
Pre-Chelles			Sub-Crag detritus beds, *striated specimens*	Rostro-carinate (incipient Early Chelles hand-axe): flake implements
	Late Pliocene	500,000 upwards	[Sub-Glacial Oscillation ?]	
Early Chelles			Norfolk "Stone Bed," *unstriated specimens*	Incipient and Early Chelles hand-axes, flake implements
			Cromer Forest Bed: plateau gravels	
	MINDEL Glaciation	**400,000**		
Chelles Lower and Upper Chelleo-Acheulean	Mindel-Riss	365,000	Between the Norwich Brickearth (Mindel) and the Cromer Tills and Contorted Drift (Riss): highest Thames terrace Continental type stations	Type hand-axes: point, etc. Heavy ovate
Base of Clactonian			Warren Hill and river drift gravels (*derived specimens*)	Large flake implements
	RISS Glaciation	**165,000**		
Clactonian	Riss-Wurm	140,000	Santander (Cave of Castillo, cold fauna) Barnfield Pit, basal gravel: St. Acheul, 30-metre terrace (Tellier Quarry): Monaco, Grotte de l'Observatoire, basal level, La Micoque and Combe-Capelle, basal levels: Taubach, lower tuff: Amiens Valley	Large flake implements with or without edge trimming
Proto-Mousterian† — St. Acheul I (West Europe)			Boyn Hill Terrace	Ovate
Proto-Mousterian† — St. Acheul II (West Europe)			Hoxne Somme Valley, older (pre-Wurmian) loess: above Rissian terrace, Garonne: temperate fauna	Pear-shaped and pointed oval (twisted) hand-axes
Proto-Mousterian† — St Acheul III (West Europe)			Garonne upper basin: Northfleet Vézere Valley, cool fauna	Fine pointed and triangular hand-axes: lance point of La Micoque type, Levallois flakes with facetted butts
Early Mousterian			High Lodge (evolved Clactonian, mid-interglacial): Le Moustier, lower rock-shelter: Gipping flood plain *derived artifacts* in Upper Chalky Drift and cannon-shot gravels (Wurm)	T[illegible] [illegible]-axes: point, [illegible] apers: resolved flaking the Acheulean, Clacton, Levallois and Mousterian cultures cross (La Quina)
Typical Mousterian	**WÜRM Glaciation [1st and 2nd Maxima]**	**40,000**	**[Daniglacial and Gothiglacial Moraines: Southern Irish End-Moraine]**: Maximum southerly distribution of tundra fauna, type stations	Racloir, point, etc.
Upper Mousterian Aurignacio-Mousterian Lower Aurignacian	Achen Oscillation	20,000	La Quina Pekarna, Abri Audi, [Shukba Zuttiyeh: Southern Kurdistan], type stations	Northerly neanthropic penetration (first or otherwise): merging of Mousterian and neanthropic scraper forms: evolution of bone implements: Châtelperron point
Middle Aurignacian			Pavilland with Cae Gwyn type stations	Busked graver: keeled scraper
Middle and Upper Aurignacian — Proto-Lower and Upper Solutrean			Colne Valley, Essex: upper loess, Moravian evidence	Laurel leaf, pressure flaking: shouldered point
Upper Aurignacian			Type stations	Gravette and (evolved) tanged points
Evolved Aurignacian or	**BÜHL Stadium**			
Early Magdalenian (1, 2, 3 & 4)	**[Phases I, II and III]**	**12,000**	**[Period of Fennoscandian Moraines and Baltic Ice-Dammed Lake: British late glacial (local) tills, boulder loams, Coombe deposits]**	Implemental sequence in bone: evolution of graver types
Middle Magdalenian (5)	Buhl-Gschnitz Inter-stadial		[Yoldia period] type stations	" " "
	GSCHNITZ Stadium.	**9,000**	**[British valley glaciers: fluvio-glacial and estuarine deposits in valley mouths ("50' raised beach")]**	
Late Magdalenian (6)	Gschnitz-Daun Inter-stadial		[Early Boreal (Ancylus) period] lower brick earth, upper series of terrace deposits, St. Acheul basal peat, Lagan Estuary, Northern Ireland, sunk bed of Somme, blue silt	Blades: planing-blade: debased graver: evolved Aurignacian forms (North Europe)
Azilian	**DAUN Stadium**	**5000 B.C.**	Type stations (4000 B.C. at perimeter of culture creep, Scotland)	Type harpoon: microlithic
Tardenoisean ("Evolved Capsian")		5000–4000 B.C.	[Late Boreal—early Atlantic period] type stations	Type harpoon: microlithic Type pick: Lower Palæolithic technique
Maglemose Asturian		4000–2000 B.C.	[Late Atlantic (Littorina, 25' raised beach) period] Scandinavian shell-mounds	Tranchet: type pick: adze: proto-celt: taraud and other wood-working forms
Campignian, Shell-Mound		2000–1000 B.C.		Celt: pressure flaking: Cave forms
Neolithic or Megalithic				

* The isolated indices here given do no more than exemplify the trend of confirmatory evidence.

† The St. Acheul and proto-Mousterian industries evolved throughout this interglacial, the dividing line between the contemporary phases being geographical and, perhaps, specific.

I offer no apology for my adoption of the Penck-Brückner nomenclature, as on this occasion I follow so distinguished a glaciologist as Professor J. Kaye Charlesworth, not long since numbered among my critics for such temerity. C. BLAKE WHELAN

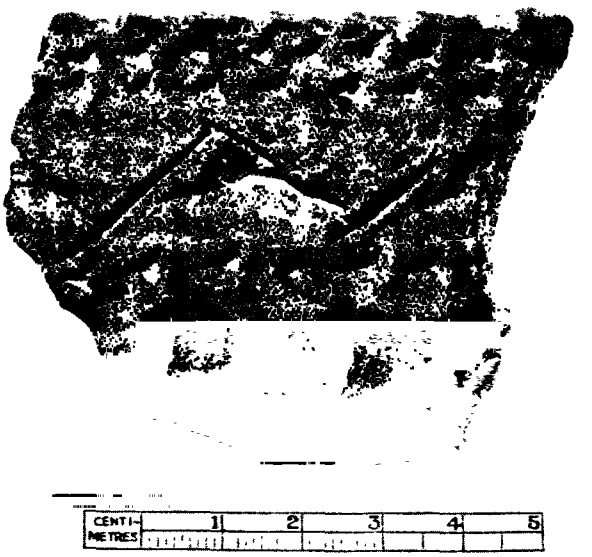
[This communication was received from the author in November, 1930, but has been delayed by the difficulty of reproducing the table on the narrower page then printed.—Ed. MAN.]

Papua: Pottery. **Haddon.**

A Prehistoric Sherd from the Mailu district, Papua. *By A. C. Haddon, Sc.D., F.R.S.*

In 1914 the Rev. W. J. V. Saville kindly gave me a potsherd which he found behind Woworo Village, on the mainland north of Mailu Island. It is now in the Museum of Archæology and Ethnology, Cambridge (1916, 143, 290). It is a fragment of the rim of what was certainly a large pot. It is very hard, the closely compacted clay is of a buff colour but reddish on the outer surface, and is 8–10 mm. thick. The edge is stepped and the decoration consists of three rows of triangular punch-marks, evidently made by impressions of a stick cut into a pyramidal point; a roughly incised zigzag, of which the lower triangles have had a piece of clay scraped out and a row of depressions that appear to have been made by a finger. The photograph herewith was taken by Mr. T. A. G. Strickland.

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Mr. Saville says:* "Inland from "the shores of Amazon Bay I have "found bits of pottery bearing "different patterns from those of the "Mailu. And the Mailu man tells "me that long ago there were people "living there who were potters, but "that he 'finished them off.' Perhaps "he wanted the pot monopoly, as well "as their skulls." He gives a detailed account of the present-day Mailu pottery with numerous illustrations of the patterns and their meaning. He says (p. 143) that "Mailu Islanders, "or mainland people who have "emigrated from Mailu, are the only "potters, and only Mailu island clay "is used, in spite of the fact that much better clay could be found on the mainland." He has visited villages "which still mostly cook their food by heated stones, though even among them, "through their nearest coast neighbours, Mailu pottery is more and more finding its way." The Mailu designs are scratched on the unbaked clay and differ entirely in motives from those of this sherd, which is another example of the prehistoric pottery of New Guinea. Of this old pottery there are two main varieties of decoration in Papua:—(1) that of the north coast and (2) that of Dauko (Fisher Island), an uninhabited coral island, about four miles from Port Moresby.

(1) *North Coast.*—A very large number of sherds from Rainu (Wanigela) at the mouth of the Wakioki River, Collingwood Bay, were given by Mr. A. W. Monckton to the British Museum in 1905.

* *In Unknown New Guinea*, London, 1926, p. 21.

He says :* " In some excavations carried out by the mission and natives at Rainu, in Collingwood Bay, " an interesting discovery was made of an old village site of a forgotten people, and a quantity of " broken and ancient pottery found, of curious and unique design and shapes. The pottery was " much superior to any now made or in use, and there is no tradition or record of the people by " whom it was made (p. 33)." These have been fully described and well illustrated by C. G. Seligman and T. A. Joyce.† They say that from the fragments it is clear that the vessels were mainly of large size, and the sides average about 10mm. in thickness; the pottery is hard, often extremely hard, and usually shows a reddish or black exterior. Most of the pots were either large bowls or shallow circular dishes, some encircled with a broad, flat lip. The majority of the pots have a lip of varied form surrounding the rim. Where there is no rim, there are frequently handles also of varied form, which are sometimes vertical. The ornament is extremely varied, and is chiefly incised or impressed; the most frequent designs are punch-marks, spirals, concentric arcs and circles, string pattern, groups of straight lines arranged in triangles, meander patterns, and so forth. Occasionally a zigzag is obtained in relief by means of a series of triangular impressions. The most striking form of ornament is that obtained by means of open work. Another form of decoration is represented by applied circles, meanders, and bands; these applied bands may be plain or indented. This also characterizes the modern pottery of the district. Three necks of bottle-shaped vases were found made by coiling process; no vessels with necks are made or used in Papua. Other specimens were figured by T. A. Joyce‡ and compared with prehistoric pottery of the Stone Age found in ancient shell-heaps and residential sites in Japan: the resemblances are very remarkable. E. W. P. Chinnery§ refers to these and other prehistoric finds in his *Stone-work and Goldfields in British New Guinea*. The Rev. A. K. Chignell‖ says the sherds were found at Rainu in a series of mounds 10 or 12 feet high and from 50 to 100 feet in length; he gave many specimens to the British Museum in 1912 from Murin, about two miles inland; they also came from mounds. The Rev. P. J. Money¶ gave a large number of similar fragments to the Australian Museum, Sydney, in 1905. O. Finsch** refers to the finds at Collingwood Bay and gives a very poor illustration (Fig. 367).

Dr. R. Pöch†† has given to the Naturhistorischen Hofmuseum, Wien, a number of sherds that he collected at Wanigela in 1906. He describes the pottery and gives illustrations of 19 sherds. He gives the size of these refuse heaps as about 1·5 m. (5 feet) high, probably 5 m. (18 feet) and was told about 200 m. (66–67 feet) long. He considers that this pottery belonged to a people of higher culture than that of the present natives of New Guinea; they came by sea and penetrated inland—a view which Chinnery has elaborated. There are a few other references to this pottery in various journals but without any further information.

C. W. De Vis‡‡ figures and describes two sherds which Captain F. R. Barton gave to the Queensland Museum, Brisbane. They were suspended as charms from the necks of men who belonged to distinct tribes resident in the mountains on the head-water of the Musa river, in the far hinterland of Collingwood Bay. The pottery is similar to the prehistoric pottery of Collingwood Bay and each piece has a handle representing respectively the two main types of handles.

E. W. P. Chinnery has seen numerous fragments of pottery ornamented with incised and impressed designs that were unearthed near Gona village, close to the mouth of the Giriwu River, Holnicote Bay (*l.c.* p. 275), which doubtless are of this type.

Dr. Margarete Schurig§§ was informed by Herr Ettling that decorated sherds were found about 1907 in the vicinity of East Cape, though pottery is no longer made in that district, but no details are given.

(2) *Dauko.*—The fragments of pottery collected by Seligman on Dauko (*l.c.* p. 335) differ in type

* A. W. Monckton, *Ann. Rep. B.N.G.* 1903–04 (1905) p. 33; cf. *Last Days in New Guinea*, 1922, p. 117. Pls. Pp. 118, 122.

† *Anth. Essays presented to E. B. Tylor.* Oxford, 1907, p. 333.

‡ *J.R.A.I.*, xlii, 1912, p. 545, pls. lxvi, lxvii.

§ *J.R.A.I.*, xlix, 1919, p. 271.

‖ *An Outpost in Papua*, 1911, p. 20.

¶ R. Etheridge, *Records Austr. Mus.*, vii, 1908, p. 27 (who gives no description of them.)

** *Südseearbeiten*, Hamburg, 1914, p. 269.

†† *Mitt. Anth. Gesells. Wien*, xxxvii, 1907, pp. 67–71, fig. 7; pp. 137–139, figs. 1–10; cf. *Geogr. Journ.* xxx, 1907, p. 612, with two figs.

‡‡ *Ann. Queensland Mus.*, No. 6 (1905), p. 34, pl. xii.

§§ *Die Südseetöpferei, Leipzig*, 1930, p. 31.

and decoration from those of Rainu. No trace of a handle was found and only one had a lip. The rims are incised with "bands of lines, simple hatching, cross-hatching, zigzags, meanders of string "pattern and arcs . . . the decoration is more minute and less bold than that of the Rainu pots" (*l.c.* Pl. xiii). Only one fragment was found painted with broad bands of a reddish pigment (*l.c.* Fig. 5). The Port Moresby natives do not know by whom the pottery was made and "the style "of ornament upon these fragments differs entirely from that found among any of the Motuoid "tribes."

Although the impressed markings of the sherd from Woworo do not coincide with any that I have seen on the pottery from Collingwood Bay, it is evident that they have the same general character, as has the actual pottery itself.

The district of Mailu is on the south coast of Papua due south of Collingwood Bay, and until more evidence is available it would be premature to say whether these ancient potters came overland across the main range, which seems improbable, or whether they arrived by sea. We may accept the view expressed by several writers that the prehistoric pottery has no connection with the pottery now made in these various districts.

As I was not clear about the distribution of modern pottery-making along the south coast of the Central Division I asked Mr. H. W. Champion, the Government Secretary of Papua, to institute inquiries. He kindly did so, and I have just received communications from Mr. A. C. English and the Rev. W. J. V. Saville on the subject.

Mr. English says that Kapakapa is the most easterly Motu village where pottery is made of the types common to the Motuan tribes. Farther east on the coast or inland no pottery is made till Keakaro Bay is reached. As far back as 1886 he saw pottery being made at Paramana and Maopa. There are only a few families of the Keakaro tribes, in the villages from Paramana to Velerupu, who have acquired the art of making coiled pottery such as is made by the Mailu. Farther east no pottery is made till the Domara tribe is reached, thence it is made all through the east.

Mr. Saville says that Chalmers was correct in stating that Maopa women were potters, and they have always been so. Maopa is the only village in the Aroma area where pots are, or have been, made. They are exchanged for food among the other Aroma villages and inland from Aroma. This exchange has always gone on and extends to-day to villages just a little east of Velerupu; the Wanigela village in the lagoon behind Velerupu also gets pots from Maopa. In the old days the Kerepunu people bought Maopa pots, and still do, but they mostly use Motuan pottery. Chalmers was also correct in writing that Maopa bought Mailu pots, but this has always been only at the great trading voyages of the Mailu for pigs and piglets from Aroma. A Mailu pot was supposed to be presented in addition to the price of the pig, but betel nut and coconuts were and are given in return for such Mailu pots on these visits.

The Maopa method of pot-making is by modelling, as in the Motu tribe. The pottery is used for cooking purposes only, as with the Mailu, and not used as water vessels, as with the Motu. The shape is nearer to that of the Motuan but has a wider neck, is not so round, has straighter sides and is more porous. Patting is employed with a small bat, but like the Mailu they do not pat into the clay of the pot the juice from the bark of a tree, as is done by the Motu.* The pots are not decorated in the Mailu manner. The Motuan pots are much heavier and more durable than those of Maopa, and these again are heavier and more durable than those of Mailu: these last are the thinnest, lightest and most brittle pots Mr. Saville has seen in Papua, but their decoration round the rim is excelled by none.

All the natives agree that the most eastern of the Motuan pottery villages is that of Kapakapa; between this and Mailu the only potters are those at Maopa in the Aroma district and at Domara in Cloudy Bay. The latter, however, were originally Mailu islanders, they do not trade in pottery, but those women who have preserved the art make it there exactly as at Mailu island and for their own immediate use. Inter-marriage still takes place between Mailu and Domara, so the art of pottery-making will probably be maintained (W.J.V.S.).

* I did not see this done at Port Moresby, but an infusion of mangrove bark was spread by a brush of the husk of the coconut over the hot pot immediately after it had been removed by tongs from the kiln.—A.C.H.

From the foregoing it is now certain that the Motuan peoples make pottery by the modelled technique at various villages from Delena to Kapakapa and that the same process is employed at Maopa in Aroma. The coiled pottery of Mailu is very different from that of the Motuans and of Maopa, and it has spread westwards as far as Domara in Cloudy Bay.

It may here be mentioned that Dr. Margarete Schurig in her valuable survey of pottery-making in Indonesia and Oceania appears to have been misled by the German edition of F. Hurley's *Pearls and Savages* in attributing coiled pottery as well as modelled to the Motu of Port Moresby; in the original edition Hurley did not make this mistake.

I agree with those who regard coiled pottery as an older technique than the modelled in western Oceania. If such be the case, the coiled pottery of the Massim (including that of the Mailu) belongs to an older migration than that of the Motu, who would thus appear to have passed through the Massim area to reach their present distribution, and are, I suspect, much more recent arrivals in Papua than the Massim. The prehistoric pottery seems to have been coiled, and judging from its character and decoration it belonged to a culture different from and presumably earlier than that of the Massim.

A. C. HADDON.

Technology. Richards.

Ring-Guard Hafting. *By F. J. Richards.*

137 Anyone who handles an axe will appreciate the anxiety of early man to fix the blade firmly to the haft. Even our Western method of fitting the haft into a hole in the butt of the blade is not without reproach: the blade is apt to work loose, or the haft to break.

A simple method of hafting, which dates certainly from neolithic times, if not earlier, is to insert the butt of the blade into a cleft or hole in the haft. With the advent of metal, and the evolution of the stone celt into the plain blade axe, the 'holed-haft' principle in some parts of the world still held its own against the 'holed-butt,'[1] (also a neolithic invention), and in S. India survives to the present day.

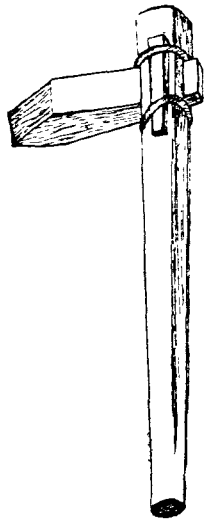


FIG. 1.

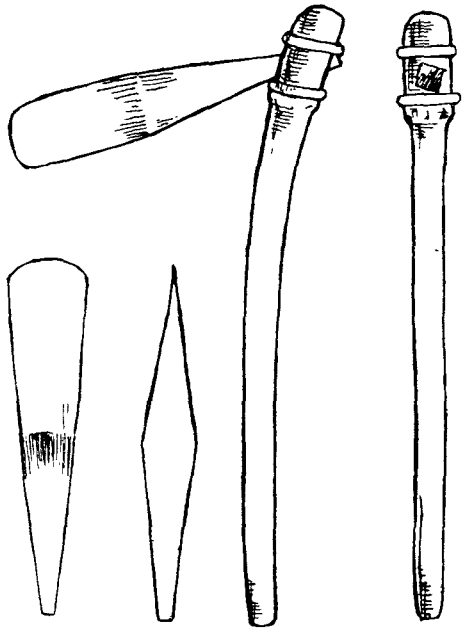


FIG. 2.

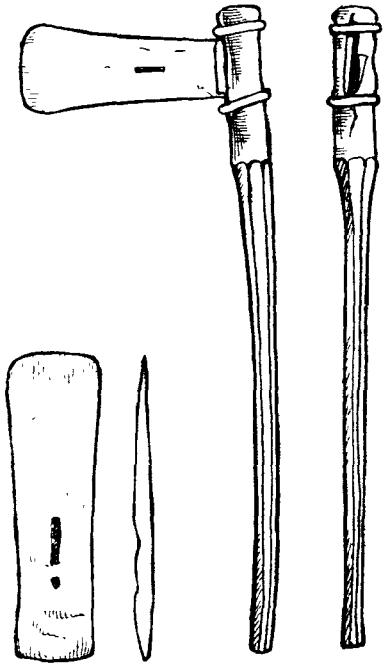


FIG. 3.

[1] *See* Pitt-Rivers, *Evolution of Culture*, 1906, p. 51.

The weak point in the 'holed-haft' method is the tendency of the haft to split. In S. India this tendency is counteracted by a very simple device. Two metal rings are slipped along the haft, one above and one below the blade, which is inserted at an angle more or less oblique.

Foote[2] describes an axe of this type, which he found in use at Kottayam in Travancore in 1862 for cutting laterite (No. 1). A wedge is driven tightly through the ring spaces to prevent the axe-head from slipping.

No. 2, from Pudukkottai, is used for road work.[3] The blade is similar in shape to Foote's Kottayam blade, but the thickest part is nearer the centre. The haft is curved outwards; its distal end is the root portion of the wood. The blade is inserted into a rectangular hole in this at an angle of about 70 degrees. The blade touches the *lower* ring in *front* of the shaft, the *upper* ring *behind* it, a device

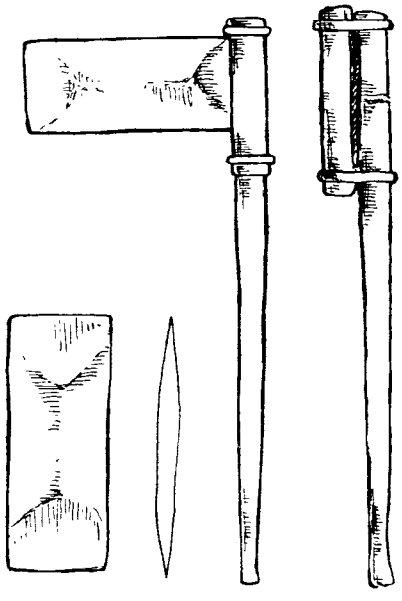


FIG. 4.

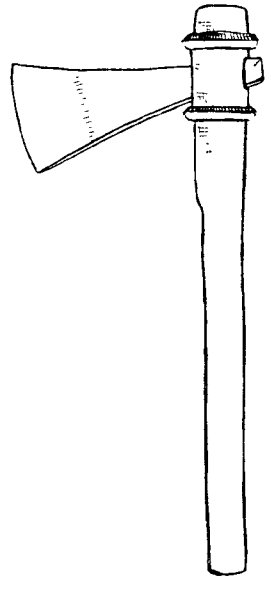


FIG. 5.

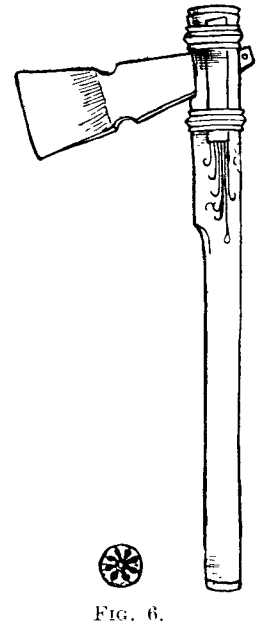


FIG. 6.

which transfers the jar of a blow, when the axe is used, from the wood to the rings. It is a neat and handy tool for rough work.

No. 3, a much cruder implement, is from Travancore. It is used for cutting laterite. To prevent the upper ring from slipping over the top, the head of the haft is cut away sharply, 'mushroom-wise.' The rectangular blade is wide and the cleft into which it is inserted is large: in spite of the rings the haft split, and, to secure the blade more firmly and lessen jars, a wedge of wood has been inserted in either side of the cleft. The haft, unlike that of No. 2, curves inwards, towards the holder.

No. 4 is still clumsier. Its only virtue is that there is nothing in it to split: the blade is not inserted in any cleft, but is clamped up against the side of the haft head with a block of wood, round which the rings pass. The rectangular blade is thick and heavy, 4 lb. 7 oz. against the 3 lb. 14 oz. of No. 3. Honour is due to the workman who could use such a tool for any useful purpose.[4]

Nos. 5 and 6, from Malabar, are much more civilized-looking articles.[5] The long, rather narrow

[2] *Indian Prehistoric Antiquities. Notes on Ages and Distribution*, 1916, p. 63.

[3] No. 2 was procured for me by Mr. V. R. Durai Raja, Regent of Pudukkottai State; Nos. 3 and 4 from Payapalli, Kottarakara Taluk, near Quilon, by Mr. P. O. Koshi, of the Madras Revenue Department. All three tools are now in the Pitt-Rivers Museum, Oxford. For drawings of these, and of No. 1, I am indebted to my wife. Mrs. Codrington has very kindly redrawn for me in a reduced scale the series Nos. 2 to 14.

[4] The angle at which the blades of Nos. 3 and 4 should be inserted is not known, the perpendicular insertion shown in the sketches is almost certainly wrong.

[5] For drawings of Nos. 5 and 6, and for permission to use them, I must thank Mr. Henry Balfour.

blades are unsymmetrical and taper towards the butt. The upper ring of each is kept from slipping off by 'mushrooming' the head of the haft, as in No. 3. Neither ring in No. 5 is in contact with the blade, with the result that the wood below the blade has been splintered away. In No. 6 the blade touches the upper ring both behind and in front of the haft, and the blade is further secured by a split pin inserted in a hole in the butt, and a brass side piece slipped under the rings. The rings also are of brass, the upper part of the haft is tastefully decorated with brass inlay, and an ornamental circular brass plate is screwed on to the top of the haft-head. The angle of insertion is about 80 degrees.

A similar type of axe is used by the tree-cutting Kurumbars of the Wynad (No. 7, *see* Logan's *Manual of Malabar*. 1906 reprint, p. 52).

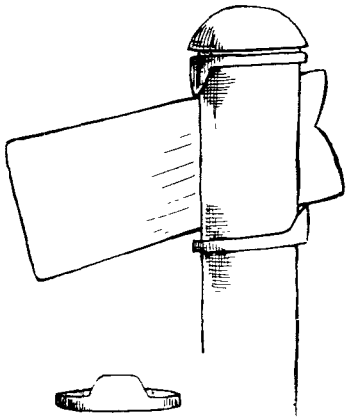


FIG. 7.

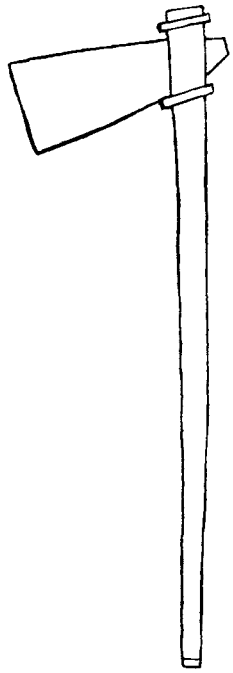


FIG. 8.

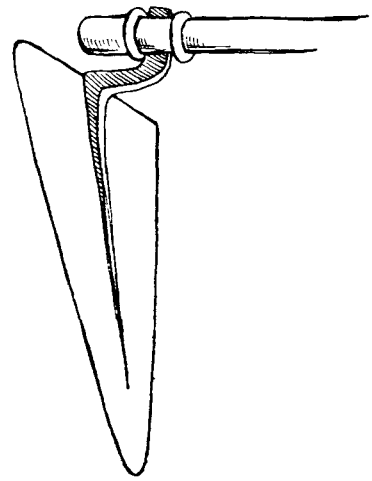


FIG. 9.

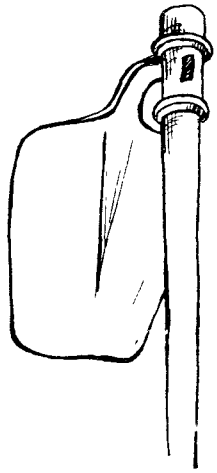


FIG. 10.

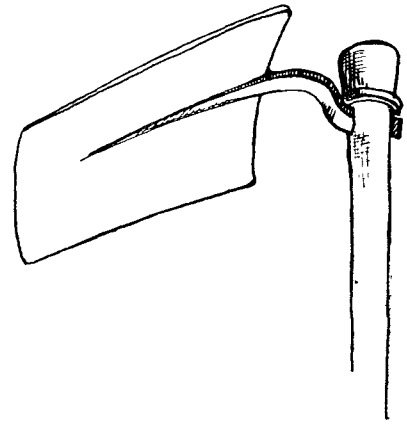


FIG. 11.

No. 8 is from the Maldive Islands.[6] The haft of this showy little tool, 15 inches in length, is brilliantly lacquered with bands of red, yellow and black, and the top is 'mushroomed.' Special care has been taken in this case to prevent splitting: for each of the rings is provided with a bezel, the *upper* bezel touching the blade in *front* of the haft, the *lower* bezel *behind* it, an arrangement of stresses similar in principle but exactly opposite in distribution to that of the Pudukkottai example (No. 2), where the *upper* ring takes the jar *behind* the haft, the *lower* ring takes it in *front* of the haft.

To ascertain the distribution of the use of ring-guards, a note was inserted in MAN (1929, No. 15) and several continental museums were addressed. The only reply received was from Dr. Waldschmidt,

[6] Now in the Horniman Museum, Forest Hill. For the sketch I am indebted to Dr. H. S. Harrison.

of the Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, to whose courtesy I owe the sketch (No. 9) of a tanged hoe used by the Tamils of Ceylon. Both methods of hafting hoes, by holed-butt and by tang, are in vogue in S. India, the latter presumably being the indigenous method. The use of ring-guards in hoe hafting is interesting. No. 10, from the Agricultural College, Coimbatore, is another example, the blade of which, rather oddly, is of English make. In No. 11, from Tinnevelly, only one ring is used.

No. 12, an adze(?) in the Pitt-Rivers Museum, is from 'India,' but its exact provenance is not known.[7] In this the ring passes *over* the blade in front and *under* the butt behind. There is a mark on its haft above the blade which suggests that there was formerly a second ring above the blade. The angle of insertion is 45 degrees. The blade itself is long and very narrow, like those in use among the Nagas of Assam.

So far as the evidence goes, the distribution of ring-guard hafting is restricted to the cultural area of the Tamil- and Malayalam-speaking peoples. If the range is wider than this, it is curious that no museum reports any example to prove it.

As regards the range in time of ring-guarded axes, Foote claims for it (*loc. cit.*) prehistoric antiquity. This he infers from a blade (Fig. 13) found on the Shevaroy Hills, which he figures in

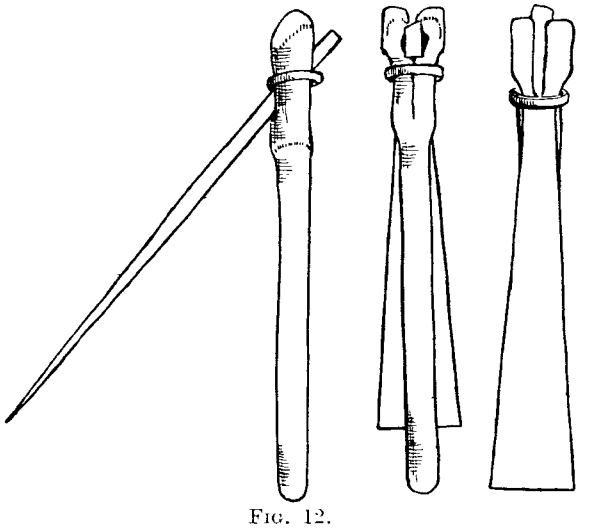


FIG. 12.

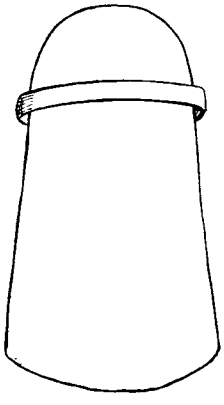


FIG. 13.

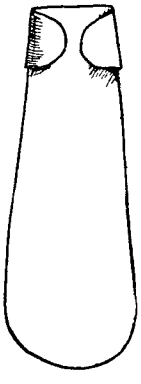


FIG. 14.

Plate 50, showing one ring round the butt end of the blade: "the second ring was not found." The diameter of this ring is about 4¼ inches, nearly half the length of the blade. The ring is flat, not rounded as in most of the specimens above described. Similar blades, each with *one* flat ring only, and that, too, round the butt, and as huge in proportion to the length of the blade, are figured by Rae from Adichchanallur in Tinnevelly.[8] If these were ring-hafted axe blades the haft heads must have been incredibly thick for such bands to fit them, and it is indeed odd that in all cases one ring should be missing and the surviving ring slung round the end of the butt. Rae calls them 'hoes,' and as hoes or adzes they would serve well enough. The position of the iron bands suggests that they were used for attachment to a forked-stick handle, adze-wise. Such a method would be an improvement on the 'folded flange' principle (Fig. 14) of which Rae figures six examples from Adichchanallur,[9] but I can find no actual examples of a ring being used for this purpose.[10]

[7] No. 12 was kindly drawn for me by Mr. C. S. Thomas. Mr. Balfour informs me that this adze almost certainly came from Malabar.

[8] A. Rae, *Catalogue of Prehistoric Antiquities*. Madras, 1915, Plate IV, Figs. 17 and 20.

[9] Rae, *loc. cit.*, Figs. 3 and 11 to 15; *cf.* Petrie, *Tools and Weapons*, 1917. pp. 18, 19, and Plates XIX, XX.

[10] There is in the Pitt-Rivers Museum an Adichchanallur blade, 5 in. long, 1¾ in. wide, encircled by *two* rings, the upper one over 2 in., the lower 3 in. in diameter. These proportions also are better suited for an adze or hoe than an axe.

The plain blade axe of S. India has certainly a very ancient pedigree. The blade from Odugattur[11] is an axe, for it is unsymmetrical and could not be used as an adze or hoe. So also is the blade from the Shevaroys, figured by Foote in Plate 19 (No. 174) of his *Notes*. Foote's conjecture that the double ring-guarded axe is 'prehistoric' may well be correct, though his evidence does not prove it, but it is also possible, in the absence of more definite evidence, that the iron ring-guard is a comparatively modern substitute for binding the axe-haft with more perishable material.[12] F. J. RICHARDS.

Prehistoric. **Burkitt.**

A Maglemose Harpoon dredged up recently from the North Sea. *By M. C. Burkitt.*

138 Last September a Maglemose type of harpoon was dredged up with 'moor log' by Skipper Pilgrim E. Lockwood, master of the sailing trawler 'Colinda,' L.T. 382, while fishing between the Leman and Ower banks which lie to the east of the Haisborough Lightship. The specimen eventually found its way into the hands of Dr. Muir Evans, by whom it has been presented to the Castle Museum, Norwich. A full account of the find is to appear in the next number of the 'P.S.E.A.': in the meanwhile I have been asked to furnish this preliminary note for MAN. The



actual site where the find was made lies some 25 miles from the Norfolk coast. When fishing there the nets often bring up masses of peat and wood. It was in a piece of this so-called 'moor log' that the harpoon was embedded. The kind of wood has not yet been identified. It may well be oak, as the harpoon more resembles the rather later, Kunda, type (being somewhat thick and stout) than the slightly earlier, slenderer examples, such as occur in Denmark in deposits of Ancylus Lake date: indeed, it is not at all unlike an actual Kunda specimen preserved in the Cambridge Museum. The new harpoon is $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, the barbed portion occupying $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches. The barbs, of course only occur on one side and are 17 in number. They are particularly small and recurved. In section the specimen is oval. M. C. BURKITT.

ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE: PROCEEDINGS.

Ordinary Meetings of the Institute.

The Significance of African Folk Music, *Summary of a Communication presented by H. T. Tracey, Esq.: 12 April*, 1932.

139 The subject of African Folk Music is one that until recent years has been much neglected. This is the more surprising if one remembers that in many circles, music is acknowledged to be the premier art of the African. The popular attitude is that of indulgent patronage, which leads the observer to think of it as a childish folly he will grow out of with education.

The particular folk music described in this paper is that of the Mashona (so called) of Southern Rhodesia, a Bantu tribe of Warosi origin.

In tracing the growth of musical perception one is led to notice the evolution of national tendencies in music that have now become hereditary, and not easily lost in spite of the incursions of foreign culture. African folk songs one finds are apparently based on the intonation of the speaking voice, the melody being determined, both by the speech tones of the words (which often fix their meaning) and the emotion tones of the sentence. Since in English we have lost the former,

[11] For Odugattur, see *J.R.A.I.*, 1924, p. 159, n. 1.

[12] Mr. T. A. Joyce has drawn my attention to an entire axe and haft carved in one piece, in greenish stone from the Greater Antilles. "The design represents a petaloid "celt fixed in a wooden haft which is secured from "splitting by a binding above and below the blade." See *J.R.A.I.*, 1907, p. 418, and Plate LIV Fig. 8. There is a cast of a similar implement in the Pitt-Rivers Museum from the Turks Islands, Bahamas.

the speech tones fixing the meanings of words, our ears as a rule are not quick at distinguishing delicate degrees of tone that are essential factors both in African languages and music. This same tone factor limits their music to antiphony, or parallel polyphony, which is music based on the horizontal principle, as differentiated from the modern Western music that is harmonic or vertical in principle.

Examples of folk songs given to illustrate this paper are purely native, untouched by European influence. They compare favourably with any folk music of the world. The lack of expression in the voices of the singers is not a fault of the music but a common characteristic of folk music when sung by the common people. Songs, though composed originally by one man, are so added to by the folk that they may be termed community compositions. They are sometimes traditional, sometimes mystical, but mostly commonplace little ditties. The traditional songs often reveal historical facts that are nearly forgotten, while the mystical ones throw light on another facet of native religious life.

A study of African folk music helps and is helped by a comparative study of American negro melodies. The tonal laws of the African languages would account for the foreign melodies adopted by the English-speaking Negro, while his hereditary tendencies both in tone and rhythm are still similar on both sides of the Atlantic. The Negro of America is to-day seeking fresh inspiration from African folk. For our part, through our present methods of education, we are tending to substitute a most inferior type of music that must eventually share the same fate as Western music with the negro folk of America. Through the strength of these national hereditary tendencies, any music is apt to become strangely distorted in the mouth of a foreigner. This raises the question of the real function of a national art.

It would appear that African native music has in embryo sufficient theory to ensure a natural growth of that branch of art, if only it was properly encouraged to take its place in modern development. The difficulty of the technique to the foreigner has made it all too easy and attractive for him to substitute Western ideas to the detriment of local practice. Native instruments, although they would allow of considerable improvement in resonance, should be the foundation of any musical advance.

Other factors that are tending to contaminate African art at its source include prudish and incongruous misinterpretations of native moral sense with its underlying social principles.

The real significance of African Folk Music is therefore bound up with a proper adjustment of black and white personalities in the colonies, and a better grasp, both by the Western educator and by the native himself, of the essentials of culture. Without this recognition real civilization of the native would appear improbable. It would also be likely to recoil upon our heads, for the African will use education not as a means to culture, but as a short-circuited route to power.

Thus through a better recognition of the latent possibilities of inherent native culture, we may yet find a way of maintaining the integrity of both the black and white races, and justify our guardianship of the African.

Chieftainship in the BaBemba Tribe. *Summary of a Communication presented by Miss Audrey I. Richards, Ph.D.: 26 April, 1932.*

The BaBemba are a warlike, colonizing people who swept down from the Congo in successive waves and occupied the Tanganyika plateau of North-Eastern Rhodesia. The most **140** characteristic feature of their social organization is a strongly centralized Government, and tribal cohesion is maintained almost exclusively by the deep belief of the people in the power of the *Chitimukulu* or Paramount Chief, and the other members of the royal Crocodile clan (*Benangandu*). For this reason the study of chieftainship in all its aspects is the first essential to an understanding of the sociology of this tribe.

Bemba chieftainship is hereditary, descent passing in the maternal line. The different sub-chiefs among whom the land is divided are all members of the one ruling family. The senior of these eventually succeeds to the Paramount Chieftaincy, his own vacant place being filled by the next sub-chief in order of precedence, and so on down the line. The royal princesses (*Banamfumu*) occupy

a high position as the mothers of the future chiefs, and sometimes also wield considerable power in their own right. The Paramount Chief is supported in his duties by a series of hereditary court officials —the *Bafilolo*, or councillors: the *Bakabilo*, who are in charge of the sacred relics and deal with questions of succession; the *Bashika* or military captains; the *Bafingo* or hereditary buriers, together with the *Chimba* or high priest.

Offences against the chiefs were formerly punished by savage mutilations, and the *Chitimukulu* and his two immediate successors reserved to themselves the right to administer the *Muafi*, or poison ordeal. At the present time the chiefs preside over their own courts, deciding cases, and also appoint the headmen and other officials. In the economic sphere they took the leadership in many agricultural activities, and even to-day receive tribute of agricultural products and exact statute labour. Formerly also the chiefs organized military enterprises and held the monopoly of elephant tusks, and the guns, cloth, and slaves traded with Arabs.

But the authority of the Bemba chiefs ultimately depends on a belief in their supernatural powers. Though they cannot be described exactly as 'divine kings,' they are yet believed to exercise a magic influence over their lands through their inheritance of the *Mipashi* or ancestral spirits of dead chiefs, who act as guardian spirits of the land. For this reason the rites of succession by which a chief inherits the spirits of his forbears are complex and prolonged. The bigger chiefs also are in charge of *Babeni* or sacred relics of the first ancestors of the BaBemba. These are stored in their capitals and protected with the utmost secrecy and ritual precautions. Before these shrines the chiefs utter prayers to the tribal spirits at the time of sowing, the presentation of first-fruit rites, the blessing of the axes before the cutting of the trees and the clearing of the land, and also before the coming of the rains. The illness or death of the Paramount Chief has a baneful influence on the whole fertility of the land, and the funeral rites by which he is embalmed and buried last during the whole of an agricultural year.

Chieftainship among the BaBemba is particularly interesting at the present day owing to the changes produced by the recent introduction of a form of indirect rule by the British Government. This fact raises new problems in the sphere of theoretical anthropology, and necessitates a new technique of field research.

Sociological Research Committee.

141 **The Standardization of Pedigree Charts.** *Report and Recommendations:* 11 *February*, 1932.

The Sociological Research Committee has considered the Report of the Committee on Standardization of Pedigree Charts, 1926, established by the International Federation of Eugenic Organizations.

The method of charting pedigrees recommended in that Report is considered to be far more flexible and informative than the one at present used by anthropologists, and the Sociological Research Committee recommends its official adoption by the Institute, with two modifications. The scheme admits of the inclusion of additional generations at any stage, whether ascending or descending.

The modifications recommended are:—(1) the marriage coupling-bar should not connect the symbols laterally, but should unite them below; (2) still-births should be shown by the same symbols at half-size, while abortions or miscarriages should be shown by a heavy black dot, as suggested in paragraph 2 (*a*) of the Report.

If Council concurs in this recommendation, it is desirable that representations should be made to the International Federation of Eugenic Organizations before its next meeting in New York, 31st August, as the Federation will then be considering suggestions and amendments with a view to publishing a definite scheme.

As amendments may also be received from other countries, it would be premature to adopt the scheme in its entirety, but it is felt that it would be desirable to publish a provisional and simplified scheme in MAN, embodying our modifications. This has been drawn up by Mrs. Seligman, and revised and approved by the Committee. It has not, however, been considered yet by Council, and comments are invited.

Provisional Scheme embodying suggested Amendments.

(1) Males are indicated by squares 

Females by circles 

Sex unknown by triangles 

Deaths in infancy are indicated by squares, circles and triangles, scored transversely 

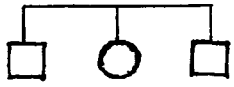
Abortions 

Still-births 

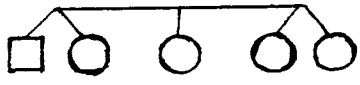
If it is desired to indicate that there are a number of siblings, sex unknown, this can be done by a diamond



(2) The relationship between siblings is indicated in the usual way by joining them vertically to a horizontal *sibling coupling-bar*. This bar is always *above* the symbols



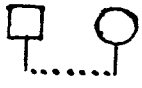
Twins may be shown thus



(3) The marriage relationship is indicated by a horizontal *marriage coupling-bar* joined vertically to the base of the individual symbols. This bar is always *below* the symbols



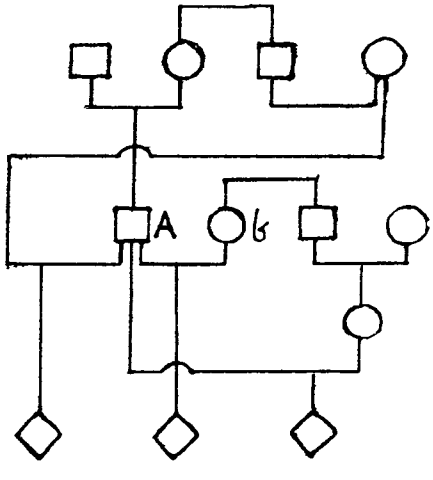
Illegitimate unions can be shown in the same way by a dotted instead of a continuous coupling-bar



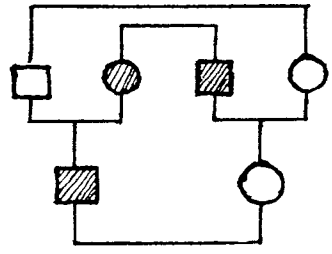
When lines showing descent cross the marriage coupling-bar, the latter should be looped to allow the descent line to pass unbroken.

The advantage of this marriage coupling-bar over the usual sign (=) is very great, as a marriage of one person with several others who may be already indicated in different generations on the existing chart can easily be seen, whereas with the usual sign this is very difficult to manage.

The advantage of squares and circles over the usual symbols is also great, as it leaves more space beside the symbols for letters, numbers or names as may be required. Further, if these symbols are made rather large, it is very easy to differentiate in any manner that may be desired for any particular purpose.



In the first diagram *A* has married *b* and his wife's brother's daughter and his mother's brother's wife. The children of all three marriages can be shown on a single level of generation.



In the second diagram cross-cousin marriage with matrilineal descent is shown.

African Research Committee : *5 April*, 1932.

Culture Distribution Maps for Africa.

At the second meeting of the committee, Dr. P. Kirchhoff read a paper in which he considered the methods that the committee might adopt in making a study of culture distribution and culture areas in Africa and the difficulties intrinsic to these methods. As regards the traits or elements, the distribution of which should be studied, he suggested that it would be wisest to have from the beginning as full and comprehensive a list as possible. Whether a geographic or a systematic basis should be adopted for the work was a question which needed serious consideration. The form of the presentation of the data collected also gives rise to difficult problems. Maps, tables, or both combined? The method of documentation, the sort of information to be shown and the symbols to be used in showing it, presented technical difficulties to be overcome. Dr. Kirchhoff stressed the advisability of the committee's co-ordinating its work from the outset with similar attempts for other parts of the world. Finally, he pointed out that the purpose for which such studies were to be used would affect their form. If they were to help us in understanding native culture better, intensive studies of smaller areas, even though not contiguous, were to be preferred. **142**

PROCEEDINGS OF SOCIETIES.

SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL STUDIES.

Open Public Lectures.

The Craft of the African Potter. *By H. J. Braunholtz, M.A. : 9 March*, 1932.

With the exception of the desert regions, and among the nomadic pastoral peoples, pottery is in use almost throughout the African continent. But its manufacture is considerably localized; depending mainly on the occurrence of suitable clay, or in some cases (*e.g.*, the Kikuyu) of sand for tempering the clay. Clay is not traded in the markets. The percentage of adult potters in any given group is very variable. Among the **143**

Jur of the Sudan every wife is the family potter; among the Baganda it is a specialized craft practised mainly by men. Except in the Sudan pottery is normally women's work.

Pottery as an economic and social factor in African life deserves more study than it has received. The craft is bound up with many superstitious beliefs, particularly in the supposed affinity linking the fate of pots and human beings. Among the Ashanti, pots might not be made during war; conversely, among the Nandi, warriors who had killed an enemy might not stand near pots. Spells are frequently pronounced to avert danger of cracking in the firing.

In East and Central Africa pots have simple and practical forms, typified by the open bowl for cooking and the narrow-necked water-bottle. In West Africa greater variety of form and ornament prevails. In the East most pots have convex bases and no handles, both of these features being to some extent functional. Handles are not required for carrying on the head; pierced lugs or small handles occur among the Kikuyu, who carry by means of straps suspended from the head. The exterior surface is often roughened to give a better grip; but such roughenings may be delimited and refined into pure ornament. A method of producing such roughenings by rolling short pieces of string or notched sticks (roulettes) is widespread in tropical Africa. It occurs along the Upper Nile from Khartoum to Uganda, spreading round Lake Victoria; and also in the adjacent areas of Kenya (West of the Rift Valley), and the Upper Ubangi-Welle region of the Congo. It is further widely distributed in Nigeria, and the Cameroons, and possibly in other parts of West Africa. It appears to have been known in early Meröitic times in Kordofan, and may possibly have originated as a conscious imitation of "mat-marked" ware, which has an equally long history in Kordofan.

Clay is almost invariably tempered with sand, ground-up potsherds, chaff or other material, to prevent cracking in the fire.

The potter's wheel, in the true sense, is not found south of the Sahara.

The three chief methods of making pottery, viz.: (1) modelling from the lump, (2) moulding, and (3) building, are all found in Africa, the first sporadically, the second mainly in the Sudan, and the third widely distributed in tropical and South Africa. Moulding by pounding into a depression on the ground (sometimes covered with a mat, whence 'mat-marked' ware), or on a concave support, is confined to the Sudan (Kordofan, North Nigeria, Haute Volta). The commonest variety of building is by 'coiling,' which may be subdivided into (*a*) true spiral coiling, and (*b*) ring-building, of which the latter appears to be the commoner, at least in East and Central Africa. The true spiral coil has, however, been reported from the Congo, Cameroons, and the Pondo of South Africa. But accounts of pottery-making are still too few and too superficial to enable one to map out the distribution of the various methods satisfactorily.

Firing is typically by open fires, sometimes in a hollow, or with the help of a low mud wall. The fuel (wood, leaves, grass, cattle-dung, etc.) is placed in contact with the pots. Damping the fuel, as a means of blackening the surface, may occur as part of the firing proper, or as a subsidiary process, the pots being plunged into a bed of damp grass or leaves while still red-hot.

Colour ornament is rare in East Africa, apart from red slip and graphitic burnish. True vitreous glazes are not found, owing to the comparatively low temperature of the open fires in which the pottery is burned.

Africa still remains a continent of handicrafts on the grand scale, and it is to be hoped that everything possible will be done to maintain and encourage them. The "wisdom of the hand," and the evil effects of over-mechanization are fully recognized in civilized countries. On social, psychological and æsthetic grounds, the conservation of native African handicrafts deserves the benevolent consideration of governments and administrators.

The paper was illustrated by lantern slides showing processes of manufacture and types of pottery in the British Museum.

African Systems of Education. *By J. H. Driberg:* 16 *March*, 1932.

144 The complexity and inter-dependence of the institutions comprising African cultures make it necessary for us to examine the methods by which traditions and the cultural heritage are preserved unimpaired and handed on from generation to generation. Formal educational systems are probably much more common than we have hitherto imagined, and a study of them is desirable if we are to frame a new educational policy appropriate to the requirements of Africans and adapted, in each case, to the culture of a particular tribe or group.

An examination of three such systems of formal education—the Poro society (cf. 'Die Kpelle, ein 'Negerstamm in Liberia,' by Dietrich Westermann), the *thondo*, *vhusha* and *domba* schools of the Ba-Venda (cf. 'The Bavenda,' by H. A. Stayt), and the institution of age-grades among the Didinga—shows that the importance of the subject is fully recognized by Africans, and that it is the real integrating element in their cultures.

A few points stand out in all African systems of education and these may be briefly summarized, as they will be of importance to any new methods which we may introduce. The individual is never educated as an individual, but as a member of a group. Education therefore is directed towards fitting the pupil to implement his status in the community. A change of status is anticipated by instruction designed to prepare the neophyte for that change. Status and occupation are kept to the forefront of the whole educational system. We are apt to look upon status as individual and permanent: they look upon it as communal and subject to change, a view-point which must obviously be taken into consideration by educationists.

From the point of view of method four points may be emphasized. The first is the importance of associating senior pupils with the administration and instruction of classes. In nearly all cases a senior group inducts a junior group and assists in the teaching of the new members. This points to the desirability of refresher courses after an interval during which they have put their new knowledge to the test of practical experience. The second is the progressive nature of the instruction offered, adapted to the expanding experience of the pupils and to their growing cultural needs. The third is the studied harshness of the system with its severe floggings, privations, tests of endurance and often cruelties. These had their place as an educational method when the training of warriors was of primary importance to the community, but their function is not so apparent now and there are indications that these methods are changing without our intervention. Finally, in order to impress important social principles on the memories of the pupils, African education often enjoins the deliberate infraction of specific religious or moral tabus during certain periods of instruction, infractions which are followed by disciplinary measures. These are more often than not connected with sexual prohibitions, and this ceremonial loosening of restraints has led superficial observers to describe initiations and puberty rites as orgies of sex and sadism, than which no description could be less appropriate. Unfortunately this misinterpretation has led to active propaganda against the institutions as a whole, with the result that they have either lapsed or have in some cases been abolished. Their abolition has at the same time cancelled the tribal system of education associated with them, and social and moral disintegration has followed as a natural course.

FOLK LORE SOCIETY.

Judaeo-Spanish Folk Tales in Macedonia. *Summary of a Communication by Miss Cynthia Jopson (Mrs. Crewe)*: 16 *March*, 1932.

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Of the two types of Jews, Ashkenazim and Sephardim, the latter name is traditionally used for the Jews of the Iberian peninsula, though it now includes Persian, Arabic and other Oriental Jews. The Sephardim were expelled from Spain in 1492, and a considerable number of the refugees settled in the Turkish Empire, at the invitation of the Emperor Bajazet II. Descendants of these refugees are now living in most of the larger towns of the Balkans and Modern Turkey. The majority still speak an archaic form of Spanish, in all essentials fifteenth-century Spanish, though with an intermixture of Turkish and vernacular words borrowed from the peoples among whom the Jews may be living. The main amusement of these Jews is the telling of folk-tales, which vary very little in spite of constant repetition. Tales were taken down from Jews living in Bitõlj (Monastir) and Skoplje (Uskub). These will be printed in full in 'Folklore,' the journal of the Folk Lore Society.

BRITISH MUSEUM.

Exhibit of Implements from Oldoway.

Four original implements and casts of eleven others from the Oldoway beds in Tanganyika have been presented to the British Museum by Dr. L. S. B. Leakey on behalf of the East African Archæological Expedition, and are to be exhibited without delay at the top of the main staircase in the prehistoric section of the Department of British and Mediæval Antiquities. They come from the following beds, beginning at the base:—Bed I, associated with Deinotherium, a predecessor of the elephant and generally assigned to the Miocene: pre-Chelles types. Bed II, lower part with Hipparion and Elephas antiquus: Early Chelles types. Bed II, upper part, the horizon of Professor Reck's Oldoway man, with Hipparion, Elephas antiquus, and Hippopotamus gorgops: late Chelles types. Bed III, with fauna as Bed II, transition Chelles to St. Acheul. Bed IV, lower part, with Elephas antiquus, Hipparion, Hippopotamus gorgops, Pelorovis and extinct antelopes: early St. Acheul types. Bed IV, upper part, with same fauna as lower: advanced St. Acheul types.

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AWARDS TO FELLOWS.

Asiatic Society of Bengal.

The Nelson Annandale Medal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal has been awarded to Dr. C. G. Seligman, F.R.S., formerly President of the Royal Anthropological Institute, for his distinguished contributions to ethnology.

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Royal Geographical Society.

The Cuthbert Peek Grant has been awarded to Miss Gertrude Caton Thompson for her investigations of the historical geography of Lake Moeris in three seasons' work, 1925–7 and 1928–9, which corroborated new archæological data by geological study in which Miss Elinor W. Gardner was for two seasons associated.

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OBITUARY.

Alfred Percival Maudslay. *Born* 18 *March*, 1850, *died* 22 *January*, 1931.

Maudslay was born at Lower Norwood Lodge, of forbears distinguished in the history of British engineering. He was educated at Tunbridge Wells, Harrow and Trinity Hall, Cambridge, and, after taking his degree in 1872, he embarked upon a life of travel, first as a diplomat and later as an independent field-archæologist. In that year he took a trip to the West Indies, Central America and the United States, where he met his future wife, Miss Anne Cary Morris.

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In 1873 he took a trip to Iceland, and next year was again in the West Indies, where he became Private Secretary to Sir William Cairns, the Governor, and followed him when he was transferred to Queensland in the same capacity.



Two years later he went with Sir Arthur Gordon to the Western Pacific, where, from Private Secretary, he became Acting Colonial Secretary to Fiji, Deputy Commissioner to Tonga and Samoa, and Acting Consul-General for the Western Pacific.

At that time the Governments of Great Britain, Germany and the United States were each trying to obtain the Protectorate over Samoa. Sir Arthur had to go to England on official business, and Maudslay, by his personal tact and prestige, obtained the signatures of the Paramount Chiefs of Samoa to a document ceding the Islands to Great Britain. He met his chief on the warship on his return, waving the papers. Maudslay told me that Sir Arthur said, "Put that in your pocket, my boy. "The day before I sailed the Cabinet decided that "Britain would relinquish its claim to suzerainty in "the Samoan Group." So the young Maudslay lost the credit for a wonderful personal achievement.

In 1880 Sir Arthur went to New Zealand, and Maudslay, who had all his life suffered from a weak chest, decided to leave the Diplomatic Service, and returned to England. These years are chronicled, from his schooldays, in a charmingly intimate book, *Life in the Pacific Fifty Years Ago;* and it is interesting to note that at school he was regarded as a duffer because he could not take an interest in Classical Latin as taught in the Public School. What he learnt was outside the classroom, from the primitive psychologies of the tribes which constitute "forms."

Hesitating between Ceylon and Central America, the West provided the stronger call, and he was led to Central America on what he always said was a voyage of curiosity. It was very comprehensive. Between 1880 and 1881 he had seen the ruins of Quiriguá in Guatemala, Copan in Honduras, and Tikál in the Peten, a difficult site to reach in those days. Thrilled by the monuments, he returned and asked at the Victoria and Albert Museum for literature on the subject (his 'guide-book' had been the treatise of Squier and Davis), and was referred to Mr. (later Sir) Wollaston Franks of the British Museum, who promptly referred him back again to the Victoria and Albert Museum.

So Maudslay decided to take up the matter himself. In all, he made seven exploring expeditions, covering large areas of British Honduras, the Republic of Honduras, Guatemala and Mexico. His discoveries were most meticulously photographed, planned, and described, and he brought back moulds of the larger monuments, which he had cast and presented to the Nation. These casts, exhibited for a short time in the Victoria and Albert Museum, were dismantled and stored in cellars for thirty years until, in 1923, they were transferred to the British Museum and exhibited in a special saloon where they are now.

He was fortunate that, at the time his results were maturing, Mr. Ducane Godman and Mr. Osbert Salvin were publishing *Biologia Centrali-Americana*, and incorporated Maudslay's results in an Archæological appendix. This series of plates definitely laid the foundation of the study of Maya hieroglyphs, and constitutes, perhaps, the most adequately presented contribution to archæology in the world.

In 1926 Mrs. Maudslay died, after a long illness, and in 1928 Maudslay married Mrs. Purdon of Fownhope, who survives him, and by whose kindness I have had access to his diaries, which will be preserved in the British Museum.

For all his work and his services to the Nation, Maudslay received little adequate recognition from his own country. In 1912 he was elected President of the Royal Anthropological Institute, and acted as Chairman of the organizing Committee when the International Congress of Americanists met in London in that year. On that occasion an Honorary D.Sc. was conferred upon him by Oxford University, and he afterwards received an Honorary Sc.D. from Cambridge, and, a few years later, an Honorary Fellowship of his own College, Trinity Hall. In 1915 he became one of the joint Honorary Secretaries of the Royal Geographical Society, and in 1926 was awarded the Rivers medal of the Anthropological Institute.

His fame will rest on his achievements, the *Biologia* and the casts which he secured in dense bush, and on certain suggestions which he made concerning the interpretation of Maya hieroglyphs which have proved true.

Major Clark has contributed an extended notice of Maudslay to *Nature* (7 March, 1931), and Dr. A. M. Tozzer a most generous appreciation in the *American Anthropologist*, Vol. XXXIII. Most of all I like the final sentence of Professor Morley's appreciation of Maudslay's work in his great monograph on the Inscriptions at Copan (p. 24). "Indeed, "Maudslay's indefatigable labours, covering many "years in an adverse environment, easily constitute "the most important field contribution to Maya "Archæology."

That is the verdict of the greatest living expert

in this particular sphere upon the work of a predecessor.

I, personally, had the great privilege of Maudslay's intimacy over nearly thirty years. He belonged to a class of mankind which seems to be passing. He had the gentlest manner, but behind that lay the most rigid determination. I have never known him say an unkind thing about anyone. In any society he was just himself, and in anything he did he aimed at perfection as far as it can be attained. Possessing that perfect security of poise which belongs to a 'chief,' 'sahib,' or 'gentleman' (it does not matter what the word is), and a great human sympathy, he had the instinct of handling primitive peoples. That sympathy inhibited any form of jealousy in his mental outlook, and to the humblest of the younger enquirers he gave freely of his advice, his notes and his photographs. A great gentleman who died amongst his flowers in the terraced garden that he had created, who had enjoyed life, and, as the perfect host, stinted neither hospitality nor information, in an atmosphere of modest security.

T. A. JOYCE.

Robert Wood Williamson, *born* 4 *August*, 1856, *died* 12 *January*, 1932.

By the death of its former Honorary Treasurer the Royal Anthropological Institute loses a staunch and wise friend and a conspicuous example of a type of scholar less common elsewhere than in Britain, the leisured and learned amateur. **150**

Williamson was brought up in scientific surroundings, for his father, Professor W. C. Williamson, F.R.S., was the well-known botanist, who filled many posts in the early days of Owens College. Young Williamson's tastes were scientific; he graduated in engineering, and among his friends of those days were men now eminent in physics, including a past President of the Royal Society. Circumstances, however, led to his entering his uncle's office as a solicitor; he obtained the Clement's Inn prize in the law finals examination in 1877, and practised in Manchester until 1908 with success and distinction.

Having acquired the means to follow his true bent, Williamson retired from his profession, and after systematic preparation set out at the age of 54 to explore the interior of New Guinea. His really great capacity for understanding other people served him as well in the bush as in his practice, and his monograph, *The Mafulu Mountain Peoples of New Guinea* (1912), as well as his popular book, *The Ways of the South Sea Savage* (1914), gave him a high place among field ethnologists. At his age, however, protracted field work would have been imprudent; he had experienced adventure and gained what he wanted—personal experience of primitive conditions of living; so he settled down to sift and digest the available Polynesian material, and in 1924 produced three volumes, *The Social and Political Systems of Central Polynesia*, publishing meanwhile a number of special papers in our Journal. He was particularly interested in the traditional evidence for Polynesian migrations, and in the legal rather than the mystical aspect of customs and beliefs, but he fully appreciated the inter-connection of social and industrial activities.

Shortly after his return from New Guinea, his old University showed its appreciation of his work by conferring upon him the honorary degree of M.Sc.



In 1911, Williamson left his beautiful home and garden (thereafter acquired by the city as a public park) near Manchester, and spent his later days at Witley, Surrey, where in the intervals of writing he devoted himself to gardening, planning and developing what eventually ranked as one of the best designed and most carefully stocked of the smaller rock-gardens in the south of England. Being now within easy reach of London, he became our Institute's constant and trusted adviser in business matters, served as Honorary Treasurer from 1912 to 1921, and did much to keep it "in being" during the War.

No one could come in touch with Williamson without feeling the charm of his character. This keen little man was never daunted, he was full of resource; his unwavering honesty of purpose combined with a rare critical faculty enabled him to grasp the essential of a situation immediately and to shape his course accordingly. Once determined, literally nothing but an earthquake could stop him, and even that only temporarily. When, after many difficulties due to the frailties of others, he was in Sydney ready to start on his carefully planned expedition to New Guinea, news came of the great

earthquake in Sicily where, at that time, Mrs. Williamson was staying. He returned at once to Europe to assure himself as to her safety, postponing his expedition for over a year but eventually setting off in 1910. His critical faculty, and above all his extreme personal kindliness, made him a welcome figure in the Institute's house, where by a happy arrangement with Mrs. Williamson and his executors, his photographs will be stored and his unpublished material prepared for the press. C. G. S.

REVIEWS.

Deformation.

151 **Artificial Cranial Deformation.** *A contribution to the Study of Ethnic Mutilations. By Eric John Dingwall. London :* 1931. *4to. pp. xvi* + 313, *55 plates, 5 maps.* £3 10*s.*

Dr. Dingwall has rendered a great service to Cultural Anthropology by this detailed and painstaking ethnographical survey of one of the strangest practices ever adopted by man. It is natural that a custom of so obtrusive a kind and with so wide a geographical distribution should have a bulky literature, and not the least of Dr. Dingwall's achievements in this book is the skilful way in which he pilots the reader through the vast mass of bibliographical data he has collected and consulted. He wisely rejects the cumbrous and complicated systems of classifying deformed crania adopted by some of his predecessors in favour of a far simpler and more logical method of tabulation into six divisions based upon the means employed to produce artificial distortion.

The greater part of the volume is devoted to a detailed ethnographic survey of the custom throughout the world, based on written and oral tradition, iconography and actual cranial material. Successive chapters describe the various forms the custom has assumed in Europe, Asia, Africa, Indonesia and Melanesia, and America. In the final chapter a careful and sober consideration of the whole material is given with a discussion of the various theories that have been put forward to account for the custom and its origin. Some of these latter are almost as grotesque as the custom itself.

Dr. Dingwall is to be commended in that he does not haughtily brush aside all hypotheses with which he finds himself unable to agree. He is anxious that every particle of evidence should be weighed and assigned its proper place in the discussion.

One of the most curious problems is that of Egypt, where there is iconographic evidence of the custom but a complete absence of somatological evidence (with the single exception of a skull of the Christian period which is probably that of a foreigner). Whilst fully agreeing with Dr. Dingwall that there are indeed inherent difficulties in the supposition that the custom of cranial deformation may have originated with the children of Akhenaten, whose heads, it has been suggested, were artificially contrived imitations of their father's pathologically abnormal head; still, it may be doubted whether the objections to this hypothesis are as conclusive as they appear to be. The point is of sufficient importance to justify an excursus.

There is, in the first place, no reason whatever to presume that if the custom did perchance originate in Egypt, it should ever have there become general, nor indeed that it should have become a *custom* at all. It is significant that the earliest recorded instance of artificial deformation belongs precisely to the time of Akhenaten, which was pre-eminently and essentially an innovating age. It is significant, moreover, that Akhenaten's innovations, alike in religion, politics and art, scarcely outlived him. The reversion to the sway of the government and priesthood of Thebes, was, soon after Akhenaten's death, thorough and complete: his innovations were not merely allowed to become obsolete, they were definitely and deliberately stamped out. If, therefore, cranial deformation had been practised at El Amarna in Akhenaten's time, that is precisely the reason why we must not expect to find traces of it at any other period or place in Egypt. No observer who studies the sculptured heads of Akhenaten's daughters (unless his eyes should be blinded by prejudice) can fail to admit that these sculptures are intended to portray, and very accurately do portray, infantile crania that have been artificially deformed. Egyptian art, admittedly, was subject to conventions; but conventions that involve any marked departure from the real forms of life are found much less in sculpture in the round than in drawings or bas reliefs (the latter always being executed from drawn outlines). In drawing, the artist was free to indulge his fancy and to exaggerate or conventionalize to an extent that is unknown in statuary. The representations of dwarfs are cases in point. Admittedly also in Akhenaten's brief period it became a fashion or a convention to exaggerate the length of the head—a fashion for which the inspiration is apparent. This convention may have affected sculpture to some extent, as in the case of the statues of Queen Nefertiti, although there the apparent elongation of the head is due rather to the headdress than to the shape of the skull. But a careful examination of the sculptured heads of the children shows that the abnormality is not mere elongation, but a definite alteration in form and contour. The ears, moreover, which are vertical in the statues of Akhenaten and Nefertiti, are diagonal in the children's heads, their position being conditioned by the changes in the form of the skull induced by deformation, a peculiarity that did not escape the artist's attention. We are justified, therefore, in taking the sculptures of the children's heads to be true portraits of the actual state of affairs, and not mere conventionalizations.

The evidence, from the absence of somatological material in Egypt, is purely negative. For reasons already suggested, it is extremely unlikely to be found elsewhere than at El Amarna: and at El

Amarna itself the royal tombs and those of the court officials were all plundered in antiquity and have yielded no human remains at all, normal or otherwise. The mummies of the princesses have not been discovered: probably they likewise were plundered long ages ago.

Still assuming, therefore, that the heads of Akhenaten's daughters had been subjected to deformation, there is no reason why this procedure should not have been copied, as other Egyptian fashions were copied, by the Hittite and other foreign visitors to Akhenaten's court. History can produce innumerable examples of customs, beliefs and mere fashions (especially those of an irrational or *outré* kind) being copied from a centre that had a temporary vogue as a focus of fashion. Nor is it necessary to assume that the borrowers often have the least idea of, or interest in, the real purpose or significance of what they copy. The same thing has happened over and over again amongst more primitive peoples, and it still happens wherever the white man obtrudes himself: his ways are always liable to mechanical imitation. Modern rationalizing explanations of the custom are of little value: they are freely given in response to enquiries respecting such customs as cranial deformation, tattooing and body-painting, couvade, etc., but every trained anthropologist knows just what value to set upon them.

What has become a custom by adoption or diffusion, need not necessarily have been a custom in origin; the prototype may quite well have been an isolated phenomenon. These remarks, it is hoped, whilst not professing to prove, nor even to advocate, the theory of the origin of deformation from Akhenaten's daughters, may at least suggest that there are factors of which the critics seem to be unaware, and that the theory is not so entirely devoid of justification as they assume.

WARREN R. DAWSON.

Religion and Folklore.

Amulets and Superstitions. *By Sir E. A. Wallis Budge. Pp. xxxix + 543; pls. xvi; about 300 illustrations; 9¾ × 6½ ins. London and Oxford. 1930. Price, 30s. net.* **152**

Prepared for the intelligent general reader, this book contains much that may serve specialists in folklore or in certain aspects of psychology. Written in popular style, and not intended to cover the whole of its huge subject, the book is composed of a long preface, some thirty-six chapters, mostly very short as compared with the author's great resources, and somewhat like the resumés in a good encyclopædia. The reader in search of a particular item or kind of information may or may not find it; but his exploration is sure to disclose something else as interesting. A pleasing feature is the sympathy with which beliefs and practices are recorded, so wide that at times the reader may well think the author to be himself a believer. This sympathy, excellent in descriptions, occasionally results in uncritical acceptance of over-broad generalisations of other writers, as to origins or underlying principles.

The author's special competence in studies associated with north-eastern Africa and westernmost Asia has led him—to our obvious advantage—to devote the larger part of this book, and about two-thirds of the illustrations, to matters, ancient or modern, associated especially with those regions; and in such topics as the preservative or curative properties of various material objects or substances or qualities, the effects of "Evil Eye" and protective measures against it, the Cabbala, astrology and related matters, the influence of numbers, various kinds of divination, and a little of "black" magic, examples from those same regions predominate. A chapter on the general aspects of what are amongst us called superstitions cites instances in which such intentions have been fulfilled. The illustrations, in halftone or in line, and the diagrams, with few exceptions have been well selected and reproduced, and there is a good index of nearly fifty pages. Since the public to whom the work is compelled to make its appeal is likely to be disturbed by footnotes, such aids to the student are absent, but references are given in the text. W. L. H.

Siamese State Ceremonies. *By H. G. Q. Wales. London, 1931. Pp. 326, plates 45. Price, 25s.* **153**

It is not often the good fortune of a reviewer to read a book at once so thorough and so complete as this of Dr. Wales. It is the most important work of the kind on the Far East which has appeared in recent years. The author had the good luck to witness the coronation ceremonies in Siam; and as he held office in the household of the King of Siam he was enabled to see far more than is usually permitted to an ordinary foreigner. He not only made complete notes at the time of the ceremonies, but has since made a careful study of them from the anthropological side. The combination of Hindu and Buddhist rites is forcibly pointed out, and the origin of many of the ceremonies has been traced back to India through literary sources. Though the linguistic information looms large occasionally, it is always subsidiary, for where Dr. Wales excels is that he has realized the anthropological importance of many of the details which a mere linguist would have often passed over as of no value. It is seldom indeed that a ceremony so rare as a coronation, especially an Oriental coronation, should be recorded by an eye-witness trained in anthropology, and the result is remarkably good. Besides the coronation ceremonies Dr. Wales describes other royal rites, some of which are rapidly becoming obsolete, so that his record is the last, as it is the most complete, ever made. The account of the agricultural ceremonies, which show that they originated among the primitive inhabitants of Siam, is peculiarly interesting. Dr. Wales, however, has not been content with recording only the ancient or obsolete rites; he calls the reader's attention to the fact that Siam is changing many of her festivals though keeping the ancient method of observing them. Thus the Trooping of the Colour and Degree Day at the University are taking the place of obsolescent and half-forgotten ceremonies. Dr. Wales writes in a clear style, and his explanations are easy to follow. The weakest part of the book is the illustrations, many of which are so crowded with small detail as to be confused and therefore difficult to understand; a few more "close-ups" would have obviated this. The book is certainly worth prolonged study, for it is of the stuff of which a classic is made. To anyone studying customs, especially magical and religious customs, it must prove invaluable.

M. A. MURRAY.

Taboo, Magic, Spirits. *Eli Edward Burriss. New York: 1931. 250 pp. Price 8s. 6d.* **154**

This book does not break fresh ground. It is a collection of Roman ritual under such headings as *blood, knots, scapegoat, trees and groves*. Frazer's methods of classification and interpretation have been generally adopted. The author shows little knowledge of current

anthropological thought, and he attempts to explain Roman ritual in terms largely discarded by anthropologists and psychologists. His book may, however, be welcomed as a sign of permeation of classical studies by anthropological data and method, even if these are slightly out of date. Anthropology owes a great debt to classical scholarship, and it will repay this debt when the methods employed to-day in a comparative analysis of primitive institutions are extended to embrace the more developed societies at present left to the discipline of classical studies; when, in fact, comparative sociology becomes a thriving science. It is a far cry from these methods of analysis to Mr. Burriss' interpretation of ritual. E. E. EVANS PRITCHARD.

CORRESPONDENCE.

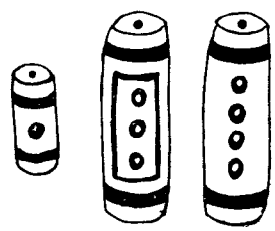
Bride Price.

155 SIR,—Mr. Huntingford's rejoinder (MAN, 1932, 104) well illustrates the danger of general statements. I look forward with interest to the promised details, but find myself at present in a dilemma. Mr. Huntingford states in MAN, 1931, 187, that Nandi girls are regarded as a source of wealth (a statement which I am prepared to accept as a fact without pleasure or regret), but in MAN, 1932, 68, referring to his earlier statement, he writes that "the wife is not sold, she does "not become her husband's property." Two voices are there—and even a third: for he adds that the marriage-wealth provides "one of the three ways in which a "Nandi can acquire cattle of his own," a postulate which will require even more substantiation.

J. H. DRIBERG.

Tibetan Etched Agate Beads. *By K. de B. Codrington.*

156 Etched agate beads are commonly worn by all classes of Tibetans who can afford them, the technique obviously approximating to that of the well-known etched carnelians, which are so widely distributed and have so long a history, in India as well as Mesopotamia. A good selection of these beads may be seen in the India Museum, South Kensington. All that I have seen are barrel-beads, long barrels being in the majority, although standard-barrels are not uncommon. The decoration in dirty white is the same in both cases, consisting of bands, oblong panels and circular eyes. Three Tibetan curio-pedlars from a small town, which they would not name, just beyond Gyantse, told me that the long barrels are known as Dō-szī (Figs. A and B, one bead), and are worth ten rupees; the smaller beads, known as Zīden (Fig. C) being about three rupees in value. These are held to be truly natural beads, taken from the earth as they are, untouched by hands. They are of great antiquity, for they are no longer found nowadays; hence their price.



C B A

Imitations of these old beads in glass are very common, and are known as Szī-dzūn. They are only worth a few annas and can be bought in the bazaars anywhere, even at Calcutta.

The eldest pedlar was wearing a silver ring [sădŏp] with an oval domed bezel of agate etched with two circular eyes, side by side along the long axis of the stone, which he said was called Szī-rīl.

The existence of these Himalayan etched agates presents an interesting problem. My informers said that they used to be found in Eastern Tibet, in the region called Kămbāsha. I seem to remember seeing both the stone beads and their glass imitations commonly worn in Leh and the Darjeeling district, and also in one instance by a Lahaul woman. It would be interesting to define their actual distribution. The imitations are certainly very cheap; I was pressed to buy a string of a dozen beads for three rupees. They are almost certainly of European origin. Here is another instance, among several I have recently come across, of the extreme astuteness of the Central European manufacturers who seem to control this trade in India. Their knowledge of anthropology is, perhaps, a little one-sided, but it is obviously detailed, so far as it goes. The middle-men seem to be usually general merchants and brokers. K. DE B. CODRINGTON

Mósiro & Aramanic Dialects of Dorōbo. (*Cf.* MAN 1932, 71.)

157 SIR,—Mr. R. A. J. Maguire might have made a real contribution to our knowledge of the Dorōbo dialects had he substantiated his Aramanite word-list (published in *Journ. African Soc.*, XXVII, 258 *sqq.*) by giving us further information about these words. We need to know, *e.g.*, how the plural is formed, the nature of the formative prefixes or suffixes, how the possessive and demonstrative pronouns are used; and until such information is available, any one familiar with the Nandi dialects is justified in suspecting a short list of words attributed to a people designated as "Dorōbo," when it is impossible from an inspection of the words to connect them with the known Dorōbo dialects. For 28 substantives (quoted presumably in the singular) and 10 numerals are very inadequate materials to work upon; and if they are correct, I can only say that, taken at their face-value, they do not represent a normal Dorōbo dialect of Nandi type.

As regards Mr. Maguire's Mósiro word-list, one can tell at once, although he has not bothered to give more than nine plural forms, that we are dealing with a Nandi dialect of normal type, possessing primary and secondary noun-suffixes. (The latter more or less the equivalent of our definite article.) I should like, however, to ask him two questions: (1) How does he account for the fact that eleven of his substantives possess the full secondary suffix, while in thirteen the connecting vowels of this suffix are present, but the -t which is the actual suffix is absent? (2) Can he explain the strange form *chiich* which he gives for 'man'? In any of the Nandi dialects of Kenya this would mean, if it had a final -i (*chiii-chi*), 'this man.'

I would refer Mr. Maguire to the short bibliography in *J.R.A.I.*, lix. 378, to which should be added the all too brief notice in Dr. Seligman's *Races of Africa*, 1930, pp. 126, 127. The literature on the Dorōbo, should be read in conjunction with Sir Claud Hollis, *The Nandi*, 1909, which provides all that is necessary to a thorough understanding of the Nandi language, the importance of which in the study of the Dorōbo I again emphasize.

Kipkaren, Kenya. G. W. B. HUNTINGFORD.

EYRE AND SPOTTISWOODE LIMITED, His Majesty's Printers, East Harding St., London, E.C.4.



ACHEULEAN HAND-AXES *IN SITU* BENEATH FOSSIL SPRING DEPOSITS, KHARGA OASIS.

Photographed by Miss E. W. Gardner.

MAN

A MONTHLY RECORD OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL SCIENCE

PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE
ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

XXXII, 158-191. JUNE, 1932.

ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

With Plate F.

The Royal Anthropological Institute's Prehistoric Research Expedition to Kharga Oasis, Egypt. The Second Season's Discoveries. *By G. Caton-Thompson.*

Far the most important feature of the first season's work (MAN, 1931, 91) had been the discovery on the floor of the depression of a novel physiographical feature—namely, 'fossil' or dead springs of Pleistocene age, which, since they contained flaking sites in their deposits, put into our hands a line of inquiry of great potential value, not only in palæolithic stratigraphy but also as registers of palæo-climatic conditions. The one dug had yielded an abundant Aterian industry. Others called to be excavated. On the eastern scarp a find of very extensive and unrecorded flint-mines presented dating difficulties not resolved that season. Geologically the dating of the tufa deposits, and sheets of gravels magnificently developed on the eastern scarp, became Miss Gardner's primary object. 158

These inquiries have fulfilled high expectations, and have yielded a conspectus of prehistory in the depression, in which Acheulean, Levalloisean, middle palæolithic (Pre-Sebilian), Aterian, Capso-Tardenoisean and neolithic march across the stage, each clad in its own geological attire, for all were found *in situ*.

The tufas are found to belong to at least three distinct geological horizons; the last two are dated securely by tools. Similarly the gravels must be divided into (a) *Plateau Gravels;* (b) *Terrace Gravels;* (c) *Wadi Gravels;* these also are all three now culturally dated.

The episodes recognized are as follows: others may lurk unobserved, or be so obliterated by denudation that they are lost.

THE SCARP.

1. The oldest deposit of our 'drift' sequence is a massive crystalline tufa we have named *Plateau Tufa* to distinguish it from later ones we have named *Wadi Tufas*. It contains reed impressions, but no fauna or human evidence. We provisionally place this as Plio-pleistocene.

2. There followed a period of great erosion, causing the formation of longitudinal and transverse valleys. For this period, too, we have no cultural evidence.

3. The next stage in the physiographical development was the filling of these earlier valleys in their upper reaches by great accumulations of angular breccia, showing no water action. This breccia filling now stands in crumbling stacks as much as 25 metres in height. It must represent a long dry period. Though these breccias have been diligently searched for tools we have so far found none.

4. With the passing of this arid period lower palæolithic man appeared upon the scenes. Rain encouraged vegetation. The earliest of the cellular *Wadi Tufas* was formed on the breccia filling. The flora collected from this, which includes leaves of at least five different species, has not yet been identified. Land shells, however, are of palæarctic types, not hitherto recorded from Egypt. Others are now living in the tropics. In a 10-metre section capped by tufa, unrolled Acheulean tools have

been found; thus for the first time in Egypt a tufa deposit has been dated (Fig. 1). The formation of the *Plateau Gravels*, which cover wide areas of the scarp and form long flat-topped spurs high above the present valley system, belongs mainly to this phase; these gravels have also yielded Acheulean tools *in situ*.

5. The fifth main episode appears culturally to bridge the lower and middle palæolithic. An Acheuleo-Levalloisean industry has been found unrolled *in situ* in numerous flaking-sites sub tufa. Within this physiographically important period, which awaits further work, the *Plateau Gravels* were eroded in broad shallow valleys, and the materials were spread out at lower levels in a secondary sheet we have named the *Exogyra Gravels*. These secondary gravels contain a mixed Acheulean and Levalloisean industry.



FIG. 1.—REFUF PASS. TUFA CLIFF (8–10 M.) OVERLYING ACHEULEAN GRAVELS WITH TOOLS.

6. We now enter a middle palæolithic stage of still considerable but ultimately decreasing rainfall. Two main events mark this period: the formation of another *Wadi Tufa* overlying silts and gravels; and the beginning of the development of the modern drainage system. These tufas also are dated by floors of tools beneath them. The implements, collected also from huge surface sites, are the product of a tortoise-core industry. They include, however, so many forms, unrecognized in normal Mousterian, that it has been necessary to name it provisionally 'Pre-Sebilian,' since the connections at some points with Vignard's Sebilian are too evident to be ignored. Its place in the middle palæolithic, however, seems assured by its position in the physiographical sequence.

The mode of formation of these tufas was found to be the result of ponding up of the primary valleys. The boulder barrages were identified in several cases with the ponded tufas up-valley. Pre-Sebilian man frequented the shores of such spots and tool collections were made from sub-tufa silts laid down in the ponded areas (Fig. 2).

7. The formation of tufas now became a past event. The streams grew weaker and weaker and cut narrow channels in the floors of the old mature valleys. Terraces were formed—dual or triple. In the gravels of the upper one, 7 metres above present wadi level, were found Pre-Sebilian



FIG 2.—BULAQ PASS. SECTION IN PONDED AREA; TUFA 3 M.; SILT 1·00 M.; MIDDLE PALÆOLITHIC SILTY GRAVELS WITH TOOLS (WORKMAN POINTING) + 1·70 M.

tools: on it, in a bed of silt 0·40 in thickness, a fine Aterian flaking site was excavated. Other large Aterian sites were also found in solution pans of the old Acheulean tufas. A lower upper palæolithic date for the Aterian seems indicated. The lower 5-metre terrace provided no cultural evidence, though carefully searched.

8. The physiographical sequence in the scarp here ends, for no major changes hereafter occurred. Moreover, man abandoned the wadis and the gravel plateaus overlooking them at this time, and sites of Capsian and Capso-Tardenoisean age are found instead on the Libyan Plateau, around, or buried

in the silts of, shallow clay pans. Flat oval stone hand-mills, possibly indicative of some form of primitive agriculture, undoubtedly were used, and the extensive use of ostrich egg-shell for beads was noted. Engraved fragments were also found (Fig. 3).

9. The great flint mines discovered in the first season have been re-examined. They are purely neolithic in age—not of mixed age as was believed at first. The late-looking pottery found in some of the stone wind-breaks must be intrusive—dropped by sheltering hunters or caravan men of historic date; for crude neolithic sherds in hearths discovered this season are of different fabric.

The Depression Floor.

10. The occurrence of an unpatinated surface Acheulean hand-axe led to examination and the discovery of a prolific floor of this single period lying on Cretaceous clays beneath a series of spring-

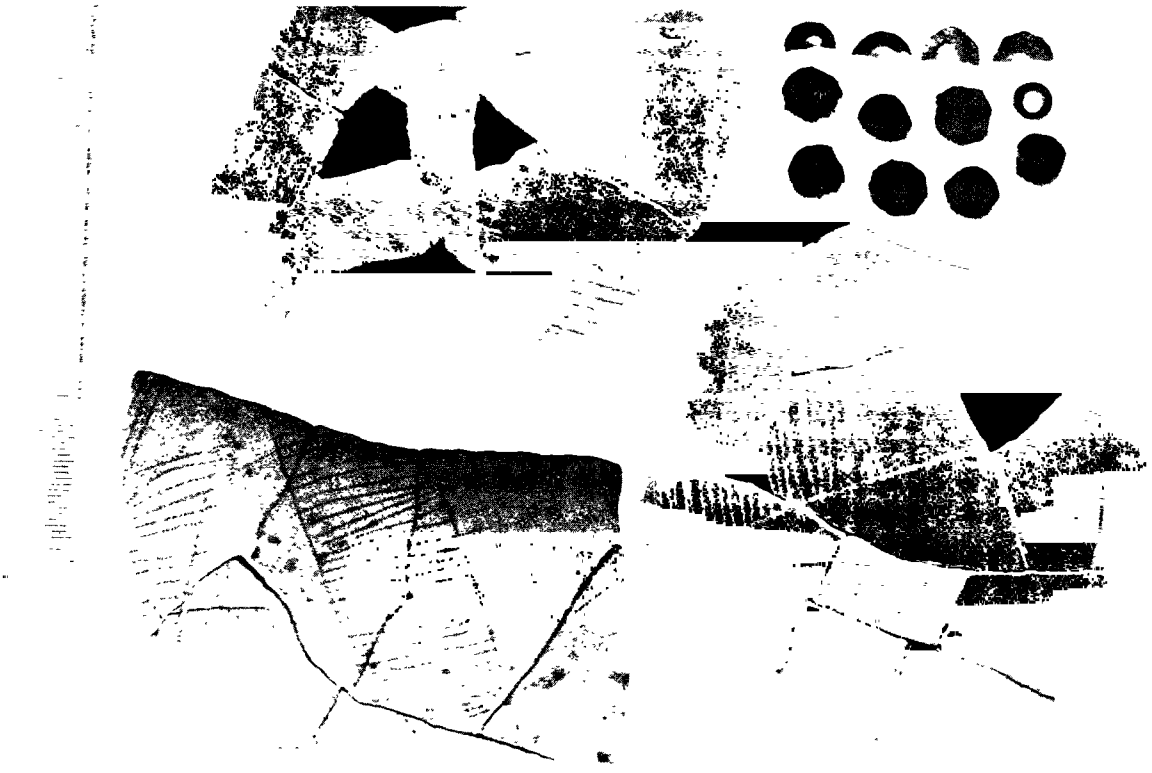


FIG. 3.—CAPSO-TARDENOISEAN SHELL BEADS IN PROCESS OF MANUFACTURE, AND ENGRAVED SHELL.

laid deposits. A magnificent collection of 500 hand-axes contained within an area not exceeding 30 square metres, in mint condition, but glazed, with their attendant flake industry and cores was collected. The glaze was almost certainly produced by the flow of sandy waters in the spring and is not due to desert exposure. The hand-axe types are remarkably varied; normal lanceolate forms predominating; but cordate and ovate forms are included. A number have curious rectangular pebble butts, the result of the use of tabular flint; others formed on rounded nodules retain a normal semi-circular cortex base. The intentional choice of nodules of waisted outline is evident, the constriction being carefully retained in the subsequent flaking. In other cases definite bilateral hafting notches are conspicuous. No certain burin blows were noted either on hand-axes or flakes. The sizes of the hand-axes range from 21 c.m. to miniatures under 4 c.m. The assemblage is remarkably

free from Levallois tendencies. No striking platforms are facetted and no tortoise-cores are present. The overlying spring beds are contorted and faulted, and as the tools are dislocated (in many instances we found them tilted at acute angles and even resting on their lateral edges), the disturbance must be later (Plate F). At this place Aterian tools lay on the surface of the spring deposits covering the Acheulean floor. It would seem necessary to equate this Acheulean site with episode 4.

11. A large fossil spring was excavated to a depth of 9 metres in the vent, and to Cretaceous clay in other places. Interstratified beds of gravels, the lowest at a depth of 4 metres, yielded an abundant tortoise core industry. This is not Aterian, but further study will be needed to pronounce its relationship to the Levalloisean and Pre-Sebilian on the scarp. These tool-bearing gravels were found to have been decapitated by the violent irruption of the spring through them. The activity



FIG. 4.—NEOLITHIC HEARTH-MOUND.

of this spring is consequently later than the gravels. These same gravels were studied in other places on a plain to the east, 12 miles from their source in the scarp, and are probably to be correlated with episode 6 in the scarp.

12. The Aterian culture is connected with a fossil spring deposit in the penultimate stage of its existence. The culture is sealed over by sandrock of æolian origin. This evidence accords well with episode 7 in the scarp.

13. A Capso-Tardenoisean surface site yielding transverse arrow heads was discovered upon the sandrock deposit sealing up a fossil spring. The formation of these sandrocks was the final stage in the history of all fossil springs known to us, and as the deposit is consolidated dune sand it may be inferred that desert conditions obtained prior to the date provided by this site. Refer to scarp evidence 8.

14. The cultural elements of the Kharga neolithic are now identified. Hearths were discovered in the capping sandrock of the fossil spring mentioned in 11. Little shallow holes piercing the capping sandrock to obtain water have been found. Curious stone-capped mounds, about 3 to 4 feet in height, were examined on the desert floor (Fig. 4). They yielded—if they yielded anything—thin wisps of ash, burnt bones and flint and small rough sherds. Sufficient of these mounds were found and studied to assure the correctness of the following reconstruction of events. A hole was dug, and the bottom lined with flat pieces of limestone. In this sunk hearth the cooking was done and ash and débris accumulated: some filtered through the loosely laid lining. In course of time the place was abandoned and desert erosion, constantly lowering ground level, began to operate, planing down the hearth and scattering its lighter contents. Eventually the stone lining was reached. This acted (as all hard cappings act in desert climates) as a protection to the underlying ground. But outside the periphery of protection degradation of the ground continued until slowly the old lining capped a mound. And so we now find these places—capped in most cases with their limestone protectors—which have scattered also down the slopes (Fig. 5). The stone, rendered brittle doubtless by fire in the first instance, is greatly weathered and now shattered into small blocks. A general lowering of desert surface since neolithic times of as much as 6 feet is indicated in some of the areas occupied

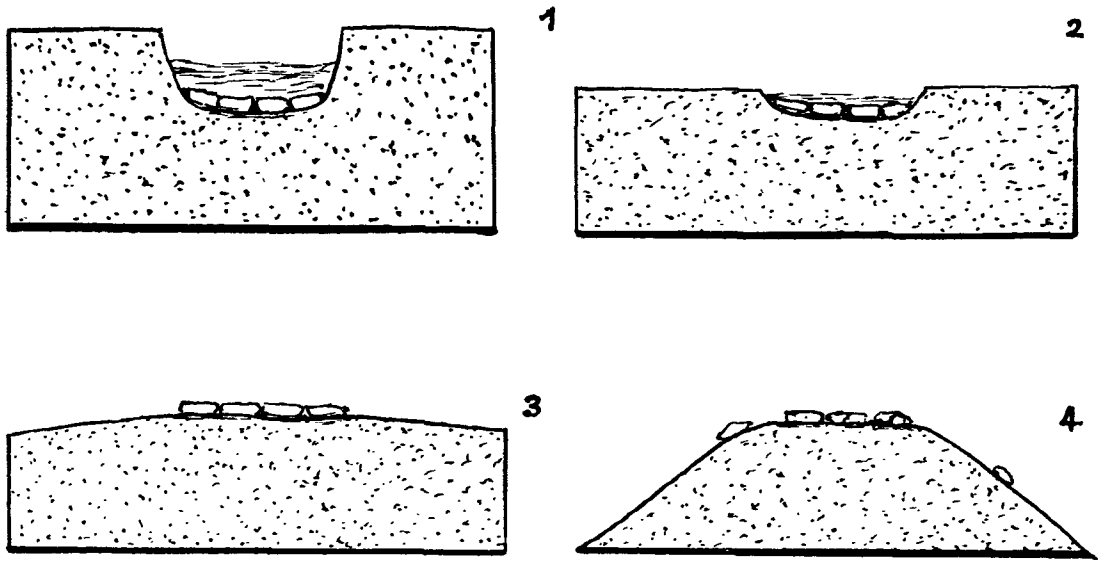


FIG. 5.—NEOLITHIC HEARTH. DIAGRAMMATIC RECONSTRUCTION.

by the mounds. They occur generally in groups together: others were found on the Libyan Plateau edge in the vicinity of the flint mines.

General Remarks.

(*a*) Our observations in Kharga, no less than in the Fayum, lead us to reject the fluviatile hypothesis of their origin, recently advanced by Dr. Collet for Kharga and Dr. Sandford for the Fayum respectively.

(*b*) We confirm our earlier views as to the non-existence of a lake at any period on the floor of the depression.

(*c*) We interpret the deposits formerly attributed to lacustrine agencies as being wind-borne, loess-like material. We have no direct dating for this arid phase. It would seem to correlate with 3 in the scarp, and if so to be (locally) pre-human. A loose *terminus ad quem* is provided by gravels which overlie in one place this loess-like deposit.

(*d*) Overflow deposits from springs—Pleistocene and historic—which form humps of bedded sandrock on low ground must be differentiated from the preceding.

(*e*) We have found no trace of dynastic remains prior to the XXVIIth dynasty. The predynastic is also absent, one sherd only of a late sequence date was found on the scarp. We interpret this absence as strongly suggesting that with the final failure of the Pleistocene spring-water supply in neolithic times, the depression became virtually uninhabitable and uninhabited, peopled only by the dead of Egyptian mythology, until thousands of years later Persian hydraulic engineers tapped the artesian water bed by means of shafts not less than 80 metres in depth, and inaugurated the second cycle of Kharga's prosperity. The topographical peculiarities of Kharga make this pronouncement a less dubious *argumentum a silentio* than might appear at first sight. It is true that our concession includes about 1,100 square miles of ground, and that we have walked as yet over less than half of this. We have flown over all of it repeatedly. But it must not be forgotten that all traffic to and from the Nile Valley is, and always has been, canalized into the infrequent and narrow passes in the Eastern scarp. To the three most important of these (out of seven) namely Bulaq, Abu Sighawal, and Refuf, we have given close attention, camping at each, as being magnificent palæolithic centres, for prolonged periods. The human litter in such places is abundant and significant; and whereas these tracks up the 1,000 feet escarpment were used extensively by prehistoric man, there is, after his departure, a complete absence of remains of the dynastic periods. It is not until the dawn of the classical period that activities recommence and continue crescendo up till the Byzantine period. This accords independently in a remarkable degree with our observations, archæological and physiographical, on the floor of the depression.

The material, which includes about 10,000 implements, the majority of which belong to *in situ* groups, requires detailed study before fuller information concerning it can be published. The bare facts only are here attempted. Typological study is impossible in the field, owing to our nomadic life far from a base. Upon return to England commencement of work upon the material is delayed for months owing to official delays in Cairo, where the collections still lie at the time of writing (10th May), six weeks after our return.

We offer the fruits of this work, which provides material for prolonged study and thought, to the subscribers who so generously fulfilled their promise of a second year's support, in spite of unprecedented financial stress.

G. CATON-THOMPSON.

Sociology : Africa. Yates.

Bantu Marriage and the Birth of the First Child. *By T. J. A. Yates.*

159

Westermarck has said that "marriage arises out of the family, not the family out of "marriage." However true this may be functionally, in the life history of the individual, the family is undoubtedly founded in marriage. This is, of course, as true of England as of Bantu Africa. But whereas in England the marriage ceremony and accompanying formalities form a complete act, with the Bantu they are, though an important part, not the whole of the process producing the change of status of the two individuals concerned. The family founded by marriage is not really established till the birth of the first child. Legal abstractions, it is true, are seldom very clearly formulated or defined among primitive peoples, but it would seem that married status among the Bantu has very little meaning apart from parenthood.

Many attempts have been made, taking the European ceremony as model, to determine which part of the Bantu marriage formalities is the essential marriage act. One of the difficulties in this has been that Bantu marriage comprises a number of ceremonies and other activities spread over a considerable period of time and that there is considerable variation as to the point in this series at which cohabitation commences, as also in the extent to which any one or more of these acts may be and, in practice, are neglected. It is however pertinent to our problem to notice that this series begins with betrothal—that is prior to what we would consider marriage—and ends only after the birth of a child—that is considerably after marriage, in our eyes, is complete.[1] This would suggest that the Bantu concept of the marriage act differs from ours mainly in being not so narrow. To them marriage is the founding of the family and consequently the marriage act cannot be complete until the family, which necessarily includes a child, is in being.

[1] Smith & Dale : 'The Ila-Speaking Peoples of N. Rhodesia.' Vol. II, pp. 57-60.

This view is further supported by a number of other customs relating to marriage. It is generally held that the *lobola* is an essential of a valid marriage. It is noteworthy that *lobola* is often paid in instalments, a first payment being made before the bride is handed over to the bridegroom. Demands for the payment of the residue only become insistent after the birth of a child.[2] On the other side there is the matter of the recovery of the bridewealth. This is very definitely dependent on the existence of children. If there are children it is either not at all recoverable or recoverable only in part, upon the dissolution of the union.

In ethnographic work there has been too little attention given to the differentiation of "breach " of promise," annulment of marriage and divorce. Whether the Bantu have ideas, even in vague form, corresponding to these European legal concepts it is difficult to say. Their practices would suggest that they have. Breach of promise is distinguished, at least implicitly, in ethnographic writings, and we know that if the fault is on the part of the girl or her father or guardian the bridewealth paid is recoverable; if the fault is on the side of the suitor, he forfeits the bridewealth, or that part of it which he has already paid. All types of breaking of the marriage, once the bride has been handed to the bridegroom, are, however, treated as divorce. In many cases divorce is, undoubtedly, the nearest English equivalent, but there are certain cases where this is doubtful. The bride may be returned to her people and the *lobola* reclaimed on account of her sterility or she may return and the bridewealth be repaid on account of the husband's impotence. Whitfield, after recording cases of the latter variety, says: "It is thought that the correct form of procedure in the above quoted cases " would have been to have asked the court to declare the alleged marriages null and void on the " ground of the incompetency of the man to contract a marriage."[3] The case of the barren woman would appear to be the same in native thought. In either case a substitute to take the defaulting partner's place may be supplied by his or her family. This practice only confirms the view that the marriage is not complete, not established, until the birth of a child.

Whether this can be said to form in native law a separate category, analogous to our annulment, or whether it is to be considered merely as a particular form of breach of promise is difficult to determine. Among the Bechuana it would appear to be the latter: "circumstances may arise when " the family (of the husband) may still, before the cattle have been paid, have the choice . . . of " not keeping the contract at all, when the other party has failed to fulfil the whole or any great " part of the contract made. Thus if a woman remains childless, *bogadi* need not be paid." Likewise if she die childless and in certain other cases referring to childless wives.[4] On the other hand, of the Baganda we learn: "When a husband lost hope of having children, and the woman was " pronounced to be sterile, she lost favour with him; and though he seldom put her entirely away, " yet, where there was a second wife, the latter came to the front."[5] So the marriage may still subsist in some sort. This would suggest that where it is broken it is a matter of annulment. This question, however, cannot be settled without much more careful observation of how the natives themselves view these cases and behave in regard to them.[6]

Nor is it only in relation to bridewealth, with its legal and economic complexities, that we find evidence of the incompleteness of marriage without children. There are many other features of Bantu culture which point in the same direction. Often the young couple have no household of their own till after the birth of the first child. Till this happy event, the wife lives with her husband's mother and only after it receives a hut of her own.[7] Even the locality of the marriage is, sometimes, affected by the birth. Of the BaVenda we are told: "The young couple, however, live at the home of " the woman's parents, in quite a number of cases, till the first child has been born, when they set " up house for themselves near the home of the man's parents."[8]

[2] Whitfield: 'South African Native Law,' p. 211.

[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 128.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 257.

[5] Roscoe: 'The Baganda,' p. 46.

[6] Among the Akamba, also, barrenness does not seem to be a reason for dissolving the marriage though impotence on the part of the husband is so. *Cf.* Lindblom: 'The Akamba,' p. 83.

[7] Stayt: 'The BaVenda,' p. 143. Junod: 'Life of 'a South African Tribe,' Vol. I, p. 126, 185, tells us that among the Thonga, the wife lives with her mother-in-law for the first year till she has cultivated a field for herself. This would be tantamount to the same thing as normally a woman expects to conceive within the first three months of married life.

[8] Whitfield: *op cit.*, p. 211.

It is generally recognized that marriage universally entails a change of social status for both man and woman. Among primitive peoples this change is more dramatic and far-reaching than with us. Yet here again we find that the birth of the first child is an essential feature. The Wafungwe in N. Rhodesia have "four definite ranks": in the first are the children; the second is composed of the striplings and the young married men: "the young men who have had children, and who are qualified, "therefore, to sit in the village council" form the third.[9] Again, in N. Rhodesia: "A young man "who has not had a child is, among certain tribes, not supposed to be able to 'speak his case,' "hence in many of the cases which come to the *boma* the elder brother will always speak first, "although it is not his own case."[10] Women are also affected: "Women, until they have borne "children, are still considered in some tribes as children themselves."[11]

Not only their legal status but also the whole behaviour of both husband and wife is affected in this way. Among the BaVenda, who place enormous stress on etiquette, "A bride must always "crawl in the yard of her husband's home, and kneel before she enters the door of the hut, as well "as doing *losha* before everything she touches; she continues to behave in this way until after the "birth of her first child."[12]

The custom of teknonymy, so common among the Bantu, might also be mentioned in this connection, for the names of husband and wife are sometimes dropped even before a child is born, and they are renamed in reference to the prospective child.[13] The change of name goes with a change of status, but it is noteworthy that the stress is on parenthood rather than marriage.

The avoidance customs between parent-in-law and child-in-law are also relevant here, for they likewise do not escape the all-pervading influence of the birth of the first child. The strictness of the rules is almost everywhere considerably relieved when a grandchild has been presented to the parents-in-law.[14] It is as though there were an unwillingness to accept the relationship set up by marriage until its aim has been fulfilled.

Not all these customs, of course, are to be found among all tribes or in the same form in different tribes. Their character is, however, sufficiently similar and their distribution sufficiently widespread to give strong grounds for the thesis here put forward, that in Bantu culture the birth of a child is an essential feature of marriage, so that the marriage is not complete or established until the first child is born.[15]

If this contention be correct, it supplies further evidence in favour of the modern sociological view, so close to, yet not identical with the older Christian doctrine, that marriage is primarily concerned with procreation rather than with the regulation of sexual relations; and that other features of wedlock, such as companionship and economic co-operation, however large they may loom, are really incidental. Further, it definitely supports the claim maintained by the Functional School that marriage is functionally associated with the individual family, that it is in fact a part of the institution of the family.

Certain practical consequences would also follow from the acceptance of the view here submitted. The South African Native Courts already tend to recognise impotence on the part of the husband as ground for annulment, but they adopt the European view that consummation of marriage consists in coitus instead of in conception and childbirth, as would appear to be the Bantu notion. Whether the adoption of the native theory is desirable or practicable is, perhaps, a debatable point, but it should at least be carefully considered. To deal with marriage apart from the family is unscientific and may well be disastrous to the future development of Bantu culture. The modern Western tendency to dissociate the two is certainly one of the factors involved in the economic and social difficulties at present rife in Europe and America.

T. J. A. YATES.

[9] Gouldsbury & Sheane: 'The Great Plateau of N. Rhodesia,' p. 258–9.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 259.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 259.

[12] Stayt: *op. cit.*, p. 158.

[13] Kidd: 'The Essential Kafir,' p. 202.

[14] Gouldsbury & Sheane: *op. cit.*, p. 259. Casalis: 'The Basutos,' p. 201.

[15] For a similar view of marriage among other peoples, *cf.* Driberg's article: 'Inheritance Fees,' in MAN, 1929, 64.

Nigeria. Meek.

Pot-Burial in Nigeria. *By C. K. Meek.*

160 The following notes, collected by various Administrative Officers in the Northern Provinces of Nigeria may be of interest to your readers.

Pot-burial occurs most noticeably among the Kamberi, Achifawa, Kamuku, Makangara and Ngwoi—tribes situated in the Niger and Sokoto Provinces, all speaking languages of the so-called Semi-Bantu type. It also occurs among certain communities of the Dikwa Emirate (Mandated territory).

Among the Achifawa, Makangara, Kamuku and Ngwoi pot-burial is accorded to all members of the community except those who have died of leprosy or small-pox. The pot, which has a hole pierced in the bottom to allow the fluid of decomposition to have an outlet, is buried in the ground so that the mouth appears just above the surface. The body, girt in the leather loin-covering usually worn, and with the eyes and mouth covered with a cloth, is placed in the pot in a sitting position. Clothes and cowries are deposited in the pot and cowries are sometimes tied round the neck of the corpse. The mouth of the pot containing the body is covered with a smaller pot, in which a small hole is pierced, presumably with the intention of allowing a mode of egress for the dead man's soul. In order to keep this hole open a stick is inserted while the loose earth is being heaped on top. Among the Achifawa the pot may be used after 5 or 6 years to receive the body of another member of the family, the remains of the first occupant, with the exception of the skull, being removed and buried in the ground at the side of the pot. The skull is placed between the knees and chin of the second corpse. The Kamuku do not use the same pot-grave again except at the village of Ukuru where the chief is buried in the same pot as his predecessor, whose remains are removed and buried below the pot. Among the Kamberi of Arigida pot-burial is confined to the families of blacksmiths and iron smelters. Wives of blacksmiths are not, however, accorded this form of burial unless they have borne children. The body is placed in the pot in a contracted position. The hands are at first tied together clasped above the knees, but are freed when the body has assumed the required position. The containing pot is covered by another not so deep but of the same circumference, so that the edges, which are plastered together with mud, coincide. Among the Kamberi of Kontagora, similarly, blacksmiths are buried in pots, which may be used again after two years, the bones of the former occupant being left inside at the edge. Among the Kamberi of Ibeto and Salka, chiefs are buried in pots. At Salka, two or three months after the burial of a chief, a wooden image is made and decked in a cap and three cloths. The people are summoned and make lamentation and address the image as though it were the chief. It is buried ceremonially beside the pot containing the body of the chief. It is possible that this ceremony is an indication that formerly the dead were first, as among the Igbira, etc., preserved by a process of mummification which extended over several months.

Burial pots containing human bones have been found at Kaza in the Dikwa Emirate. Pot-burial is still practised at Beele, Hambagda, Hugudum and Zufa—all situated in the Dalladiba Hills to the south of the Dikwa Emirate. At Beele the rich only are buried in this fashion. The body, clothed in a loin-cloth, is placed in a large water pot in a knee-to-chin position, the mouth of the pot being closed by a smaller pot. The grave is shaped like a well and is three feet deep. At this depth a side chamber is constructed to take the pot, which is laid on its side and pushed into the chamber in such a way that the deceased, if a man, has his faced turned to the East. At Hambagda and Hugudum also pot-burial is only accorded to persons of importance. A hole is pierced in the covering pot. There is no special niche constructed as at Beele, the pots being simply set in the ground at a depth of three feet. At Zufa pot-burial is general for all. The pot is closed with a new calabash and then with a smaller pot. The grave has a niche to take the pot and is five feet deep. At Busa hunchbacks were buried in pots deposited in trees and among the Kahugu babies are buried in pots, a custom also followed by the Thonga of South Africa, who use a broken pot, the opening being half covered with a layer of ashes in such a way as to permit an air passage into the pot. Children were apparently buried in jars among the Phœnicians, and the Hittites seem also to have buried their dead in jars —after a partial cremation. A form of pot-burial was practised in Babylonia. C. K. MEEK.

Western Tibet. **Asboe.**

Notes on Childbirth in Manchat (Western Tibet). *By Walter Asboe.*

161 Certain taboos exist in Manchat in respect to women during their period of menstruation, and also for expectant mothers. During menstruation a woman is not allowed to approach the family hearth, but must eat her food, and perform her household duties at a reasonable distance from the fireplace. She may not wash or handle the kitchen utensils during this period, for she is regarded as ceremonially unclean; and any infraction of the taboo imposed upon her is thought to be a direct affront to the god of the family hearth.

No restrictions, however, in the way of performing the ordinary domestic duties are laid upon the pregnant woman except that she must be on her guard against the influence of the 'Evil Eye.' She will therefore retire discreetly on the approach of a stranger. A woman may not on any account bear her child in the vicinity of the household temple, or where there are any images of the gods. An apartment in the rear of the house is therefore reserved for this purpose, and failing this, she must retire to an outhouse or shed.

To cite a personal experience, I was once called to a case of difficult labour, and I found the patient lying in a dark room quite by herself. On urging the occupants of the house to remove the expectant mother to another room where one could at least enjoy the advantage of light and air, they replied that they could not comply with my request, as, by so doing, they would incur the displeasure of their household gods. Further, it is taboo for the daughter of the house to give birth to her child in her own home, so that what frequently happens is that she must find refuge in the shelter of the cowshed.

At a confinement, any cooked food which happens to be in the house is taboo, and must be thrown away, or given to the cattle. Following the birth of a child, the mother is obliged to emerge from the house, accompanied by one or two women, and proceed to the nearest spring. On arrival there, a screen of blankets is erected, behind which she must perform her ablutions. After the birth of the first child, the mother has to wash herself three times, whilst the husband must also purify himself by bathing. By way of propitiating the evil spirits, the mother scatters grain or food hither and thither as she proceeds to the village spring to cleanse herself.

It is also customary to stick an iron trident and an axe into the ground when the ablutions have been performed. In the meantime the placenta is buried in the earth, the hole being dug with the knife which was used for cutting the cord, and the handle of the knife is buried also. During the woman's absence, the floors of the house are freshly mudwashed, and all utensils thoroughly scoured. Should another house lie contiguous to the one in which a confinement occurs, the occupants behave as if the birth had actually taken place in it. On the completion of the ceremonial purification, the mother is covered in a large blanket with two slits in it for the eyes, and returns to her home.

WALTER ASBOE.

Africa: West. **Rodd.**

Tridents and Triliths in West Africa. *By Francis Rodd.*

162 My friend Mr. Palmer raises one or two very interesting points in his note (MAN, 1932, 47) on "Trident Sceptres in W. Africa." I agree that we must probably look for a pre-Moslem and, perhaps, definitely non-Semitic origin for the trident or tri-form ornament in northern equatorial Africa. I also agree that the tri-form ornament is traditional among the Tuareg though its occurrence is principally cruciform. There are a number of examples of cruciform ornament referred to in my book (*The People of the Veil*, chap. ix) wherein the Tuareg bridle stick is also referred to. "On these sticks are slung the bridles and ropes when a camel is unsaddled. They "are planted outside a man's tent and sometimes indicate his high position or "prosperity." The only two examples I saw had a cruciform top, but I heard of a trident topped stick which was described as being somewhat like this :—

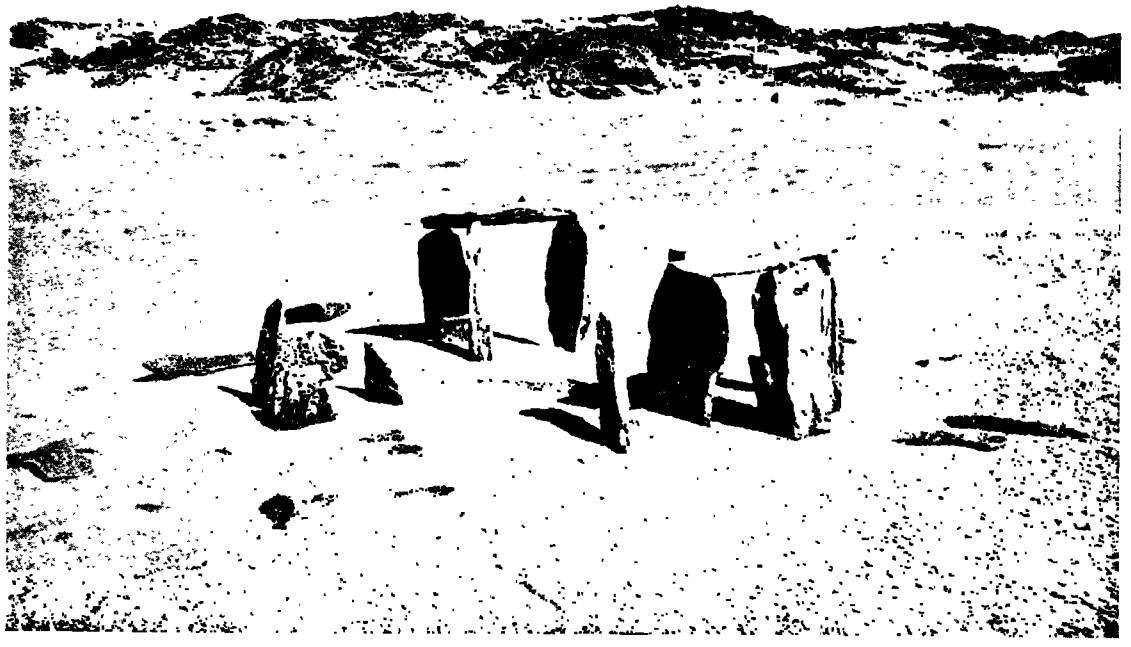


The triliths Mr. Palmer refers to exist in Aïr but are not very common in the form of two pillars with a stone on top. The ordinary form consists of three pillars set upright on the plan of an equilateral triangle, with the apex directed towards Mecca, and purporting to be Moslem places of

prayer. On the other hand, the usual form of places of prayer is a rough semi-circle of small stones on the ground, directed east. I know of one large rectangular formal enclosure with two upright pillar stones in the eastern face. The horizontal slab stone might well have been one of many suitable pieces lying around. I am indebted to Colonel Meinertzhagen for his permission to reproduce his photograph of triliths from the Tuareg country farther north, Ahaggar.

I am very grateful for the reference to an association between the trilith and the ceremonies associated with the taking of the veil by Tuareg youths. I should be grateful for any information which readers of MAN may have, likely to throw light on the obscure origin and practice of the Veil. My further inquiries in Aïr have produced some additional evidence of ceremonial usage in this connection, but I have in all collected dismally little up to now.

Incidentally the Tuareg Veil in Tamashek (the Tuareg language) is called *Tagilmus*, not *Temeder*. The lower part of the Veil which covers the mouth is called *Imawal*, as contrasted with the *Temeder*, which is the part covering the brow and forming the hood over the eyes.



GROUP OF TRILITHS FROM AHAGGAR.

Midden or *Mĕdan* is used as the plural of *elis*, it is true, but with a slight change of meaning. *Elis* seems to be the exact equivalent of the Latin *vir*, whereas the plural becomes the equivalent of "people." Thus, *Enta elis* = "he is a man" (*vir*), but *mane ket midden* = "how many people?"

FRANCIS RODD.

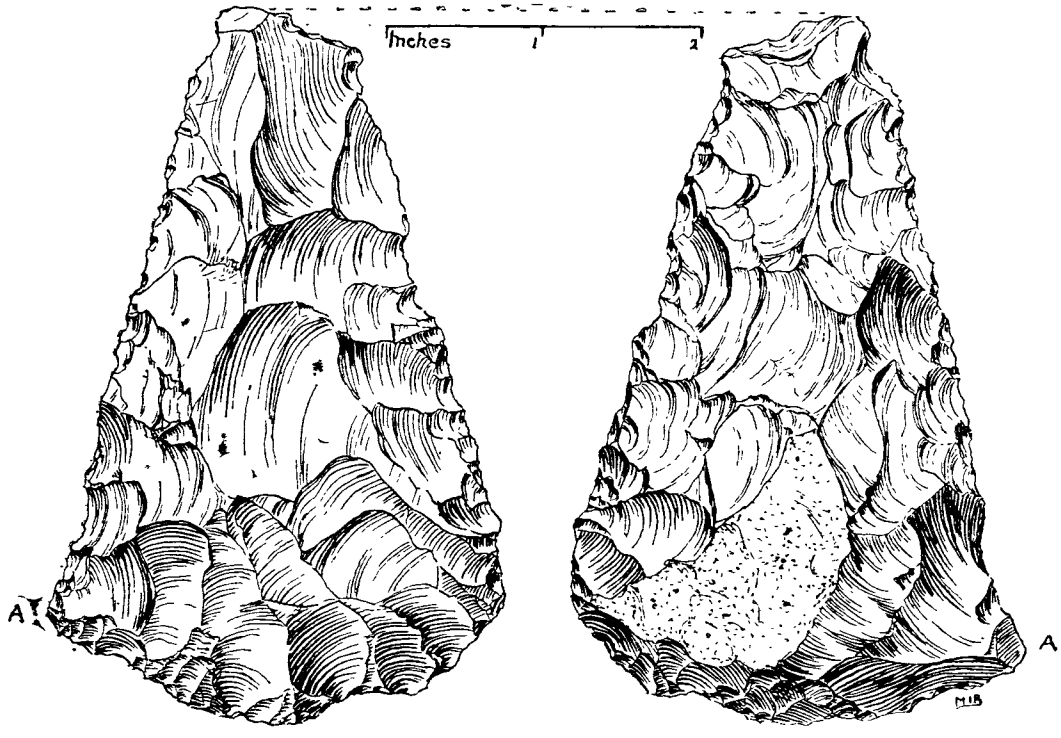
Technology: Coup-de-poing. **Tebbutt & Burkitt.**

A recent find of a Flint Implement in Huntingdonshire showing certain peculiar features. *By C. F. Tebbutt and M. C. Burkitt.*

163 This implement was found near St. Neots, Huntingdonshire, in a gravel pit situated behind the South Lodge of Paxton Park, and quite close to the River Ouse (6-inch Ordnance Map, 1902 Edition, Huntingdonshire sheet XXV, N.E.). Near it was a fine tusk of Elephas primigenius, 5 feet long, and teeth of Rhinocerus tichorhinus, and Equus caballus.

At about 10 feet from the surface the gravel rests on blue clay, and it was here, just above the clay, that the mammalian remains, numerous flint flakes, and this implement were found. Previous finds in this pit were described in the 'Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society of East Anglia,' Vol. V, Part 2, together with a note on the geology of the gravels by Professor J. E. Marr, Sc.D., F.R.S. The implement will be preserved in the Museum of Archæology and Ethnology, and the mammalian remains in the Sedgwick Museum, Cambridge.—C.F.T.

The stone implement found by Mr. Tebbutt and figured below is of considerable interest. It is made from dark flint and is patinated white at only a few places. It is thin relative to its size, and the edges are very regular and straight. The narrow end, though obviously broken, shows a certain amount of working on the fracture of ancient date. The butt end is regular, convex and fairly sharp: indeed the implement enters into the category of those celt-like coups-de-poing, very late Acheulean, or more probably Mousterian in date, which have been found occasionally in this part of the country. They also are found on the continent, and I possess a fine example from the south of Belgium.



A special feature of this newly-found implement is the protuberance marked A in the illustration. This has been carefully worked to form a sort of rough, coarse awl with which holes in skins could be made. I believe this is not at all a common feature, and I have not seen another exactly similar example. As is so often the case, one side of the tool (the one ending in the awl-like protuberance) is much sharper than the other, which indeed is fairly blunt. But this, of course, is also very often true of earlier, pear-shaped and oval coups-de-poing.—M.C.B.

ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE: PROCEEDINGS.

Ordinary Meetings of the Institute.

The Pre-history of Kharga Oasis. *Communication presented by Miss G. Caton-Thompson, 10 May, 1932.*

The substance of this communication appears as MAN, 1932, 158 above. **164**

Tribal Intermixture in Northern Nyasaland. *Summary of a Communication presented by the Rev. T. Cullen Young: 24 May, 1932.*

165 The region is of interest as inhabited by an early people, matrilineal, settled over a wide area in family clans and without any centralized chieftainship or tribal aggregation. There has been intrusion (*a*) of a 'trader' type of unknown, but probably western origin, although with acquired coast experience, a society of patrilineal type though without full lobola. This occurred about 1780 and was a peaceful penetration: (*b*) of a 'warrior' type from South Africa, of mixed origins, but under 'Zulu' leadership, patrilineal and with full lobola and having a centralized chieftainship and military organization. This occurred about 1855 and was a predatory, but incorporative, invasion: (*c*) by Arab and bastard Arab, ivory dealer and incidentally slaver. This was non-permanent and is dated about 1870.

The group distribution in pre-intrusion times was obtained from first-hand eye-witness evidence of pre-intrusion conditions and customs. From south to north these groups were :—

(a) *Chewa-Chipeta Section.*—This was allied to aNyanja and is still largely uninfluenced by Ngoni culture. Marriage is by 'symbol-transfer' only. There are no age-grades, nor is there any initiation school. This is the northern limit of the 'chinyawo' dance; in speech it is closely allied to aNyanja.

(b) *Tumbuka-Tonga Sections.*—Of these the former are ironworkers on uplands, the latter fishers on the lake shore. Originally their marriage custom resembled that of the Chewa-Chipeta. now it has been strongly influenced by intruders. The staple food crops differ and speech is only distantly related to chiNyanja.

(c) *Phoka* and other scattered hill communities.—They are ironworkers, but have a special agricultural technique. Their language is of Tumbuka stock, though not identical with it. They have been, as yet, little investigated.

(d) There is evidence of early bushmen, with traditional 'digger' occupation in one area, where traces are still visible. A 'carved' rock with symbols said to be not unlike (?) recorded specimens from south-west Arabia is reported from the south-west border of this area.

The effect of intrusion of the warrior type into the Tumbuka group has been the acceptance of full lobola and freedom of the husband. The Tonga are attempting to combine large value transfers with the supremacy of the mother-group.

HUMAN BIOLOGY.

Discussion of Human Blood Groups. *Opened by Professor J. B. S. Haldane: 22 April, 1932.*

166 The evidence for the existence of genes in man was limited to certain rather rare pathological conditions and to blood groups. The visible expression of a gene varied with circumstances; the gene was, as it were, a photographic plate that needed developing. If, therefore, an anthropological character was to yield results capable of genetical analysis it must be determined by a small number of genes and must separate the population into groups which were not particularly rare. It must not be strongly affected by environment, nor must it be subject to natural or social selection. The set of characters which determined blood grouping were the only characters at present known which satisfied all these conditions.

The inheritance of these characters was quite simple; there were only two types of chromosome, and therefore an individual could have only two of these genes; in gametic mitosis only one could pass to the germ cell. The child of an AB parent could receive either A or B; the child of two O parents could receive neither; the child of an A could have either two A's or one A and one inactive gene (R), and the same applied to a child of B. It was an absolute rule that the child could not have in its corpuscles anything that was not in the blood of its parents. If an AB married an O the children must have either A or B; none of the children would resemble either father or mother. If one parent belonged to the AB group, no child could belong to the O group. Data collected by Haselhorst and others confirming these laws were quoted, and one exception, an AB mother who had an O child was recorded; the mother might have had 3 chromosomes instead of 2 or a mutation process might have occurred.

The clue to racial origins afforded by blood groups was largely negative, for their distribution varied in different races and was affected very slowly, if at all, by environment. Hungarian gypsies showed 6 per cent. AB and 39 per cent. B; Hungarian Magyars 12 per cent. AB and 19 per cent. B. Regional distribution maps suggested that a wave of B had started in Central Asia and thence

pread in all directions. B was unknown in Australia, rare in the Esquimaux and in the Aboriginals of America; it was common in the Ukraine.

In the discussion the following points were raised, among others: In Holland some correlation had been suggested between B and dark hair. The centre of Australia yielded no B, but 60 per cent. of A; one speaker thought this indicated the colonization of Australia by a very small canoe party. The absence of A and B from most Esquimaux and Red Indian tribes indicated early isolation and suggested that B occurred as a mutation much later than A. Investigations in Africa pointed to a southward drift of the B group, the Bantu and Senegalese having a high proportion of B's. Dr. H. Brewer described two persons tested for blood transfusion who had been classed as O, and served satisfactorily in that category four or five times. Some suspicion arose; they were re-tested and grouped B, in which category they again gave satisfactory service.

The Chairman, Professor Elliot Smith, F.R.S., said that anthropologists did not yet know how to fit these tentative new facts into existing ideas of race: it would be rash to try to formulate any comprehensive interpretation at present.

In reply to questions, Professor Haldane expressed his preference for the diffusion theory rather than the idea of a parallel origin. There were no sex differences. B was not associated with Mongol characteristics; probably there had been a big outburst of B from Central Asia after China was more or less settled.

PROCEEDINGS OF SOCIETIES.

CONGRESS OF PREHISTORIANS OF THE FAR EAST.

167 The first congress was held at Hanoi during the last week of January, 1932. At the Fourth Pacific Science Congress in 1929 it was resolved to hold the First Congress of Prehistorians at Hanoi in 1932. The Congress was organized by the Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient with the approval and support of the government of Indo-China. The object of the Congress was to bring about the close union and co-operation of those of every nationality who were engaged in the study of prehistory in the Far East. It was hoped to institute uniform methods of investigation and to lay the foundation of a rational terminology, the need for which has been increasingly felt. The delegates who participated in this important meeting were Dr. P. Rivet, President of the Congress, Dr. R. O. Winstedt (Straits Settlements), I. H. N. Evans (Malaya), Dr. P. V. van Stein Callenfels (Dutch East Indies), Professor H. Otley Beyer (Philippines), Prince Rajadabhisek and Luang Boribal Buribhand (Siam), Professor J. L. Shellshear (Hongkong), M. C. Haguenauer (Maison franco-japonaise de Tokyo), Mlle. M. Colani, D.Sc. (Indo-China), and M. V. Goloubew, member of the Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient and secretary of the Congress. Of the numerous communications presented at the sittings between the 26th and 30th January the following may be mentioned: a report on the prehistory of Hongkong by Prof. J. L. Shellshear, on the prehistoric sites in the Philippines by Prof. H. Otley Beyer, three papers by Mlle. Colani, 'Les 'Protonéolithithes,' 'Differents Aspects de Néoli-'thique Indochinois' and 'Divers modes de sepultures néolithiques et protohistorique en Indochine.' An important communication on 'Les Phenomènes 'géologiques recents et le Préhistorique Indochinois' was read by M. J. Fromaget, representing the Department of Mines of Indo-China. At the public meetings of the Congress papers were read on the following subjects: 'Les Océaniens' (Dr. P. Rivet), 'Le Préhistoire au Japan' (M. C. Haguenauer), 'L'Age du bronze à Java' (Dr. P. V. van Stein Callenfels) and 'Les tambours metalliques en Indochine' (M. V. Goloubew). At the end of the Congress a visit was paid to the region of Bacson, to the North of Hanoi. This included a visit to the prehistoric cave sites at Minh-Le and Dong-Phuoc under the guidance of Mlle. M. Colani.

At the last sitting of the Congress, it was decided to hold a Congress every three years. At the same time it was resolved to create an international journal for the publication of matters of prehistoric and protohistoric interest in the Far East. The journal will be published at Hanoi and will be printed by the Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient.

BRITISH ASSOCIATION.

168 **Notes and Queries in Anthropology.**—At the meetings of Section H of the British Association in 1931 a committee was appointed to report to the Sectional Committee on the question of re-editing 'Notes and Queries in Anthropology.' The committee will be glad to receive suggestions for amendments or additions to the present edition before making their report to the Sectional Committee of H (Anthropology) in 1932. Such suggestions should be sent BEFORE JULY 30 to the Secretary of the above Committee at the Royal Anthropological Institute, 52, Upper Bedford Place, London, W.C.1.

AWARDS TO FELLOWS.

Institution of Mining and Metallurgy.

169 The gold medal of the Institution of Mining and Metallurgy has been awarded to Dr. Thomas A. Rickard, Fellow of the Royal Anthropological Institute, in recognition of his services in the general advancement of mining engineering, with special reference to his contributions to technical and historical literature. Dr. Rickard's paper on 'The Knowledge and Use of 'Iron among the South Sea Islanders' (MAN, 1932, 50), will be printed in full in the next number of the '*Journal*.'

OBITUARY.

B. L. Austin Kennett. *Born* 13 *February*, 1892, *died* 12 *April*, 1932.

170 The *Journal* of the Institute (LXI, 1931) contained an article on the Afoshi Dancers of Kabba Division (Northern Nigeria), written by Austin Kennett, who died on 12th April in Northern Nigeria, at the age of 40. He had already done good work for Anthropology, and was expected to do much more as opportunity served. He became a Fellow of the Institute in 1925. From King's School, Canterbury, he came to Queen's College, Cambridge, where his father, the late Regius Professor of Hebrew, was a Fellow. Athletic, enthusiastic, he played a great part in college life as an undergraduate. He took the Oriental Languages Tripos, and thus laid the foundations of his knowledge of Arabic which later stood him in good stead. In the War he served in the Dardanelles, in France—being wounded on the Somme—and in Palestine. He served with the Camel Corps in the Western Desert of Egypt, and then entered administrative work. His experience was varied by transfer to Sinai. In 1925 he entered the African Colonial Service and was posted to Nigeria. His book 'Beduin Justice' (Cambridge University Press, 1926), is vividly written and contains very valuable information. It is full of intelligent appreciation of the humanity, the humour, the faults, the follies, the graces and virtues of his Arab friends. He devoted himself with the same vigour and sympathy to studies of Nigerian peoples. Whatsoever he did, he did with all his might. Obviously unfit for strenuous work, he returned last autumn to his post of duty. He was of the stuff that makes good district administrators. Those who knew him as a man, mourn a good friend; those who have touched his mind, mourn a valuable colleague and ally in the cause of science; and those who knew him in his happy home, know how heavy is the burden of sorrow laid upon his wife, son and daughter. *Multis ille bonis flebilis occidit.*

REVIEWS.

America, North.

Contributions to Chipewayan Ethnology. *By K. Birket-Smith.* (*Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition* 1921–24, Vol. VI. 3.) 1930, *Pp.* 113, *figs.* 38.

171

Intellectual Culture of the Caribou Indians. *By Knud Rasmussen* (*Vol. VII, 2 and* 3). 1930. *Pp.* 114 (*many figures*).

These two volumes are a continuation of the published results of the fifth Thule Expedition to Arctic Canada. They contain valuable and important studies of the native peoples in the great area of woodland and tundra stretching westward from Hudson Bay. The Chipewayan Indians occupy more or less of the territory extending from Lake Athabaska eastwards through the boreal woodlands to Fort Churchill. They originally lived on the Peace River, further west, but among the numerous movements of Indian tribes occasioned by the advent of the white man and by wars with the Crees and Slaves in the eighteenth century they moved eastwards to Hudson Bay, with the Crees on their southern flank. Some remain (many of them now crossed with whites) in the region of Lake Athabaska, while the eastern branch, to which this account is devoted, occupies mainly the region between the Churchill River and the northern border of the forest line, which stretches diagonally from the vicinity of Churchill on Hudson Bay north-westwards.

In the tundra region to the north of them, and inland from Hudson Bay, are found the Caribou Eskimo, on the Kazan River, and the region of Lake Yathkyed northwards to Baker Lake and Chesterfield Inlet. These are divided into four groups by Rasmussen. A study of their culture is thus of great importance, as they lie between the typical Eskimos with their sea culture on the north and east, and the Indian tribes south and west. When the Crees obtained firearms they drove the Chipewayan northward for a time into the tundra, and savage warfare both with the Cree and the Eskimo was traditional.

In Vol. V. of this series, Birket-Smith described the material and social culture of the Caribou Eskimo, and in the succeeding volume Rasmussen describes his journey among them and gives extensive records of their intellectual culture and folk-lore. Both authors conclude that these Eskimo of the tundra are primitive, and that the coastal Eskimo, with a sea culture, were derived from them, as they either migrated northwards in pursuit of the caribou or were driven to the coast by the Indians. Thence they migrated eastward and westward along the Arctic coast, producing a neo-Eskimo culture, according to Steensby's theory, in the Behring Straits.

Thus we now find, on the one hand, the coast of Hudson Bay and the Arctic Ocean fringed with Eskimo who are highly adapted in their culture to the hunting of marine mammals; on the other, the Chipewayan Indian having the typical snowshoe culture characteristic of the boreal woodlands of Canada, and between them are the Eskimo of the tundra. Rasmussen found that these Caribou Eskimo had many cultural survivals in common with the Greenlanders, and that some of their folk-lore in substance and form was the same as that of Greenland. They are therefore looked upon as a primitive and ancient stock having perhaps even a Proto-Eskimo culture, associated exclusively with rivers and lakes in the interior and depending almost wholly upon the caribou for food and clothing.

Birket-Smith points out that the Caribou Eskimo and the Chipewayan have only been in direct contact for about two centuries, and he concludes that the numerous culture elements they have in common, such as the lance, snare, caribou fences, skin toboggan, bag of split birds' feet, leggings, moccasins, babiche and many others, may be traced back to the Cree, indicating a common ancient culture-foundation among Eskimos and Indians.

It is concluded that more than half the culture elements of the Chipewayan are common to the Caribou Eskimos, while only a quarter are not to be found among the latter. Both from the folk-lore and from some of the photographs of Caribou Eskimos one may gather that an exchange not only of culture but also of blood occasionally took place, as is to be expected between two primitive peoples in contact, even when at war with each other. The Caribou Eskimo also have some culture elements not found among the Indians.

In support of his views, Rasmussen also lays much stress on the fact that the religion of the Caribou Eskimos is different from that of the coast dwellers, and they have a simple taboo system in place of the complicated system connected with the hunting of marine mammals. Yet he admits that some of their stories; "The girl who married "a whale," "the song of the seal," and many others, indicate a life by the sea "at some time in "the distant past." Another difficulty with this theory is that if the inland culture of the Caribou Eskimo is primitive, then they must have been in contact with, but independent of, Indian culture all across America from Alaska and perhaps have crossed Behring Strait without ever acquiring a marine culture. The alternative would be that the Eskimo are derived from Indian ancestry, but this seems unlikely on account of their different and in many respects more advanced mentality.

It therefore appears that there is still something to be said for regarding the Caribou Eskimo as intermediates between coastal Eskimo and the Indians, resulting from contact and intermixture in the wide area of the Canadian tundra. On this view they would have lost many of the culture elements of the coastal Eskimos, as they migrated inland, and the Eskimo might already have been adapted to an Arctic coastal culture when they migrated from Asia. But whatever view may be taken, these two volumes furnish most valuable material for any further discussion of the subject.

R. RUGGLES-GATES.

Among the Eskimos of Wales, Alaska, 1890-93. *By H. R. Thornton. Edited and annotated by Mrs. Thornton and W. M. Thornton, Jr. Oxford University Press*, 1931. *Pp.* 234, *illustrations; price* 18*s. net.* **172**

Mr. H. R. Thornton went to Cape Prince of Wales, on Behring Strait, as an American missionary in 1890 and was killed there by an Eskimo three years later, having in the meantime paid a visit to his native land to obtain help for his mission work. Following a biographical sketch of the author, the bulk of the book is his own account of the life of the Eskimos among whom he lived, edited and annotated by his wife and brother. Although its appearance is belated, it will serve as a record of the conditions there forty years ago. The natives were already familiar not only with fire-arms but also with whisky from the whalers.

The general character of the book may be gathered from a few of the titles of the numerous short chapters into which it is divided: climate, costume, intelligence, polygamy, childbirth, language, games, dog-sleds, walrus hunting, etc. Some of the accounts of hunting with the natives are quite thrilling in their realism. Much can be learned of the habits and customs of the Eskimos in the westernmost part of Alaska, but the work is written from the standpoint of an observant missionary without anthropological knowledge, and some of the annotations are very quaint. From the description, the underground dwellings built by the natives in the sandy soil would appear to bear some resemblance to the igloos of Northern Labrador. That they included a platform of rough boards, shows how much Eskimo life had already been affected by contact with the white man.

The author was one of the prime movers in the successful experiment of introducing the reindeer from Eastern Siberia into Alaska, and his colleague, Mr. W. T. Lopp, originated the "endless chain" system by which an increasing number of natives have come to be the owners of small and increasing herds.

R. R. G.

The Netsilik Eskimos. *By Knud Rasmussen. Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition*, 1921–4. *Vol.* 8, *Nos.* 1–2. *Copenhagen:* 1931. *Pp.* 542, *many plates.* **173**

This volume is mainly occupied with the social life, customs, folk-lore, psychology and religion of the Netsilik or Seal Eskimos, who occupy the region of King William Land, the Boothia Peninsula and adjacent territory on the Arctic coast of Canada, and are reputed to be the dirtiest of Eskimo tribes. They are also one of the most isolated. They numbered 259 in all, with a large excess of males due to female infanticide.

The last 80 pages are devoted to the results of a six days' visit to the Utkuhikjalingmiut, an even more isolated tribe of inland Eskimos who have quite recently forsaken the sea and now occupy the Back River area to the number of 164. They retain a tradition of Captain Back's visit in 1833; and the Netsiliks have tribal memories of contact with the Ross and Franklin expeditions, relics of which were also found by Rasmussen.

This volume is especially valuable for its intimate and extensive account of the culture and folk-lore of these people. The Netsiliks are most expert in hunting seals on the winter ice, while the inland Eskimos have given up seal hunting and the use of blubber lamps for heat, and live entirely on the caribou (some of which winter around Lake Franklin) and by fishing in the lakes and rivers.

An elaborate system of taboo has been built up by the Netsilik Eskimos, which appears to be definitely related to the rigorous and dangerous conditions in which they live, not infrequently subject to starvation and death; while their inland derivatives, living under less danger from famine since the introduction of guns, have largely dropped the system of taboos which their ancestors observed. They also appear more sceptical regarding the religious ideas entertained by the Netsiliks.

The Netsiliks were preceded by a tribe called Tunrit, who built houses of stone and turf and whose dialect showed certain similarities to that of the Greenland Eskimos. Rasmussen made excavations of these houses on King William Island, which will no doubt form the subject of a later volume.

Those anthropologists who are enamoured with

Rousseau's idea of the noble and peaceful savage should read pp. 200–5. Rasmussen points out that formerly each tribe was at war with its neighbours, and massacres occurred at intervals. In a village where he made inquiries, every grown man had been concerned in a homicide. Yet the Eskimos are individually most cheerful, likeable, and generally amiable people.

R. RUGGLES GATES.

Pacific.

174 Growing Up in New Guinea, a Comparative Study of Primitive Education. *By Margaret Mead. London (Routledge), 1931. Pp. xi + 285. 12s. 6d. net.*

Miss Mead has followed up her Samoan study with a visit of some six months' duration to the island villages of Manus in the Admiralty Islands north of New Guinea. In Samoa she was mainly interested in, and confined her account exclusively to, the "problem of "adolescence," the problem of whether the disturbances that vex the individual at puberty are physiologically or socially caused. In Manus she devoted most of her time to an allied problem, how in effect a child is made first to accept, then to conform to, and eventually to hand on the culture of his society.

On the basis of these two studies Miss Mead has been hailed by some critics in America as one of the leading anthropologists of the day. English students on the contrary will be strongly inclined to query whether she is an anthropologist at all. In itself residence for a period of time among a native community does not make a person an anthropologist, as certain travellers and most publishers seem to think. The criterion of whether work among natives is anthropology or something else lies in the sort of phenomena investigated there and the sort of generalizations attempted in any published account of the work.

Miss Mead went to Manus, but while there was not apparently interested in any of the problems with which anthropologists (both in England and in America) are normally concerned. Her whole interest lay not in seeing what the culture was, but what effect living in a certain group had on an individual of that group. The result is that such glimpses as we get of the structure of Manus society are only obtained incidentally in somewhat the same way as we may obtain an idea of the houses used by a tribe from a medical report on the causes of pneumonia among that tribe. This inadequacy of her book—an inadequacy, it must be emphasized, only to the anthropologist, not to the social psychologist and still less to the general reader—is recognized by Miss Mead and she promises a detailed structural account of the culture to be published shortly by her husband, Mr. Fortune, who was with her in the field. No such book has yet appeared, nor is it announced by any of the publishers. Can it be that the period of six months spent by Mr. Fortune and Miss Mead in Manus, while long enough to enable the latter to produce the study of Manus education under review, was insufficient to allow the more careful and judicial Mr. Fortune, trained in English methods of scientific research, to give an authoritative account of the culture?

Miss Mead's book falls into three separate parts, Chapters I to XII which describe the relevant incidents in the daily lives of the people, Chapters XIII and XIV which apply the generalizations based on Manus material to Anglo-Saxon cultures and thus aim at justifying the sub-title, and a number of appendices. The descriptive chapters are both interesting and valuable, but suffer from over-simplification and unjustifiable dogmatism. Nevertheless anthropologists in general and Melanesian specialists in particular will find much of importance here. The peculiar family life of these people whereby the father becomes the tender, loving playmate of the child, the mother the forbidding tyrant, has been strongly queried by some critics on the grounds of its inherent improbability. To this reviewer at least Miss Mead's account seems quite a likely possibility in a society with the unusual values of Manus. Such critics overlook the fact that a similar tendency though certainly not so pronounced is observable in other parts of the world, and assume moreover a necessary incompatibility between the two concepts of maleness and motherhood. One has only to remember that the mother's brother is regarded as a male mother in so many societies, and such an assumption becomes quite unwarrantable.

The second section of the book is of no value to anthropology and one imagines of very little value to any other of the social sciences. The use of Mr. J. B. Priestley's novel *Angel Pavement* as an account of English inter-family conflict with which to compare her own account of such conflict in Manus is not without its significance, while the naïveté with which she assumes the identity of English and United States communal values is remarkable, to say the least.

It is when we arrive at the appendices that we feel Miss Mead is really dealing with important matters. The relation between psychology and sociology is at present one of the problems most urgently calling if not for solution, at least for a uniformity in treatment by field workers. Malinowski would draw no dividing line at all either in theory or in practice, Radcliffe-Brown would have the fieldworker, while using introspective psychology to arrive at his conclusions, frame those conclusions in strictly sociological generalizations from which all questions of individual motivation would be excluded. Miss Mead's solution is to send the worker into the field with an anthropological *Notes and Queries* in one hand and a psychological *Notes and Queries* in the other and ask him eventually to produce a sociological account from the one, and from the other a list of answers to be handed over to the theoretical psychologist to use as he thinks fit. Quite apart from the question of whether the average anthropologist can ask the questions as intelligently and efficiently as the psychologist could if he went out himself, and assuming that the psychological *Notes and Queries* would represent a real consensus of psychological opinion, one must still wonder if Miss Mead's solution is the ideal one. If the presence of a psychological *Notes and Queries* in the anthropologist's baggage is always going to result in so little time being devoted to cultural investigation as Miss Mead devoted to it and in so little cultural information being given to science as Miss Mead gives, then it is very far from being ideal. But whatever may be the eventual solution the fact remains that few fieldworkers ever give any psychological information about their people and few psychologists ever go into the field. Such being the case the value of Miss Mead's work is difficult to over-emphasize. Such disappointments as it contains are disappointments only to the anthropologist who is sorry to see such ability and opportunities being devoted to questions in which he is not professionally interested. Their importance he does not deny for a moment. In the new field of social investigation which for want of a better term we must call comparative social psychology Miss Mead's work is that of a pioneer. Nobody before her has done quite the same sort of thing and probably we shall have to wait a long time before anybody after her will do it nearly as well. The effect of this new branch of social investigation upon the older branches, more especially upon the methodological side of anthropology, will be awaited with interest.

C. W. M. HART.

Headhunters, Black, White, and Brown.

By Alfred C. Haddon, Sc.D., F.R.S. Abridged Edition. Pp. 244, 6½ *in.* × 4 *in.* 1932. 1*s. net.* **175**

The original edition of this book was published in 1901. The present abridged edition is No. 26 in 'The Thinker's Library.' The material for the book was collected during Dr. Haddon's leadership of the 'Cambridge Anthropological Expedition' to Torres Straits, New Guinea, and Dutch Borneo, in 1898. The sections dealing with Torres Straits and Borneo are of much the same length; the one dealing with New Guinea (Papua) is short. The Borneo section describes Dr. Haddon's own personal experiences on an expedition up the rivers of the island; other members of the expedition, and their work, figure in the account of Torres Straits.

In the main, the book contains anthropological notes rather than detailed studies of the various peoples concerned. The narrative is of a chatty nature and is pleasantly written; much of it would appear to be an amplification of the writer's diary. Throughout the whole book there is a kindly and sympathetic spirit shown to the native people whose culture and customs are described. The cudgels are taken up on their behalf to defend them against accusations of laziness and ingratitude, or of mere superstition. Their sacred ceremonies and religious practices are sympathetically considered, as being a means of awakening religious sentiment, however foolish or grotesque they may seem to an outsider. The dangers attending the 'commercial' development' of a country by European exploitation are clearly set forth, and a plea is entered for the administration of a country for the benefit of its native inhabitants, rather than as a means of enriching those who want to 'open it up.' The latter policy 'does not necessarily mean the welfare of the original inhabitants; too often it spells their ruin or extermination.' Dr. Haddon remarks of New Guinea that "the women are extremely modest and virtuous; another of the many "examples that the amount of clothing worn bears no "relation whatever to modesty, though prudery is "usually developed in direct proportion to dress."

Of the nomadic indigenous Punans of Borneo we read that they are "very wild savages, not head-hunters, "do not keep slaves, are generous to one another, are "moderately truthful, and probably never do an "injury by making a false statement. They are a "bright, cheerful people, who are very fond of their "children and kind to the women." These Punans are 'food-gatherers,' living on what they can find in the jungle, and are not cultivators of the soil. They are thus as near to a 'primitive people' as can be found anywhere in the world, and the account of their mildness and gentleness goes a long way to disprove the theory that 'primitive' man was a fighter and a belligerent person. The native children are described as "happy, contented "little mortals, very rarely squabbling among themselves, and still more seldom troubled by their elders." This looks as if it is civilization that produces quarrelling among children!

Dr. Haddon's statement that the Papuan craftsman prefers a stone adze when working on a canoe, lest the sharper iron blade inadvertently cut through the thin side of the hull, throws light on the fact that craftsmen in Melanesia when working with an iron plane-blade fastened to a handle, and used as an adze, never see to it that the blade is sharp. The 'white' head-hunters of the title of the book, though not mentioned by name, seem to have been the members of the expedition themselves who were collecting skulls for anthropological purposes. Dr. Haddon's scrupulous respect for native ideas and religious customs prevented at times his getting the skull or the object of veneration which he was after. One has heard of cases where a very different practice was followed or advocated!

WALTER IVENS

Uber die Semitischen und nicht-Indischen Grundlagen der Malaiisch-Polynesischen Kultur.

Buch II. Das Verhaltnis der Austronesischen zu den Semitischen Sprachen. Von Engelbertus E. W. Gs. Schroder. Medan: Köhler & Co., 1928. 11¼ × 9 *pp.* 122. **176**

Linguistic scholars, conscious of their own difficulties and shortcomings, should be sympathetic with one another, and, when they are compelled to differ, should feel some reluctance in doing so. That is my own attitude towards any efforts in this field of action, and if in the case at present under consideration I appear as an inverted Balaam, I regret it. But, frankly, I do not think the above-mentioned work can be commended to students. It is full of miscellaneous learning, but it seems to me to be entirely misconceived. The author's thesis, so far as I understand it, appears to be that at some early period the Malayo-Polynesian languages fell under Semitic influences which profoundly modified them, not merely importing new names for things, but even pronouns and such formative elements as prefixes and suffixes.

That is in itself highly improbable, but the evidence by which he seeks to support this revolutionary theory may be illustrated by the following examples. The prefix *pi* is supposed to represent a Semitic *haseb* (conjecturally changed by metathesis to *hapes*); the pronoun of the 2nd person plural *kamu* is identical with the Arabic *'ăn-tum*, Ethiopic *'ăn-temu* (on the assumption of a hypothetical primitive form *'ăn-kemu*); *lada*=*'ădăl*; *fàkà*=*kafăr*, and so on. I am sorry, but it really will not do.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

Africa. **Meek.**

A Sudanese Kingdom. *By C. K. Meek. London:* 1931. *Pp.* ix + 548; 2 *maps and many illustrations.* 25*s.* **177**

In this very thorough study of certain sections of "the Jukun peoples and peoples under Jukun influence," Mr. Meek, after some preliminary remarks concerning history and traditions, deals with the organization of the community; beliefs and customs connected with death and re-incarnation; witchcraft and medicines; and the social, economic and æsthetic life of the people. In particular he draws many interesting parallels between the religious conceptions of the Jukuns and those of the ancient Egyptians.

The Jukun kingdom of Wukari described is a notable example of the type of state which was characteristic of the Western Sudan before the advent of Muhammadan religion and culture, its government being of the same pattern as Bornu and Songhai in ancient times, and Benin, Oyo (Southern Nigeria), and Baganda (Uganda) of to-day. The similarity between the theocratic form of government existing in the latter region and among the Jukun is "particularly striking, extending even to "the common use of a large number of official titles" (p. 347): and the conclusion seems indicated that this is due to some historical connection.

The religio-political cult of the Divine King among the Jukuns is dealt with in considerable detail. We are shown how the King occupies at the present day a position analogous to that of the Pharaohs of Egypt, who were regarded as incarnations of Osiris, and worshipped as gods of the sun, moon and crops. But we should like to know more about the Nigerian equivalents of the allied cult of Isis (or Astarte), which, it

seems probable—judging by Kwotto, Hausa and Ashanti parallels—centred annually around such ceremonies as "The Feast of the Booths" (pp. 144 *et seq.*), insignificant though the characteristics of this feast might appear from the version described.

Dealing with "multiple-soul" beliefs, the author remarks that "the precise relationship of the *bwi* to "the *dindi* is not clear" (p. 205). This appears from the account. Thus the *bwi*, or *kofi* (p. 205), is referred to on p. 418 as a "powerful soul-substance," but on p. 204 as an "avenging spirit" or "pursuing ghost." Again, in the accounts of head-hunting and animal propitiation rites (pp. 204, 205, 418) nothing is said about the placating of the victim's *dindi* (as distinct from the *bwi*), although on p. 208 it is stated that it is in fact the *dindi*, which "in the form of ghosts return "temporarily to earth to take vengeance on their "slayers." No reference is made to the association of the "ghost" (Jukun=*dindi*) with the "paternal "soul" and totem, or that of the *bwi* or *kofi* with the "maternal soul" and blood; which beliefs exist among the Kwottos or Igbira-speaking Jukuns (*cp.* the reviewer's 'The Red Men of Nigeria'), where they explain features of social organization and animal and sexual taboos, which (it becomes evident from this book) are common to both communities.

Considerable attention is devoted to two very interesting funerary customs, known as "the releasing of "the mouth-cloth" and "the beer of Red Earth." The author regards the "original" or "historical" purpose of the rites as similar to that behind certain Egyptian ritual practices; and thinks, moreover (p. xii), that certain obscure points in Egyptian belief may be "explained" in the light of the Nigerian evidence. As, however, the interpretation of the Nigerian evidence is only a "presumption" of "original "intention," "whatever significance the rites may have "at the present time," (p. 238), it may be permissible to suggest an alternative interpretation. In one at least of those ceremonies blue and black cloths are employed (p. 258), but no explanation of their significance is given. In this connection the reviewer has pointed out (*op. cit.*), that blue and black cloths used in certain Kwotto, Igara and Yoruba funerary rites seem to symbolize the "paternal" and "maternal" souls respectively, the latter of which are believed to "haunt the Red Earth of *termite*-nests." (*Cp.* also E. Torday, 'Dualism in Western Bantu religion,' in J.R.A.I., 1928.)

The book has an important introduction by Mr. H. R. Palmer, who deals at length with the question: "Who were the Jukuns and where did they come "from?" There is a decided difference of opinion as to the significance of "Jukun" (pp. xxxiii, 15, 16), to which one would like to add the further suggestion that it may be a variant of the Gold Coast ethnic or linguistic term "Akan" or *vice versa*. Both Mr. Palmer and Mr. Meek are inclined to accept the tradition that the Jukun rulers belong to the same stock as the pagan "Zaghawa" rulers of Bornu, whose dynasty came to an end about 1100 A.D. on the introduction of Islam. But as to the date when Zaghawa may have reached Nigeria, opinions are not unanimous. Mr. Palmer says (pp. xvi, xvii) between 500 A.D. and 1000 A.D., but Mr. P. A. Talbot (in 'Peoples of Southern Nigeria') and the Rev. Father J. J. Williams, S.J. (in 'Hebrew-'isms of West Africa') have suggested that such foreign invasions may have reached West Africa from a thousand to several thousand years earlier.

The general conclusion in the Author's Preface that "it would seem, nevertheless, from the cumulative "evidence, that Egypt exercised a very direct general "influence over certain parts of West Africa" is likely, in the opinion of the present writer, to be regarded as one of several reasonable working hypotheses, in view of the fact, brought out by Mr. Palmer, of the comparative homogeneity of the culture existing in the area intervening between Nigeria and the region of the Upper Nile.

Mr. Meek's book is fully illustrated with excellent photographs. It is a comprehensive record and should prove invaluable to British administrative officials as well as of great general interest to ethnologists, archæologists and anthropologists.

J. R. WILSON-HAFFENDEN.

178 Antropologia e Etnographia delle Genti della Somalia Vol. 1 Antrometria. *Nello Puccioni. Pp.* 384, $10\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$. *Maps, Photographs. Bologna (Nicola Zanichelli)*, 1931.

This book, published under the auspices of the Royal Italian Geographical Society, contains the anthropometric results of the Stafanini-Paoli (1913) and the Stefanini-Puccioni (1924) expeditions to Somaliland. Very complete measurements were made on over 150 adult Somalis, and not less complete observations on a small number of females from the same people and a few other tribes. The whole of the figures have been worked up with great care. All the comparative material available has been collected, and the results have been reduced to statistical form, including a number of correlations. The seriations are also given, both in their crude form and as percentages. In addition the individual measurements are given. No probable errors have been calculated, but the standard deviations have been worked out. The photographs include bust to just below the nipple-line, full face, and profile of 42 individuals. It will be gathered from this summary that the book is a mass of material which will be of great value to all students of African ethnology. As must perhaps happen in a book of this kind, it is rather difficult to see the wood for the trees, and it would have been a great advantage if the author had given us final tables at the end, giving the means and probable errors in addition to the standard deviations and correlation coefficients, while he could have improved the existing end tables by putting in the number of observations on which his constants are based. Although the book has no index, there is a detailed table of contents to which one can refer. Especial stress must be laid on these points because a work of this kind is likely to be used chiefly as work of reference. What a valuable work of reference it is likely to prove is shown by the fact that 40 observations were taken on each individual, and that in addition 28 indices are tabulated.

L. H. D. B.

Religion and Folklore.

179 Faith, Hope and Charity in Primitive Religion. *By R. R. Marett. Oxford: Clarendon Press*, 1932. *Pp. ix* + 181.

Perhaps the most serious criticism that can be brought against Dr. Marett is, that he does not write enough, and so deprives a larger audience than can attend his lectures at Oxford of his remarkably original and stimulating teaching. This book, which is his recent Gifford Lectures at St. Andrews in printed form, goes some way towards removing this defect. It displays his characteristic virtues; keen insight, humour, sense of proportion, sympathy with his subject and especially with the highest aspects of it. It does not make any parade of learning, being indeed semi-popular in tone; yet none but a very learned man could have written it. It expressly disclaims theological value ("my theological "knowledge is *nil*" says the preface); but the reviewer

questions whether professed theologians might not learn from it. That all anthropologists should read it goes without saying.

The book is divided into ten chapters, originally ten lectures, whereof the first discusses 'The Religious 'Complex,' and the remainder treat successively of hope, fear, lust, cruelty, faith, conscience, curiosity, admiration, and charity. In the outset, Dr. Marett explains that, since savage thought is of poor quality and savage action, that is, in this context, ritual, " avails " nothing except for the valiant and pure heart " (p. 11), the chief concern of the investigation must be with feeling, and in particular with " the moralization of " religion so far as depends on those elements of feeling " that are evidently so vital to the process " (p. 20). The succeeding chapters have then for their main object an analysis of the various feelings whereof they treat, with a view to extracting the value which these emotions have for the lower races, and have had in the past history of the higher ones. On this analysis must depend the author's answer to the problem whether religious emotion, particularly at the lower cultural levels, has had a positive or a negative value. The conclusion arrived at in general is, that the value has been positive; that religion, psychologically examined, has justified its existence in the history of the human race.

To follow the analysis in detail would involve far too long a discussion: but a few points of particular interest may profitably be noticed here. In the second chapter, the author declares for hope, not fear, as " the mother- " feeling in religion," and sees in such hope a high survival-value, particularly for primitive man. " From the start " . . . man must have been brave with a bravery inclining " towards bravado " (p. 23). Yet fear has played a prominent, indeed a salutary part, though, like the other emotions, it is ambivalent, witness the craven fear induced by black magic. Fear leading to discipline, to the observance of tabus which, the writer suggests (p. 56) become and may still be in process of becoming less and less irrational, has its distinct social and moral uses. Later (Chap. VII) again in connection with tabus, there is a penetrating discussion of the origins of humility and penitence. In treating of lust, the very interesting suggestion is made that the whole complex of feelings connected with incest and exogamous regulations have their ultimate origin in the awe felt by the primitive equivalent of a family group for the mysterious powers of the mother, with consequent respect for her desire that sexual indulgence and its attendant quarrels should not take place within the group. On the negative side of the account, although even here mention is made of the virtue of self-sacrifice, is to be found the connection of some forms of religious emotion with cruelty (Chap. V). The discussions of faith and curiosity hold the balance between the conservative and the radical tendencies, so to call them, which have blended in such varied proportions in determining the direction of endeavour. The last chapter, dealing with charity, returns once more to the part played by women, but couples it with the contribution of the primitive male, as hunter and food-distributor, to the growth of an unselfish disposition among mankind. H. J. R.

Folk-Tales of 'Iraq: *set down and translated from the vernacular by E. S. Stevens, with an introduction by Sir Arnold Wilson. Oxford University Press,* 1931. *8vo. xxi + 303 pp., 25 plates.* 15*s. net.* **180**

'Iraq has hitherto been almost neglected by the folklorist, although its geographical position, midway betwixt the Near and Far East, renders it an important field for research. The author of this interesting and charming volume has done a real service to science in collecting and editing the forty-eight stories here assembled. She has, indeed, rescued just in time a harvest of story and tradition that will not be accessible to the next generation, for the cinema, the gramophone and broadcasting are proving all too powerful substitutes for the story-teller. The modern graft on the ancient stock is already evident in the allusions to the aeroplane, the telegraph, the motor car and the " letrik " (electric light)—all these are clearly modern interpolations into stories of very ancient origin.

Readers who are versed in comparative folklore will recognize many well-known and widely distributed themes: the Cyclops, Bedd-Gelert, Cinderella's Slipper, Samson the Strong, whose power lay in his hair, the Forty Thieves, the Wonderful Lamp, and many others. In the notes at the end references are made to parallels in the *Thousand and One Nights*, and in various published collections of Persian, Turkish, Armenian and other stories. Had the author explored the stories in Egyptian Arabic published by Spitta-Bey, Maspero, Dulac, Carra de Vaux and others, many further striking and illuminating parallels would have been found. The folk-tales of India, such for instance, as the charming collection of Punjab stories published many years ago by the late Mrs. Flora Annie Steele, again reveal the extent to which near-Eastern elements have penetrated Indian folklore and *vice versa*.

There cannot be the slightest doubt that many of these stories are of very ancient origin. It is easy to detect in them incidents and mannerisms that are found in the oldest stories we possess—those of Pharaonic Egypt. The talking animals, the introduction of proverbs, the imposition of impossible tasks and conditions, are features of this kind. 'Iraq for many centuries has been traversed by the caravans and military expeditions of the ancient Empires of the East, and a constant flow of legend and story has been circulated and interwoven for countless generations.

For readers unacquainted with Arabic and its dialects, the author has inserted brief but useful notes explaining technical and local terms, and an interesting series of photographs.

This book is one of the most valuable contributions that has been made to the literature of folklore during the last decade, and it is to be fervently hoped that if this volume does not exhaust all the material collected by the author, it will be speedily followed by another.

WARREN R. DAWSON.

Marriage Conditions in a Palestinian Village. *By Hilma Granqvist. Pp.* 200. *Helsinfors,* 1931. *(Societas Scientiarum Fennica, Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum III,* 8.) **181**

This book is based on three years' research in a Moslem village near Bethlehem. In the course of her work the authoress tried to get to know everything she could about her village, and this is only a part of the material collected. She has used on the whole what may be described as the statistical method; she tabulates all the marriages, and the interlocking relationships of the people. She has also studied the economic and social bearings of the various wedding customs, but has not attempted to discuss the physiological aspects or extra-nuptial sexual life. The Arabic terms for relationships are given, and a number of Arabic proverbs, etc., and the system of transliteration adopted is explained. Even proper names are so transliterated, which sometimes, with familiar names, gives the book an appearance of pedantry which it does not really possess. As an example of field work carefully carried out, the thesis, as the authoress describes it, is really admirable. In addition

to its purely scientific value, it should also have considerable administrative importance. Apart from interference with their religion, people are in nothing more easily moved than in marriage customs. The administrator must necessarily come into touch with them, especially when family quarrels reach the courts, and a careful statement like the present should do much to help the harassed administrator when matrimonial troubles happen, to his confusion and annoyance, to come within his orbit. L. H. D. B.

182 Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, Volume 83 (whole Volume). The Skeletal Remains of Early Man. *By Aleš Hrdlička. July* 24, 1930. *Pp. viii* + 379. *Med. 8vo.*

In 1914 Dr. Hrdlička published a treatise on 'The Most Ancient Skeletal Remains of Man'; this was widely circulated and a reprint was issued two years later. Such a work was bound to become out of date before long and physical anthropologists will welcome this revised and greatly enlarged version of it. The writer has had unique opportunities of examining the skeletal material he describes and the sites from which it was obtained. Apart from an introductory chapter dealing with questions of chronology and one at the end in which the relationships of Neanderthal man are discussed, the whole volume is concerned with a systematic description of the discovery and characters of all the known remains of man which do not conform to the existing type. The Foxhall mandible is the only bone of that type which is considered and it is merely given as an example of many such specimens for which a great antiquity has been claimed without sufficient evidence. The others which fall in this category are apparently considered unworthy of notice.

The opinions expressed by such an authority as Dr. Hrdlička on controverted points in human palæontology are always of interest. He is often content to present merely a survey of the conflicting views held by other writers, but he definitely takes a side in some cases. It is considered improbable, or at least quite unproven, that the Pithecanthropus skull-cap and the femur found nearly 50 ft. away belong to the same individual. The thickness of the Piltdown cranium is said to be the only feature which distinguishes it from the modern type and this character is an individual or abnormal rather than a racial one. The skeletal bones found in the Broken Hill cave are all of modern size and form and there is only a remote possibility that they belonged to the Rhodesian skull. The Spy skeleton No. 1 is said to be not female, as has been generally supposed, but more probably male, and judging by the skull the No. 2 was far in advance of the Neanderthaloid stage and considerably nearer to modern man. The La Quina adult, Galilee and Ehringsdorf specimens, which are also generally classed as female, are considered here to be more probably 'subaverage' males. It is difficult to accept this rather novel sexing, however, as it will lead to the conclusion that there is a clear preponderance of males among the remains of Neanderthal man which are moderately well preserved, and this is unlikely to be correct. The author considers that the narrowness of the La Quina calotte is one of its peculiar characteristics, but it is most probably due to faulty reconstruction.

At the end of the descriptions of the individual specimens, Dr. Hrdlička discusses the Neanderthaloid problem and he reaffirms the conclusions he stated in the Huxley Memorial Lecture for 1927. These suppose that the modern type of man is directly descended from the Mousterian one. It is stated, of course, that no conclusive demonstration of this theory can be given yet, and it must be admitted, too, that it is still unorthodox. There are numerous photographs and diagrams, many of which are new. Measurements taken by the author on several of the specimens he describes are given, but there is no adequate indication of the uncertainty with which many of these can be determined owing to the defective state of the bones. G. M. M.

183 The "Formenkreis" Theory and the Progress of the Organic World. *By O. Kleinschmidt, translated by the Rev. F. C. R. Jourdain. London: (Witherby)* 1931. *Pp.* 192, $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$ *in. Price* 10*s.* 6*d. net.*

No problem in biology is more difficult or more controverted than the definition of "species," and the interpretations of physiologists and systematists, working in various different territories of biological science, diverge widely, and their opinions are in a more or less constant state of conflict. The author in his preliminary note tells us that "'Formenkreis' is "the true 'Real species' of the philosopher Kant, not "the 'Species' of Linné, not the 'Species' of Darwin, "not the 'Species' of my friend Dr. Hartert and other "English, German and American zoologists, not the "'Formenkreis' of Tschulok, nor the 'Rassenkreis' of "Rensch." There is an element of assertiveness and dogmatism throughout the book that is disconcerting to a reader who wishes to hear the evidence first and to draw conclusions afterwards. The author apologises for the use of the word "theory" in the title of the book, and he says: "The word 'theory' does not seem "to convey in England the same degree of uncertainty "as in Germany. I should like particularly to stress "the point that the Formenkreis Theory is no mere "hypothesis, but corresponds everywhere to nature. "It needs no confirmation. It only requires a more "thorough understanding."

Thus the reader is ushered into the presence of the new doctrine with the assumption that the case is already proven and that he must accept all he is told, and after a discussion of what the author believes to be the fallacies of "the old theory of evolution" the doctrine is propounded. After carefully reading the book, the reviewer confesses that he has a very hazy notion of what the Formenkreis Theory, reduced to its simplest terms, really amounts to, or whether by it the modern tendency of systematists to run riot with new species and subspecies will be checked or encouraged. The affinities that group forms into any given "circle" will still remain the subject of controversy as to whether they are the true criteria or not.

Nevertheless, this book is in many ways stimulating and suggestive, and the value of the text is enhanced by a large series of very well produced illustrations. The arguments are largely based upon the evidence of ornithology, and the book is presented to us in its English garb by an ornithologist of the highest reputation and ability.

WARREN R. DAWSON.

Bibliographies.

184 A Bibliography of Sex Rites and Customs. An Annotated Record of Books, Articles and Illustrations in all Languages. *By Roger Goodland. Pp.* v., 752. *London: George Routledge & Sons, Ltd.*, 1931. *Price*, 63*s. net.*

The welcome appearance of this volume will be a relief to all those who feared that the results of Mr. Goodland's erudite research would never see the light. For in bibliographical studies it fills a gap which has been increasingly felt by scholars in recent years. Bibliographies of erotic literature are well known; but no

detailed list of works on phallic worship and kindred subjects has hitherto appeared.

The main portion of the book is arranged by authors where these are known; by the first main word in periodical publications; and by the key word in the case of anonymous works which are grouped together. At the end of the volume is a copious index, where, under a variety of headings, will be found the names of the authors who have dealt with the matters under the diverse entries. From this index it is clear that the author has tried strictly to limit his material to those phallic rites and procreation ceremonies which have some religious and sacred significance. Thus there are but few references to male circumcision whilst incision and sub-incision do not appear in the index, although Dr. Basedow's paper on the latter operation is included in the body of the work with reference to the incised phalli in stone of North Kimberley.

Doubtless, as the author suggests, there is to be found a certain unevenness in the work, and errors and lacunæ are bound to occur. Of the latter the absence of the 'Bulletin de la Société d'Anthropologie de Bruxelles' and also of 'Geschlecht & Gesellschaft' is surprising, whilst the contributions of Trebitsch to ritual nudity and of Castagné to phallic rites in Samarkand have been overlooked. Generally speaking, however, the book is quite admirable: the fullest details, where available, are given; and the publishers are to be congratulated upon undertaking a work which, for many years to come, must be the standard authority upon the bibliography of the esoteric subjects annotated therein.

E. J. DINGWALL.

Ethnology, Anthropology and Archæology. *By T. F. McIlwraith. Reprinted from 'The Canadian Historical Review,' March, 1932. Pp. 11.* **185**

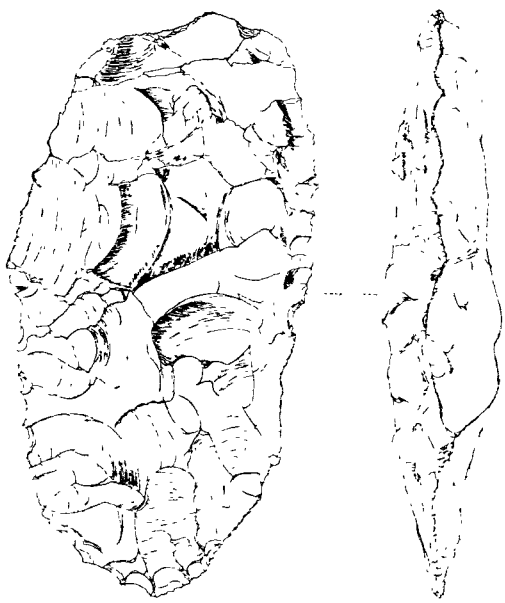
In December, 1930, there appeared an important bibliography of the above subjects in 'The Canadian Historical Review.' Professor McIlwraith now contributes items which have appeared since that date, and thus puts a valuable instrument of scientific research at the disposal of students. The items are arranged under alphabetical order of the author's surname and full references to journals in which articles have appeared are given. In addition, a brief explanatory note indicates the scope of each publication or alternatively refers the reader to a review. This type of bibliography is peculiarly helpful, and we look forward to further supplementary lists.

R. M. F.

CORRESPONDENCE.

An Acheulean Chopper from Warren Hill, Suffolk.

SIR,—During 1930, the collection of flint implements assembled by the late Charles Edward Brown of Mildenhall was purchased by the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, in order to exhibit representative English Lower Palæolithic artifacts in the Hall of Prehistoric Man now under construction. **186**



This collection includes about seven hundred and fifty specimens, the majority of which were excavated at Warren Hill and other sites in the neighbourhood of Mildenhall. Among the excellent series of implements there is one outstanding Acheulean chopper (Field Museum No. 202721) which measures 26 centimetres ($10\frac{1}{4}$ inches) in length, 13 centimetres ($5\frac{1}{8}$ inches) in breadth, and 6·4 centimetres ($2\frac{1}{2}$ inches) in maximum thickness. The weight of the chopper is four and a half pounds. The upper surface of the specimen is grey-brown in colour, although the peripheral region is grey with mottled yellow spots. The lower surface is creamy yellow in colour, and the cutting edge shows marked signs of wear. The drawings show the advanced technique employed during Acheulean times: scale *ca.* $\frac{1}{3}$.

With reference to other large implements of this period, according to MacCurdy (*Human Origins*, I, 116) during 1921 Ll. Treacher presented to the British Museum of Natural History (South Kensington) an Acheulean specimen from the river gravel at Maidenhead, which was 31·5 centimetres (13 inches) long, 17·5 centimetres (7 inches) wide, and weighed 2·78 kilograms (6 pounds, 2 ounces).

Since this important specimen was being taken out of England, it was thought desirable to have casts prepared for distribution to several museums in England. A small series of casts was very kindly made at the British Museum, under the direction of Mr. Reginald Smith, and a cast has been presented to the British Museum, to the Ipswich Museum, to the Museum of Ethnology and Archæology at Cambridge, and to the Abbé Breuil for the Institut de Paléontologie Humaine in Paris.

In conclusion I must thank Mr. Louis Clarke and Mr. Reid Moir for bringing this collection to my attention. I am also grateful to the Misses Brown of Mildenhall for their cordial co-operation, and to Miss Alice Wilkinson for her drawings of the specimen.

HENRY FIELD.

Sex and Complex: Œdipus or Kronos?

SIR,—It is possible that I may make a contribution to the discussion begun and developed in Mr. Bronislaw Malinowski's 'Sex and Repression in Savage Society.' **187**

In this book he attempts to show that the sentiments connected with the family would be different in a matrilineal society from those of the Œdipus complex

described by Freud. Because of the position of the father in the matrilineal family, and the vesting of authority in the mother's brother, the hostility felt in patriarchal society for the father by the son (according to Freud) appears to be felt instead for the mother's brother in matrilineal society. This seems to Mr. Malinowski to be a variant of the Œdipus complex. Dr. Ernest Jones, however, does not so regard it.

Mr. Malinowski quotes Dr. Jones as explaining the whole picture of matrilineal society as a result of the Œdipus complex. The denial of the father's part in human procreation is explained by Dr. Jones as a device to deflect the son's hatred from his actual father on to a substitute. The feeling for mother's brother is thus explained as a displaced emotion, rightly belonging to the father.

The point that I would like to add to the discussion is this: there is no disguise nor denial in matrilineal society of the fact that the father is the mother's sexual partner, so that the boy would have his reasons for sexual jealousy intact. Since Freud explains the son's hatred of the father as due to desire for the mother, how would the mere denial of paternity serve to deflect this hatred on to mother's brother?

We do not know a great deal about the unconscious processes of savages. The work done along this line by Dr. Roheim, although also among matrilineal tribes, would not necessarily apply to the Trobriand Islanders, for the position of the actual father is quite different in Central Australia. These are a cannibalistic people who eat their own children, and the killing of the child is the father's act. This naturally introduces a quite different reason for hostility to the actual father from any existing in Melanesia.

In the absence of a knowledge of the unconscious mental life of the Trobriand Islanders, we have only the outward picture to judge by. This picture is quite clear. Here is a society where the son has two adult males in his family, neither of whom is supposedly his father; one—the actual father—is avowedly his mother's sexual partner; the second—the mother's brother—is prevented from any sexual contact with the mother by taboo, but he has authority over the son. From all outward signs the son appears to feel affection for his mother's sexual partner, and hostility for the relative who has authority over him.

It may, of course, be as Dr. Jones explains, that 'mother's brother' in the unconscious mind of a Trobriand Islander is simply a substitute for 'father,' but when the whole question is whether he is or not, it will not do merely to state that he is without additional proof, and this proof cannot be drawn from the dreams of people living under a patriarchal arrangement of society, since Mr. Malinowski's contention is that the dreams—and the whole of the unconscious processes—of the Melanesians may be different.

ELIZABETH LANCASTER.

Etiquette. (*Cf.* MAN 1931, 40, 87, 128; 1932, 39).

188 SIR,—The further objections brought forward by Mr. Hocart (MAN, 1932, 39) against my definition of *etiquette* do not seem to me to have any bearing on the question, and his search for the origin of the term only complicates the issue. He objects, for instance, because the definition does not explain why a group of men may without a breach of etiquette speak of Brown or Jones, and the next minute, having formed themselves into a formal assembly, be required to speak of Mr. Brown or Mr. Jones. But surely the purpose of a definition is not to explain, it being merely a condensed description. No definition of *Anthropology* explains why funeral ceremonies are performed in native societies. Such ceremonies can, nevertheless, be explained, and so likewise can the use of the title Mr. in a formal assembly.

Mr. Hocart also objects to my use of the word *behaviour*, for he doubts whether there is such a thing as behaviour which concerns no one but the individual who behaves. I would point out that in scientific literature generally *behaviour* is used far more widely than Mr. Hocart apparently imagines. We speak, for example, of behaviour in response to stimuli of various kinds as in the various contributions to the science of psychology by J. B. Watson. If Mr. Hocart is prepared to accept the Concise Oxford Dictionary as the final authority on *behaviour*, then surely it is unnecessary for him to seek outside its covers for a definition of *etiquette*.

H. IAN HOGBIN.

Vernacular Plant Names.

189 SIR,—Mr. E. L. Gordon-Thomas, in MAN, 1932, 132, gives a list of some plant names in general use throughout the Pacific Islands, concerning which he notes that the word "niu" = coconut, or a modification thereof, appears to have the widest range. The list is compiled following a suggested line of research to find a possible solution to the migrations of the Polynesians. It may be of interest to record an extension of this range. The Milano dialects of the Sarawak coastal districts, from Miri in the north-east to the mouth of the Rejang river, all have "benyuh" or "beniuh" = coconut. I believe that this is the word "nyu" or "niu" = oil in the same dialects, with the prefix "be" (= "ber" in Malay). Thus the signification of "benyuh" would be "the oily fruit."

Milano equivalents for some other words on the list are:—Bamboo = bulo; Yam = ubei; Banana = baliek or balak; Betel-nut = sepa'. Since a numeral has been mentioned, it might be recorded that the word "lima" = five, is common to every Bornean dialect of which I have any knowledge and of course to Malay. "Telo" = three, or a near variant, is common to most Sarawak dialects, excluding Malay and Iban (Sea-Dyak).

Outside Malay and Iban, the words "tama" = father and "tina" = mother, or near variants, have a very wide range indeed among Bornean dialects and, beyond that island, I should expect this range to include Celebes, the island chain from Borneo through the Philippines, many of the places mentioned by Mr. Gordon-Thomas and the islands peopled by the Polynesians themselves.

A. E. LAWRENCE.

Maglemose Harpoon. (*Cf.* MAN, 1932, 138).

190 SIR,—The harpoon found off the Norfolk coast and published in MAN, 1932, 138, is of bone, not of wood as some appear to suppose.

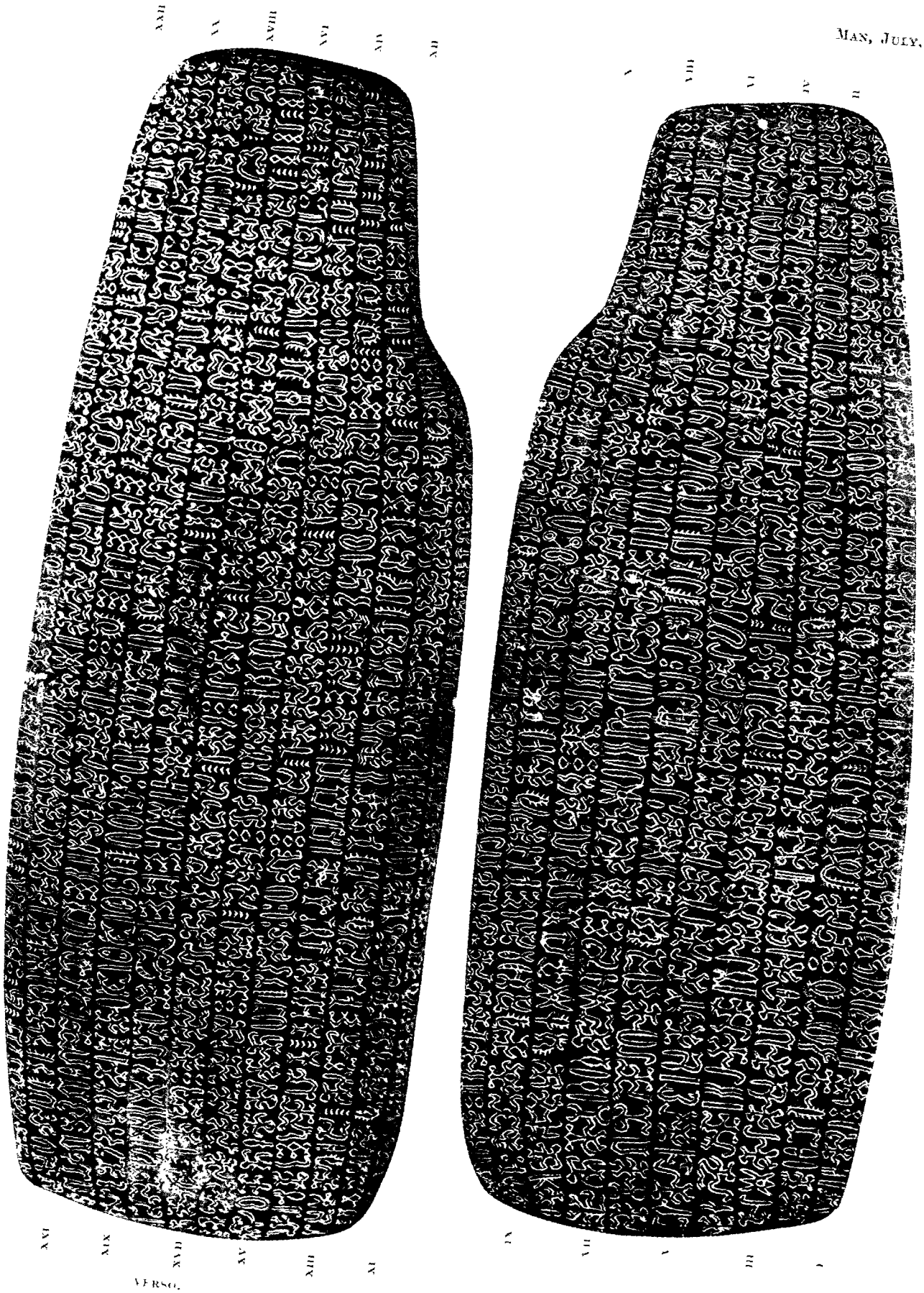
M. C. BURKITT.

CORRECTIONS.

191 MAN, No. 133 (p. 106), for *Cugtong* Java read *Ongtong* Java.

MAN, No. 107, for 500 *Rm.* upwards read 50 *Rm.* upwards.

EYRE AND SPOTTISWOODE LIMITED, His Majesty's Printers, East Harding St., London, E.C.4.



VERSO. RECTO.

THE INSCRIBED TABLET FROM EASTER ISLAND KNOWN AS AROUKOU-KOURENGA.

MUSÉE DES SACRÉS CŒURS DE PICPUS, AT BRAINE-LE-COMTE, BELGIUM

From Photographs kindly provided by the Rev. Père Idelfonse Vincent

MAN

A MONTHLY RECORD OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL SCIENCE

PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE
ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

XXXII, 192-221. JULY, 1932.

ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

With Plate G.

Note on Inscribed Tablets from Easter Island. *By Sidney H. Ray, M.A.*

Some wooden tablets inscribed in the ideographic boustrophedon characters of the Easter Islanders are preserved in the Musée des Sacrés-Cœurs de Picpus, at Braine-le-Comte, Belgium. They were sent by the Rev. Père Roussel to the late Mgr. Tepano Jaussen, Bishop of Axiéri in 1868.

In 1927, the late Mr. Emile Torday obtained for the Royal Anthropological Institute, from the Rev. Père Ildefonse Alazard, photographs of two of the tablets known as the *Tablette Aroukou-Kourenga* and the *Tablette Tahoua*. Père Alazard, who was the editor of Bp. Jaussen's posthumous account of Easter Island,[1] also sent Mr. Torday an extract from a MS. by the Bishop entitled *L'Empire Maori et l'Ecriture de l'Ile de Pâques*. This contained the reputed Rapanui text of the *Tablette Aroukou-Kourenga*. The photos and MS. were placed in my hands for examination, but ill-health has unfortunately prevented me from making more than a first attempt at explaining this tablet.

The *Tablette Aroukou-Kourenga* is represented in Plate G rather less than half the size of the original. It is 43 cm. in length and 15 cm. broad, and contains 22 inscribed lines, 10 recto and 12 verso. The first line begins at the bottom left hand corner (shown on the extreme right of the plate) and runs from left to right. The tablet is then to be turned upside down, and again read from left to right, and so on, reversing at the end of each line. Hence, viewing the tablet from the front and lower left-hand corner, lines 1, 3, 5, etc., run from left to right, and lines 2, 4, 6, etc., run from right to left and upside down.

The Polynesian (Rapanui) text extracted by Père Alazard from the Bishop's MSS. is divided into twenty-two portions, each of which corresponds to a line of signs on the tablet, 10 recto, 12 verso. The text of each line, presumably in Rapanui,[2] is divided into short phrases by hyphens, each phrase corresponding more or less to a character on the tablet.

The beginning of the Rapanui text with a translation and the corresponding figures on the tablet are shown in the following extract. The figures will be found at the bottom right-hand corner of Plate G reading upward. The numbers in brackets show the sequence of the characters.

RECTO—LINE 1.		RECTO—LINE 1.		
Jaussen's 'Rapanui Text.'	Signs, with Jaussen's explanation of them.	Jaussen's 'Rapanui Text.'		Signs, with Jaussen's explanation of them.
Ka tuu[3] *i te ragi*— Set up in heaven	Signs 1 and 2 are indistinct.	*Ki te henua e rua*— to the two lands		*Henua.* Earth (4).

[1] Mgr. Tepano Jaussen: *L'Ile de Pâques, Ouvrage posthume rédigé par le R. P. Ildefonse Alazard. Paris* 1893.

[2] Many of the words do not occur in the *Vocabulaire de la Langue de l'Ile-de-Pâques ou Rapanui, par le R. P. Hippolyte Roussel*, in Le Muséon, Louvain, 1908. The errors are chiefly mis-spellings. I have pointed out these in the notes.

[3] *Tuu*, to stand erect, accost, hail; *ka*, imperative.

RECTO—LINE 1.

Jaussen's 'Rapanui Text.'	Signs, with Jaussen's explanation of them.
no Hoatumatua— of Hoatumatua[4]	 *Henua no Hoatumatua.* Land of Hoatumatua (First King) (3).
ka hakanohoa— let it be established	
ki te hito[5] *o te ragi*— in the midst of heaven	 *Noho ki te ragi, ki te henua.* (he) lives in heaven, on earth (5).
ki te henua— on the earth	 *Henua.* Earth (6).
te atariki— the first born	 *Te atariki.* The first born (7).
ki te henua— on the earth	 *Henua.* Earth (8).
ki tona henua— on his earth	 *Henua.* Earth (9).
kua tere te vaka— the ship departed	 *Vaka.* Ship (10).
ki tona tahina[6]— to his younger brother	 *Te teina.* The younger brother (11).
mai tae atu ki te tamaiti— came to the child	 *Tamaiti.* Child (12).
koia— he	 *Koia.* He (13).
e hiri[7] *ki te ragi*— he went to heaven	 *Kua hiri ki te ragi, ki te henua.* He has gone to heaven, on earth (14).
ki te henua— on the earth	(In this place the characters 3, 7 and 14 are repeated.) (15, 16 and 17).
mai tae atu ia— he arrived	

RECTO—LINE 1.

Jaussen's 'Rapanui Text.'	Signs, with Jaussen's explanation of them.
ki te henua— on the earth	 *Henua.* Earth (18).
koia kua koakoa ki te ragi— he rejoices[8] in heaven	(*See* below, No. 23. In this place appears No. 7, 'the first born') (19).
kua oho ia ki te henua— he has gone to the earth	 *Henua.* Earth (20).
E tamata era e[9]— O that man!	(*See* note below.)
ka oho koe— Begone!	
ka noho au— Let me stop!	
ko te matua i ruga o to[10] *pepe*— the father is on his seat	 *Te matua i ruga o tona pepe.* The father is on his seat (21).
mai tae tu[11] *ki tona tamaiti*— reaches his child	 *Tamaiti.* Child (22).
E kua koakoa ia ki te ragi— he rejoices in heaven	 *Kua koakoa ki te ragi* He rejoices in heaven (23).
kua rere te manu— the bird flies	 *Manu.* Bird (24).
ki ruga o te henua— above the earth	 *Henua.* Earth (25).
mai tae atu ki te tagata mea kai— food comes to man	 *Te tagata kai.*[12] The man who eats (26).
i te henua— on the earth	 *Henua.* Earth (27).

[4] Hotometua, H. Mager: *Le Monde Polynésien*, Paris, 1902; Hotumatua, W. Churchill: *Easter Island*, 1912, pp. 3, 311. For an account of Hotumatua, *see* K. Routledge: *The Mystery of Easter Island*, London, 1919, pp. 277–280.

[5] *Hito* is a mis-spelling for *pito*, navel, centre, and does not occur in any Polynesian language in this form.

[6] *Tahina* is a mis-spelling for *teina*, Uvea and Tonga *tehina*.

[7] *Hiri*, to mount up.

[8] Or, "he enjoys himself."

[9] This and the next two phrases have no equivalence in the script. They appear to be remarks of the native explaining the characters, which were written by Mgr. Jaussen as explanations, but refer to some interruption.

[10] Should be *tona*.

[11] Should be *atu*.

[12] The characters in Nos. 28, 29 suit the Rapanui MSS. better than No. 26.

RECTO—LINE 1.			RECTO—LINE 1.		
Jaussen's 'Rapanui Text.'		Signs with Jaussen's explanation of them.	Jaussen's 'Rapanui Text.'		Signs with Jaussen's explanation of them.
ko te tagata hagai— men feed		*Tagata haga.*[13] Man working (28, 29).	*i te moa*— on the fowl		*Moa rikiriki.* Small fowl (30).

[13] *Tagata haga* is probably an error for *Tagata hagai*, men receive food. *Cf.* the text of No. 26.

The result of this short examination goes to show that the so-called 'Rapanui text' is fairly consistent with the characters on the tablet, so far as they were illustrated in Mgr. Jaussen's book. But the assemblage of characters on the tablet cannot be said to form a properly translatable text with a coherent meaning. It is a collection of more or less symbolic reminders of objects or actions which would serve the native orator as notes of a discourse on history, a prayer, or even an inventory.

S. H. RAY.

Anthropometry. Morant; Tildesley; Buxton.

Standardization of the Technique of Physical Anthropology. *By G. M. Morant, M. L. Tildesley and L. H. Dudley Buxton.*

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1. There can be no doubt that an immense amount of labour has been wasted by physical anthropologists in the past owing to the fact that there has never been a real international agreement regarding the standardization of the methods they have employed. Nor has there been any real agreement with regard to these matters among workers in Great Britain. This has made some of the published records quite valueless and nearly all of them are less valuable than they might have been. Such facts are known to anyone who has undertaken any specialized researches in the subject. It is obviously desirable that an international agreement which would standardize technique should be reached as soon as possible and that every effort should be made to render this more effective than previous attempts of the kind have proved to be. There seems to be no further need for discussions which merely emphasize the need for standardization without taking any positive steps to reach the end in view.

2. One of the main purposes with which the physical anthropologist is concerned is the discrimination and comparison of different races of man from the anatomical standpoint. Researches of other kinds which he may undertake will often require special methods of treatment, but any body which aims at standardizing technique might begin profitably by restricting its scope to the consideration of the racial characters of adult individuals of either sex. This inquiry alone would have to be an extended one, and a co-operative effort is obviously needed. The questions to be considered concern, first, the collection of the data, secondly, their presentation and, lastly, methods of comparison. These related questions will all have to be considered in time and it would be well if they could be dealt with ultimately by the same body, or by a group of bodies working in co-operation. A start might be made, however, by considering only the technique of observation, whether the records to be made are of a quantitative or qualitative nature. There seems to be a need for a restricted technique which should never be omitted in recording the characters of racial groups and also for a more extended one which could be applied when conditions permit. It is only suggested that the shorter, or essential, technique should be defined at this stage.

3. The body which deals with this (and other) techniques should be international in character, each country in which researches of the kind in question are carried on being represented. In our opinion, the best results would be reached if the workers in each country or group represented on the international body would draw up a comprehensive scheme giving in detail the technique advocated by them. There should be free discussion between the interested workers in any particular country, in order that their representative might be able to voice the opinions of his colleagues in an adequate way. If in any country there were different groups of workers unable to agree upon the same technique, each might, perhaps, have its representative. On the other hand, in the case of close agreement between two or more countries, it might be thought adequate by these countries for one person to represent them jointly. It would be an advantage if the different schemes prepared by the workers

in different countries could be published before the international body met, so that all interested would have an opportunity of discussing controversial points beforehand. The representatives of the different countries could then meet and compare their tangible and considered suggestions, and the danger of arriving at hasty conclusions would be avoided.

4. The scope of the whole inquiry might be defined by an international committee before different sections of it were considered in detail, but, in our opinion, there is no need to delay matters by waiting until such a body is brought into existence. While the exact limits of the inquiry may have a certain range of choice, a considerable part at any rate of the area it must cover is already obvious. Also, while any suggested subdivisions set up for the purpose of dealing with the question in a systematic and comprehensive fashion might be found susceptible of improvement, the results of research according to a provisional scheme would not be lost, but merely have to be re-grouped if changes were made in the partitioning of the subject. It is suggested, therefore, that the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland should take steps at once to promote the formulation and full definition of a technique endorsed by all physical anthropologists in Great Britain and Ireland; or, failing agreement, of as many techniques as are necessary to represent the various unreconciled points of view. It is suggested that the Institute should at the same time inform the anthropological societies or research centres of other countries of the steps it is taking and invite them similarly to undertake the formulation of carefully considered schemes, national if possible, in anticipation of, and in preparation for, the subsequent work of an international body, still to be created.

5. The following seems to us the best way of reaching agreement on technique among physical anthropologists in Great Britain and Ireland. The whole subject should be divided up under the heads into which it naturally falls, and dealt with in sections. Any who wish to put forward constructive and reasoned schemes which in their view might form a basis of agreement in any one or more sections of the subject should be invited by the Royal Anthropological Institute to do so. Any such schemes should, of course, be founded on adequate practical experience, and should have regard to the ultimate possibilities of international adoption as well as the more immediate object of national agreement. Those putting forward provisional schemes relating to the same branch of studies should be enabled to compare and discuss their respective proposals, achieving as much agreement as possible. The resultant scheme or schemes should then be submitted to all Fellows concerned with the use, or teaching, of observations belonging to the same category, or having had experience of the same. The framers of the schemes would then introduce such modifications as they could agree to, in accordance with majority views; and, if possible, arrive at an agreed scheme acceptable to the whole body of Fellows concerned with the branch of technique under discussion. The revised scheme should be published in MAN: these, together with the schemes produced by other countries or groups, would form the starting point for international discussion. The experience gained in evolving a nationally-agreed scheme should prove useful in the further work of arriving at international agreement. There, also, it would have to be realized that the object of stating the national schemes would be to remove the differences that they might manifest.

6. If these suggestions are adopted the first thing to do is to define the different branches of racial studies dealt with by the physical anthropologist which it will be profitable to consider at the initial stage. We offer the following tentative grouping:—

I. *Living Material.*

- (*a*) Head and body measurements.
- (*b*) Descriptive characters (integumentary colours, etc.).
- (*c*) Physiological measurements (blood groups, etc.).
- (*d*) Collection of genealogies for purposes of racial inquiry.
- (*e*) Photographic (still and motion) and other representations.

II. *Dead Material.*

- (*a*) Cranium
- (*b*) Mandible
- (*c*) Teeth
- (*d*) Long bones
- (*e*) Other bones of the skeleton

} Measurements, photographic and other representations, with remarks on sexing, qualitative characters and anomalous conditions which are likely to be of racial significance.

(*f*) Brain and endocranium.
(*g*) Other soft parts.
(*h*) The correlation of observations on the living and on skeletal material.

The study of the comparative human anatomy of the soft parts other than the brain is likely to prove of great importance, but it is still in its infancy and this division is only included above in the hope that some agreement might be reached as to the method of approach which is likely to lead to the most profitable anthropological results. We feel that for the moment, at least, those attempts at standardization are most likely to be successful which are limited in scope to subjects on which attention has been chiefly concentrated in recent years and for which a considerable amount of comparative material is already available. Workers in these branches would welcome the standardization of other descriptive techniques—such as those associated with pathological and anomalous conditions, demographic and vital statistics and psychological characters other than those which might be included under physiological measurements—but these branches are at present of less urgent importance to the physical anthropologist and in dealing with them he would require more aid from workers in cognate sciences.

7. We venture to suggest that the following considerations might guide those who are dealing with some aspects of the inquiry. Several of the precautions given may seem obvious enough, but it may be shown that many of them have been neglected by those who have attempted to define standardized techniques in the past.

(*a*) The methods adopted should, as far as is consistent with efficiency, be those which have been most generally accepted. In the case of 'points' and measurements it is undesirable to decide on any definitions which have not been applied satisfactorily to series of adequate length representing a number of different races and including individuals of both sexes. If it is thought desirable to give definitions which have not been tested extensively in practice then this fact should be stated. It may be pointed out that many of the measurements in Martin's '*Lehrbuch*' seem to have been defined before they had been taken on any but small numbers of specimens or individuals, and most of the schemes of other people are open to the same criticism.

(*b*) In order to decide which definitions have been most widely and successfully used in the past, it would be well to compile an annotated bibliography of the more important literature.

(*c*) A standardized anatomical nomenclature should be used in definitions. While looking to eventual international agreement, we suggest that the *revised* Basle Nomina Anatomica (B.N.A.) terminology adopted by the Anatomical Society of Great Britain and Ireland at its summer meeting in Newcastle, in 1929, should be the one adopted, at any rate provisionally, by British anthropologists.*

(*d*) Very similar, but not truly comparable, definitions of the same character—such as the head length—have been used by different workers in the past. The best definitions of the measurement expressing the character should be adopted and all others should, in general, be rejected. In the case of skeletal material, the definition which can most generally be applied to defective specimens should be adopted if possible. (The breadth of the orbit has been commonly measured in three different ways. The only orbital breadth defined at the Monaco conference in 1906 is the one from the dacryon, in spite of the fact that this cannot generally be measured on skulls which are at all defective.)

(*e*) It is suggested that the best instrument for the purpose should be specified in the case of each measurement. It is advisable, further, that the best method of using the instrument should be illustrated by photographs as a help to achieving absolute standardization of technique. It may be premature to suggest the use of motion pictures projected from small size films, but it is felt that in the future we may look to this exact method as a further aid in arriving at a uniformity of technique among those workers who are unable to visit each other's laboratories.

(*f*) Frequent difficulty in identifying with any exactness the anatomical points used in the definition of various measured characters is a constant source both of inaccuracy, and of considerable

* Given in the *Interim Report* of the Committee appointed by the Anatom. Soc. of Gt. Brit. & Ireland on 22 June, 1928, "to consider proposals to the Society for the revision of the B. N. A. with the view of bringing the matter before the next meeting of an international congress of anatomists." There has been no international congress of anatomists since that date.

differences in personal equation. Definitions of measurements whether on living or skeletal material should, therefore, attempt to reduce difficulties of this nature to the smallest possible limits. Technique should be as simple and the identification of terminals as unambiguous as possible. Here, again, photographs or other objective records should supplement clear instructions wherever they would help to remove ambiguity. In the case of measurements it is also essential that the units to be adopted should be stated and it is most desirable that there should be remarks relating to the magnitude of the personal equation of a single observer and to the differences likely to be found between two different observers following the same definitions.

(*g*) The correlations of measurements should be taken into account if possible when a selection of measurements is being made.

(*h*) While the needs of adult human material should be considered primarily, the methods adopted should, if possible, be applicable also to non-adult and non-human groups.

8. We should like to emphasize that the methods of an observational science, such as physical anthropology, cannot be learned satisfactorily by merely reading instructions, however carefully these are prepared. Laboratory training, and preliminary field practice if living material is to be dealt with, should be considered essential.

Summary: For the reasons stated, this committee advances the following recommendations :— The Royal Anthropological Institute would best further the cause of international standardization of technique by promoting agreement among workers in Great Britain and Ireland as to the technique they themselves are prepared to advocate. This is particularly desirable at the moment since it is understood that the Anthropological Section of the British Association is considering the issue of a revised edition of 'Notes and Queries in Anthropology' at no very distant date.

It is recommended that the Institute should also propose to other countries that they should follow a similar course, with a view to international discussion later. A preliminary inquiry should be restricted to the consideration of the more essential methods of description and measurement used in the treatment of racial groups. The best method of making this inquiry effective would be for different Fellows to deal with different branches of the subject and to prepare schemes which would, in their opinions, be the ones most suitable for standardization, on the understanding that these schemes could be freely discussed and modified later if this be found necessary.

G. M. MORANT : M. L. TILDESLEY : L. H. DUDLEY BUXTON.

Nigeria. **Milburn.**

Magic and Charms of Ijebu Province, Southern Nigeria. *By S. Milburn. Education Department, S. Nigeria.*

194 There are many ways by which one may harm one's enemies without incurring danger oneself.

Epe or *ase* (*v. sepe so*) is the word for a curse. It is also called *igi* (tree) because the curse crushes a man as a tree which falls on him. The Ijebus are notorious for their power in cursing.

To curse a man, one must first prepare the appropriate medicine. This is then put into one's mouth in the presence of one's enemy and the curse is uttered. Some of the preparatory medicines are so strong that the user has to protect himself against them by tasting the blood of some animal. If no animal's blood is available he will drink some of his own from a cut. The blood is tasted after the curse has been said, and the medicine is taken out of the mouth. The ingredients of the medicine are to be bought in most market places.

It is possible seriously to disturb a man by a word or two casually dropped in conversation with him. A man will seek to engage his enemy in conversation and perhaps remark: "Have you *finished* all you have to say?" This must be countered at once, otherwise it is thought that the man will soon die. People hesitate to use the Yoruba word *tan* (finished) because of its finality. They use *buse* instead, which means "almost finished."

Words are risky things. It may be that one hears one's name called and on answering finds that there is no one there. This is a serious matter, for it most probably means that one's enemy is cursing one in secret and has used one's name in the process, for it is an essential part of a curse to

pronounce the enemy's name. To counter this one must say "It is by heaven I am called and not by earth" (*Ohun ọrun ni ki iṣe t'aiye*).

Apeta is a way of causing bodily damage to one's enemy from a distance. A person will take some weapon with him to the bush and, having prepared a rough image to represent his enemy, will shoot at it or otherwise damage it after having called it by the name of his enemy, in the sure knowledge that as it has been damaged so will his enemy be damaged. The victim will hear his name called and immediately suffer as though he had been personally struck. As such magic is usually practised at night the victim is violently awakened from his sleep to find the marks of wounds on his body. A teacher told me that his father had suffered in this way, for he woke up one night with a violent pain below his heart and so knew that his enemy had been making *apeta* against him. Another method is to prepare a small model of an arrow and to throw this in the direction of the enemy, cursing him by name at the same time. The arrow must first be prepared in medicine.

Edi (to bind) is the name of a certain medicine prepared by parties in a lawsuit to prevent the other side from speaking. There is a counter medicine used by the other side and sometimes by the judge if they know that *edi* has been prepared against them. This medicine is used even when a European is hearing the case, and some people believe that cases only go against them because the European judge has himself used medicine.

Efun is a medicine used against clerks (*akọwe*) who "have to be able to think clearly." Its effect is to make them stupid and confused so that their work will suffer and they will be dismissed or may commit suicide in disgust at their own inefficiency.

(*a*) *Ẹwọn*.—A small model of a chain (*ẹwọn*) is used to tie the spirit of an enemy. It is laid down across his path where he must pass over it, probably at his doorway. When he crosses it he is carried up to the rafters of the roof, where he dies of starvation unless the chain is sent up to him to cross back over it. I think it is meant that his spirit is carried away to the roof. The same sort of chain is used to tie the spirits of *Abikú** children down to earth.

(*b*) *Aba* (staple) ∩ is used to confine the spirits of *Abikú* children also. It can, however, be used to prevent a woman bearing her child. She naturally suffers great agony until the staple is removed from the wood into which it has been driven. This is used by husbands who have quarrelled seriously with their wives.

(*c*) *Abẹrẹ* (needle) after suitable medicine has been made is used to cripple a man. The needle is struck several times into his footprints and soon his foot begins to swell. It is also used to cripple him more seriously by sticking it into urine which he may have passed on the road. If a man spits on the road he quickly covers it up so as to leave no chance for his enemy to work harm against him.

(*d*) *Oruka* (ring). Nearly every person wears a copper or brass ring on his hand. These rings, after being energised by medicines, protect a man from the power of his enemies or enable him to defend himself with greater physical force than usual.

(*e*) *Sẹkẹsẹkẹ* (shackles for the foot) are used to shackle the spirit of *abikú* children. They are prepared with medicine and then bound in leather round the child's waist.

(*f*) *Ẹmu* (tongs) are used when dealing with the more powerful medicines such as would harm the person using them as well as the persons against whom they are directed.

All the above-mentioned instruments ((*a*)–(*f*)) are made by brass-smiths and sold at a penny or twopence a time.

Eta is the name of a very powerful medicine much used by the people of Ijebu-Igbo. One of the chief ingredients is alligator pepper (*atare*) and the person who uses it takes great care not to let it touch his own hands.

Ogun ẹtẹ (leprosy) is a medicine used to inflict leprosy on a man.

Smallpox is undoubtedly spread by design. It is commonly supposed to be spread by *Egungun*

Abikú or *Eleri* is the name given to children who die in infancy. (*Abí* = they are born, *kú* = to die.) Their death is usually attributed to the fact that their spirit does not wish to remain on this earth. The name is only given to children who die in a way not properly understood by the natives; they do not attribute death by accident or disease or obvious parental neglect to the action of a recalcitrant or mischievous spirit. The liability for children to be thus affected is thought to be largely hereditary, and various charms are used to 'bind' to earth the spirit of suspected children.

players who wish to harm a man. The *Egungun*, besides being spirits of the dead returned, are noted medicine men and, as such, are given free lodging and food whenever they arrive in a town.

A man who deals in harmful medicines is called *Ologùn*, while the native doctor is called *Onisegun*.

Nearly every person has a medicine-book or book of 'simples.' He writes down any medicine that he knows and will pay a small fee to be told of others. There are medicines for all occasions, many of them dictated by the Babalawos, who have to be consulted before important decisions are made. The following is used if one wishes to win the love of a beautiful woman :—*Awure* (for success or good luck) : "That we may find a wife to love.—An *ifin* kola nut, to be split into 200: a red " kola to be split into 200: 200 *oluseaju* leaves; 200 *oriji* leaves; and some soap. They are " to be pounded up together. They are to be packed into a palm wine calabash which is new. " Two hens are to be killed and their blood poured over the rest. One must be a wild hen and one " a household hen. The heads of the two hens are to be pressed right into the soap. The soap is " then to be used to wash with. Two women will then choose you out to be loved. One will be a " virgin, the other will not. Inasmuch as the hens have been good so the women will please you."

There are medicines to enable a man to find work and to succeed in money-making: others for fever, epilepsy, gonorrhœa, virility, bodily strength, beauty, *abiku*, child birth, children's ailments, etc. Human urine is sometimes used to cure a cut on the arm or foot.

An intelligent schoolmaster asked me to recommend him for a licence to carry a European-made shot gun. Asked what was wrong with native dane-guns to drive away thieves, he replied that they were liable to be rendered useless by the medicines prepared by the thieves, and guns of European manufacture were not so affected.

S. MILBURN.

India. **Gordon and Balfour.**

A Composite Bow from Hunza, Gilgit Agency. *By Major D. H. Gordon.*

195 The accompanying illustration (Fig. 1) shows drawings of a Hunza Bow presented to Lt.-Col. (then Capt.) H. L. Haughton by the son of Humayun Beg, Wazir of Hunza in 1911.

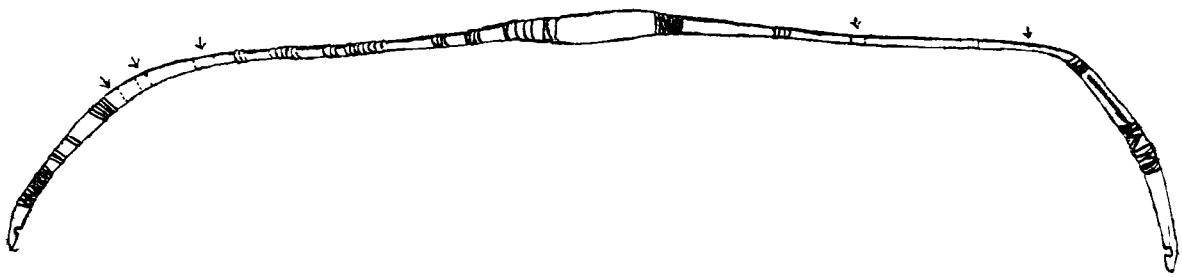


FIG. 1.—A COMPOSITE BOW FROM HUNZA. GILGIT AGENCY. (*About* $\frac{1}{8}$ *scale.*)



DETAILS OF GRIP AND CONSTRUCTION. SCALE $\frac{1}{4}$.

FIG. 2.

The Bow is constructed on a wooden core with a shallow backing of moulded sinews, and a belly of three roughly equal sized strips of horn. The ears are of horn and bound on with sinews; they appear to be free from the wooden core, but it is difficult to tell without resorting to complete dissection. The bow derives its strength from its breadth rather than its thickness, being $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches broad over the greater part of its length and only half an inch thick.

Though much of its lack of symmetry may be due to age and deterioration, there is some definite structural discrepancy in the length, shape and fitting of the two ears. It is doubtful whether this is intentional as it does not appear to serve any useful purpose.

Bows in Hunza were normally used only at festivals for shooting at a mark while riding full gallop on a hill pony, the usual mark on these occasions being an egg perched on a small mound of earth; on special occasions, however, a thin silver disk between two to three inches in diameter was substituted.

The Mir of Hunza told Col. Haughton that at that time there were still some poor men not possessed of firearms who shot *Zhapo* (*Ovis vignei*) with such a bow. D. H. GORDON.

Notes on the Composite Bow from Hunza. *By Henry Balfour, F.R.S.*

196 The very interesting Hunza bow described and figured by Major Gordon in its general form and construction exhibits near relationship to some of the Central Asiatic bow-types. It corresponds closely with a characteristic Tibetan type and it also shows affinity to the bows of the Bashkirs of Eastern Russia. But one feature in the structure is of particular interest and suggests a link with the bows of Persia. Whereas in almost all the composite bows, in which horn supplies one of the structural materials, the horn was applied in a *single* strip of full width along each of the limbs, in the Hunza bow we see that the horn layer is composed of three narrow strips or rods united together. This, in my experience, is an unusual feature, and I have only noted it in bows from Persia, one of which I subjected to dissection and transverse sections, in order to reveal its intimate structure. In this Persian example* the horn strips are very narrow and more numerous than in the Hunza bow; they are not exposed to view, being concealed by a sheathing of thin bark and lacquer, which covers and protects the whole of the delicate structure. Indeed, one is struck by the absence of any such protective sheathing in the Hunza bow, since composite bows are very susceptible to damp and to temperature changes and readily disintegrate if unprotected. It is true that the composite bows of the Chinese, Manchus, Coreans, and most of the Central Asiatics, as well as those of the Turks, have the horn along the 'belly' of the bow exposed, but in these the horn is in one wide strip which covers and protects its own adhesive from sun and damp. A bow, on the other hand, whose 'belly' is built up of separate rods seems to demand an external damp-proof coating to protect the glue, which unites the rods, from being dissolved away, and to afford a constricting support to the whole structure. In the absence of a continuous spiral wrapping, it has been necessary to bind the Hunza bow round at frequent intervals to give it cohesion. Such strengthening collars may be seen on many North Indian bows, although these are completely enveloped in a protective sheathing. In some instances the bindings are part of the original structure; in others they have been added later to reinforce a bow which has 'sprung' slightly at one or more points. No protective sheathing over the sinew backing is referred to by Major Gordon, so, presumably, the sinews as well as the horn are exposed. This, too, is an unusual feature in the more highly developed composite bows, in which the backing of sinews, which is particularly liable to deterioration from exposure, is almost always carefully protected with a covering of bark, leather or other material, even when the horn is left uncovered.

On the whole, then, the Hunza bow suggests survival from a relatively early stage in the evolution of the bows of composite structure, although the application of the horn in narrow *strips* is a technique which characterizes the Persian bow, perhaps the most highly specialized of all.

It would be of great interest if a damaged Hunza bow could be obtained for submission to a 'post-mortem' examination by dissection. The details of its anatomy should give a clearer idea as to the affinities of the type. I have dissected several types of composite bows and have, therefore, material for comparative study. HENRY BALFOUR.

Rhodesia. **Neville Jones.**

Further Excavations at Gokomere, Southern Rhodesia. *By the Reverend Neville Jones.*

197 The rock-shelter at Gokomere formed the subject of a paper by Father Gardner in the *Journal* of the Institute in the July–December number, 1928, and was the first detailed account of the Wilton culture in Rhodesia. This culture, which is widely spread throughout South Africa, is, in Rhodesia, intimately associated with rock paintings, and occurs commonly in caves and rock shelters all over the country. The thorough and painstaking excavation of Gokomere by Father Gardner has added largely to our knowledge of the local development of the Wilton culture, though we are yet uncertain as to its origin. On the completion of his task, the extent of which must be seen to be

* *Journ. of the Anthrop. Inst.*, November, 1889, Pl. VI, Figs. 9–15.

appreciated, Father Gardner turned his attention to two other adjacent sites at the foot of the kopje. In one of these, among the boulders where rain wash has accumulated, he found an industry which, not having previously encountered it, he was at a loss to recognize, and, at his invitation, I recently visited Gokomere with Father Stapleton and was afforded an opportunity for examining this industry *in situ*. My association with Mr. Leslie Armstrong during his excavation of Bambata enabled me at once to recognize the Bambata culture at Gokomere, where all the characteristic forms occur in great abundance. The burin is here particularly abundant and accounted for 22 per cent. of the implements found in a small excavation opened up during our visit. Father Gardner's second site was, however, the point of greatest interest. In a small natural amphitheatre surrounded by huge granite boulders Father Gardner had excavated a large trench which had yielded an extensive flake industry with a small proportion of finished implements, and the greater part of our time was devoted to the examination of this industry and to excavating in the hope of being able to determine its time sequence. After the removal of the top twelve inches, which was largely composed of ash with abundant Makalanga refuse, we came upon an ochreous sandy soil full of fragments of exfoliated granite, and to a depth of two feet recovered a few Wilton tools as well as some flakes of Bambata age. Beneath this layer we began to find flakes many of which exhibited strongly faceted butts, similar to the Levallois flakes common at the Victoria Falls and elsewhere. The presence of cores, some of which exhibited flake scars, while others had obviously been prepared for flaking, led us to hope for implements prepared from such flakes, nor were we disappointed. We recovered two fine and very typical Mousterian points, one in chalcedony and the other in silcrete, together with some crude scrapers.

Industries bearing a strong Mousterian flavour are widespread throughout South Africa, and it has so far been found convenient to group them together and to refer to them as 'Middle Stone Age Industries.' They vary very considerably in different localities owing probably to variations in the materials available, and, so far as my experience goes, all appear to show some evidence of Neoanthropic influence in a greater or less degree. A careful examination of the Gokomere finds, however, fails to reveal any such evidence. The industry is, so far as our observations led us, a simple Levallois flake industry, more like the late Mousterian of Europe than anything I have seen elsewhere in South Africa. The site is still being excavated and further results will be looked for with interest.

NEVILLE JONES.

Australia. **Thomson.**

Ceremonial Presentation of Fire in North Queensland. A Preliminary Note on the Place of Fire in Primitive Ritual. *By Donald F. Thomson, B.Sc., Dipl. Anthrop., Bartlett Research Scholar, University of Melbourne.*

198 The importance of fire in social life in North Queensland is emphasized by a series of rituals in which fire plays the chief part.

The tribes discussed in the following notes are the Koka Dai'-yuri of the lower Edward river, Gulf of Carpentaria, the Yintjingga of the Stewart river, Princess Charlotte Bay, the Koka Ya-o of Lloyd Bay, and the Ompela, whose territory lies between the Yintjingga and the Koka Ya-o. The social life of these people differs little, except in detail.

I.—The Significance of the Sharing of Fire.

(a) *The fire as the centre of family life.*

The sharing of a common fire establishes or affirms a bond of solidarity between individuals or within a group.

Each family, by which is understood the group consisting of a man and his wife or wives, and their children, own or adopted, in a camp or horde, lives as a separate unit. Each has its own fire at which its food is cooked and about which its life centres. Again, the two camps consisting of the single men and the single women respectively have their own fires at which the cooking is carried out and around which their life is centred. Except on rare ceremonial occasions there are no communal meals in which both sexes take part.

During the 'dry' season, the south-east monsoon, the natives frequently abandon their bark shelters, contenting themselves with a lean-to of boughs to act as a wind break, or even dispensing with a shelter altogether.

The fire alone now forms the centre of family life. No man, married or single, ever approaches close to the fireside of another family when the women folk are present. Even the long discussions that take place at night are carried on by shouting from fireside to fireside, or at fires at which the men only forgather. The fire is therefore essentially the centre of family life, shared only by those between whom a special bond exists.

This fact was brought home to me vividly during a journey from Princess Charlotte Bay to Lloyd Bay. We travelled with two men, one single, the other accompanied by his wife. All were on good terms and there were no strict *kintja* (tabu) restricting speech or behaviour between them. The woman cooked the food for both men but they never sat down to eat together: at each meal time two fires were lighted some yards apart, at one of which the man and his wife sat, while the single man ate his food alone at the other.

(b) *The sharing of a fire as a marriage ceremony.*

The simple act of sharing a common fire in the presence of the camp constitutes the marriage ceremony in the Ompela tribe. When the time for marriage arrives the mother of the girl tells her to go and light a fire. At this she sits with her grass baskets used for food collecting, and her other domestic utensils, while her betrothed sits on the opposite side of the fire with his spears and spear-throwers. As my informant said simply, "Next day they go hunting," *i.e.*, they are married. Sexual intercourse does not constitute marriage: this is possible (under certain conditions) with any woman to whom the relationship term *wullomo* is applied.

But there are times—critical stages in the life of the individual—when he or she is cut off from participation in normal social activities. At these times he is distinguished by a special name and camps, not with family or spouse, but at a fire which is not shared by others. A widow, during the first stages of the prolonged mourning, camps at a fire of her own on the edge of the camp: a girl at her first menstruation leaves the fire of her family or her husband (for she is often married before this) and has her own fire in a place apart. The individual to whom the name *pulominki* is applied, whose duty it is to attend to the smoking and drying of a body, does not return to camp between vigils of the corpse, but camps apart, always at his own fire.

II.—Ceremonial Presentation of Fire to Visitors.

The Koka Dai'yuri tribe of the lower Edward river, with which I lived for some time, had, on account of its extreme isolation, suffered very little from European influence, and I was able to study a number of customs which have long disappeared from other tribes. None of the Koka Dai'yuri spoke any English, and they were still using bone and stone implements. Here the presentation of fire was made to each visiting party before admission to the camp and I was able frequently to observe, and obtain photographs of, this interesting ceremonial.

The following is an account of a typical ceremony which took place on the occasion of the visit of a party from the neighbouring Koka Manka or Wikzantjera tribe.

Three men, each carrying a bundle of spears, spear-thrower and fire stick, appeared out of the scrub to the north of the camp. Although their approach was at once observed, causing an under-current of excitement in camp, no apparent notice whatever was taken of the men, who approached slowly to within about 40 feet of the northern fringe of the camp, where each squatted on the ground a few feet apart, placing his weapons in front of him (Fig. 1). Not a word was spoken, and apparently no notice whatever was taken of their presence for about 10 or 15 minutes. Then a 'big' man left the camp unarmed and strolled casually towards the man on the left, scraped a shallow depression in the ground close to him with his foot, as a native does before sitting down, and then squatted on the ground about a yard away from the visitor (Fig. 2). Still not a word was spoken. They did not even look at one another, but kept their eyes downcast. After a few minutes had elapsed the old man of the camp spoke a few words in a low tone—inaudible to me where I stood a few yards away—

and the other replied in the same casual way. Still neither looked up—lest he might betray to the watching camp the slightest interest or emotion. At length the old man called the single word *Bat* (fire) and a boy brought out a small piece of smouldering wood which he handed to the old man from the camp. This fire the old man then placed on the ground between himself and the visitor to whom he had spoken. In former times this no doubt concluded the ceremony, but on this occasion a tobacco pipe was lighted and handed to the visitor. A second man now left the camp, strolled



FIG. 1. VISITORS SQUATTING ABOUT 40 FT. FROM THE FRINGE OF A CAMP OF THE KOKA DAI'-YURI TRIBE, LR. EDWARD R., GULF OF CARPENTARIA, WAITING FOR FIRE TO BE BROUGHT OUT TO THEM FROM THE CAMP. NOTICE EACH MAN'S BUNDLE OF WEAPONS LAID ON THE GROUND IN FRONT OF HIM.



FIG. 2. TAKEN A FEW MINUTES AFTER FIG. 1, SHOWS THE 'BIG MAN' WHO HAS COME OUT FROM THE CAMP SITTING OPPOSITE THE VISITOR ON THE LEFT, THE TINY STICK OF FIRE JUST VISIBLE BETWEEN THEM.

casually over and spoke to the man at the other end of the line, making a present, which was reciprocated. A little later all entered the camp, to be followed, in the evening, by a larger party of which they were the forerunners.

On another occasion two young men of the camp were absent for a few days, and returned with two or three members of a neighbouring group. They did not at once enter their own camp, but squatted on the ground for a few minutes until fire was ceremonially presented to them, as well as to the visitors.

III.—Mourning and the Ceremonial Extinction of Fire.

After the death of an important adult member of society, the bones (Yintjingga tribe) or the mummified body (Ompela and Koka Ya-o) are carried about by relatives of the deceased for a period up to two or three years. During this time many of the relatives of the deceased are distinguished by special names which carry set types of mourning behaviour. These may be extremely complex and prolonged, carrying *kintja* (tabu) on the eating of foods and the cutting of the hair, as well as the obligation to wear strings called *mola*, and white clay or charcoal, according to relationship. Each stage terminates in the preparation of a *mai'yi mukkan* or 'big kai-kai,' a ceremonial presentation of food, when the mourning paint is ceremonially washed off.

In June, 1929, I was present at one of these *mai'yi mukkan* at the Stewart river. The mummified body of the deceased was placed on the dry sandy bed of the river, a fire was lighted at its head (Fig. 3), and beside the fire was placed a bark trough filled with water. A brief outline of the



FIG. 3. A MAI'YI MUKKA MUKKAN ('BIG KAI-KAI' OR FUNERAL FEAST) ON THE BED OF THE STEWART RIVER, PRINCESS CHARLOTTE BAY. THE MUMMIFIED BODY WRAPPED IN MELALEUCA BARK, IS LYING IN FRONT OF THE WOMAN SEATED UPON THE SAND, WITH THE FIRE ON THE LEFT, AT THE HEAD OF THE BODY.

ceremony which took place will suffice for the present paper. Immediately around the body the women performed a mourning dance and a few feet away the men squatted raising their voices in loud lamentation.

At the conclusion of the ceremony all present washed the mourning paint from their bodies in the vessel of water placed beside the mummy for this purpose, finally extinguishing the fire by throwing this water upon it. Immediately the fire had been put out, all present redoubled their wailing, beating themselves with their hands and throwing themselves violently upon the ground in a paroxysm of grief.

The part played by fire in this ceremony appears to accord well with the ceremonial use of fire previously described, and I would suggest the following explanation.

When the mourners place the food and fire at the head of the body they give ritual expression to the bond of solidarity that formerly existed between the deceased and themselves. By means of

the gifts (obligatory) of food, the cutting of the hair carried out beside the body, the wearing of mola and mourning paint, visible signs of their grief and proof of mourning well carried out, they give expression to their regard for the deceased. The washing off of the paint and the final act of extinguishing the fire, serve to express their sense of loss and the disruption that they have suffered by his death.

DONALD F. THOMSON.

ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE: PROCEEDINGS.

Ordinary Meetings of the Institute.

The Sagittal Section of the Skull. *Summary of a Communication presented by Professor W. J. Sollas, F.R.S., 7 June,* 1932.

199 In the first part of this communication it was explained how the determination of the geometrical centre of the sagittal section affords a basis for a system of angular measurements in relation to an axis which is drawn as a bisectrix of the angle made by radii drawn from the centre to the basion and opisthion, respectively.

The most important of the angles to be measured is that made by the nasion. In the skulls of *Homo sapiens* this, as measured from the axis, varies from 280° to 267° or reckoning from 270° as a mark of reference of from 10° to −3°.

In the present communication the Palæanthropidæ are more especially considered. With the single exception of the Trinil skull, these are all widely separated from the Neanthropidæ by a much larger negative nasion angle. In the Rhodesian skull it is −10°, but in the other members of the group it ranges from −15° or 16° to −20° (La Chapelle). In the apes, as shown previously (Part I), the angle varies within narrow limits around −30° to −35°: so that in this particular the Palæanthropidæ stand midway between the apes and recent man. The magnitude of the nasion angle depends, in the first place, on the relative growth of the facial and cerebral regions of the cranium and on the ontogeny both of the apes and man. The facial encroaches on the cerebral region, so that the nasion retreats with growth until it reaches a limit at maturity.

In the phyllogeny of the Primates the process was reversed, for, as the cerebral encroached on the facial region, the nasion descended. This involved a necessary compensation, for, with the nasion, the face, as a whole, was carried downwards, and, to maintain it in a position fronting forwards, it was necessary to rotate the skull as a whole and in a clockwise direction as opposed to the counter-clockwise movement in the ontogeny.

The rotation could be effected by a change in the inclination or curvature of the vertebratal column or by a rotation on the condyles or by both.

The stages in this change are recorded by the inclination of the cranial axis with the Frankfort horizontal line. Thus, for instance, in the skull of La Chapelle-aux-Saints, with a nasion angle of −20°, the angle made by the Frankfort line with the cranial axis is 62°, while, in an Australian skull with a nasion angle of −3°, the corresponding angle with the Frankfort line is 79°. The compensation, here exceptionally perfect, is in harmony with the posture assigned to the complete skeleton of the man of La Chapelle as given by Professor Boule in his remarkable reconstruction (Fig. 99.—L'homme fossile de La Chapelle-aux-Saints).

Sociological Research Meeting.

Economic Stages of Development in Africa.

J. H. Driberg, M.A.: 20 May, 1932.

200 The difference between a continental environment, such as Africa, and island environments makes it difficult to analyse the inter-relations of economic, social and political organization with the necessary exactitude. Not only does the size and diversity of Africa (together with its uneven literature) prohibit a cursory survey of the whole, but its environment has been particularly adapted to the diffusion of cultural traits, which is a factor bound to be taken into consideration in any kind of economic correlation and classification. We find a mass of contradictions in detail: cultures that are considerably advanced economically and socially often exhibit features which we should consider backward; other cultures, relatively more backward, include features lacking in their more advanced neighbours; even in cultures apparently

identical in origin and development there are wide divergencies in individual traits, such as the sexual division of labour. On the other hand, economic and social development do appear to go hand-in-hand in certain directions, such as economic specialization and the increasing respect paid to specialists in the higher cultures, together with a greater technical skill in the operations concerned, doubtless an outcome of the leisure which such specialization confers. Increasing specialization also implies that a larger proportion of the population becomes dependent on the rest of the community for food and other necessities, and this fact and the growing trade forces attention on problems of distribution and currency. (It may be observed, however, that credit appears to be in inverse ratio to the general development of society and, while a usual feature in the simpler cultures tends to disappear as society becomes more elaborately organized, which is at variance with Hildebrand's classification.) Generally speaking, we may safely say that there is not sufficient evidence for or against a correlation by stages between economic and other aspects of culture in Africa; but such a correlation does exist in the direction of trade, currency, markets and distribution generally. The organization of distribution and its accessories shows a steady development from the Bushman-Pygmy cultures to the highly centralized monarchies of the Bantu and Negro kingdoms. There appears to be a close relationship between this development and political and social evolution. The nomadic and semi-nomadic pastorals (with the exception of the Fulani and the Didinga, who are both subject to unusual influences, either social or environmental) are next to the Bushmen-Pygmies in the scale of economic evolution, with the Nilotics a stage more advanced. The Bantu exhibit all stages of development from the simplest form of "silent trade" to a high degree of economic advancement in the more highly-organized societies, the most culturally efficient of which must be placed on the same level as the kingdoms and emirates of the West Coast.

Human Biology.

Standardization of Anthropological Techniques.

Discussion of Report: 27 *May*, 1932: *Dr. H. J. Fleure in the chair.* **201**

Dr. G. M. Morant, Miss M. L. Tildesley and Mr. L. H. Dudley Buxton, nominated at a previous Meeting, and subsequently appointed by the Council, to formulate proposals as to the method by which international standardization might be achieved, submitted their agreed proposals to the Meeting. These are set forth in the memorandum printed above [193]. The proposals were approved by the Meeting, and have been accepted by the Council of the Institute.

On behalf of the Council, all British anthropologists who are interested in the standardization of any one, or more, of the divisions into which physical observations have been classified above, are invited to notify Miss M. L. Tildesley, Convener of Human Biology Research Meetings (Royal College of Surgeons, Lincoln's Inn Fields, W.C.2). Any who are prepared to draw up a proposed technique for any one of these groups of observations in accordance with the recommendations of the memorandum, are invited to do so, and to notify her as soon as possible. She will put those working on the same group into touch with one another, and inform them of the names of those interested, who will be given an opportunity to discuss the schemes proposed.

The Report is printed in full above: MAN 1932, 193.

PROCEEDINGS OF SOCIETIES.

SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL STUDIES.

The Kafirs of the Hindu Kush. *By Professor J. Morgenstierne:* 2, 4 *and* 6 *May*, 1932.

The Kafirs of the Hindu Kush are Aryan tribes, who have not, or not till recently, **202** been converted to Islam. They are of interest both on account of the very archaic features of their languages, and because they are the only Indo-Europeans who have preserved an illiterate paganism, relatively uninfluenced by higher religions.

Very little is known about them until the nineteenth century. Sir George Robertson is the only European who has lived among them, and several of their valleys have not yet been visited.

As both their religion and their languages were very imperfectly known, the Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture in Oslo sent the lecturer out to study them in 1924 and 1929.

The Kafirs live in high, isolated valleys, between the Kabul valley and the Hindu Kush. They are divided into several tribes. Anthropologically, they vary much. More or less 'Nordic' types occur: but also Alpine, and among the Kalashas, Australoid types.

The tribes were independent and democratic. Various degrees of nobility were, however, obtained by going through certain ceremonies (mainly consisting in giving a large number of feasts), or by killing a certain number of Muhammadans.

The maternal uncle played an important rôle in several of the events and customs connected with family life.

In 1894, Kafiristan was conquered by the Afghans, and the inhabitants forcibly converted to Islam. A part of the Kati tribe fled to Chitral, where they were allowed to keep their religion, but are now rapidly giving it up. Only an old priest still remembered their myths. The Kalasha tribe, ancient inhabitants of Chitral, are still mainly pagans.

The gods of the Kalasha pantheon are to a great extent identified with those of the Katis. Thus, Kalasha *Dezau* is said to be the Kati *Imro*, originally the god of death (Skr. *Yamarāja*), but now the creator of the world and also of the other gods.

Dezau is also conceived in a half monotheistic way; he has no temple or altar, and receives no sacrifice or ritual prayer.

Many other gods are worshipped. Some of the Kati gods are connected with Vedic deities, e.g., the War God.

Among both tribes there is a goddess of birth who resides in the women's house outside the village.

The Katis bury their dead in wooden coffins above the earth. They make wooden images, often on horseback, of the more prominent men and women. Their ideas about life after death are very vague.

Both tribes have a number of regular festivals. The lecturer had attended and described the spring festival of the Kalashas.

The Kalashas speak a language which belongs to the Indo-Aryan branch of the Indo-Iranian group. But the languages of the other Kafir tribes, Kati, Prasun, Waigeli and Ashkun, are neither Iranian nor Indo-Aryan, but form a third branch of Indo-Iranian, influenced, however, since time immemorial from India. The Kafir languages have preserved some archaic features which have already disappeared in the most ancient Iranian and Indo-Aryan languages.

But they have also, and especially the Prasun, developed many strange phonetic changes. These illustrate the rule that innovations can more easily spread to all the speakers of a language when linguistic communication is restricted to a few villages, than when they have to be accepted by a larger and more scattered community, where reaction against individual or local changes, tending to endanger mutual understanding, will be stronger.

Linguistic evidence shows that the Kafirs must have separated from the rest of the Aryans at a very early date, and probably they have inhabited their mountain-valleys for thousands of years. We know nothing about their early history, and their own traditions are of little value.

But their genealogical lists are of some interest. Independent, collateral evidence from different tribes seems to prove that the genealogy of one family of chiefs is reliable for at least 29 generations.

UNIVERSITY OF LONDON.

Central Asiatic and Siberian Rock Pictures.

203 *Professor A. M. Tallgren.* 23 *and* 25 *May,* 1932.

Rock pictures and monoliths with pictures are widely distributed in the steppe regions and along their forest edges in Central Asia; those of Siberia, Mongolia, Turkestan and Pamir are of special significance. The monoliths with pictures found in Central Asia and the stone statues of Bronze Age period found in the Yenisei steppes are reminiscent of the well-known Stone Women (Kamennya Baby) of Southern European Russia. The Altai Sarmatian graves have yielded funeral masks. From the historical point of view the stone pictures fall into two groups. The prehistoric group seems to have magical significance, thus linking it with other rock engravings of the Stone Age. In this group also are designs linking with the shamanistic practices of the Arctic peoples: a recent shaman's drum was shown on the screen to have designs reminiscent of these early rock pictures. The second group is obviously markedly influenced by contact with the civilizations of the Western World and has many Iranian and Greek analogies. Some of the scenes depicted in this latter group may be an attempt to record historical facts, though the possibility of magic significance is not altogether excluded. Further study of the subjects and technique of these rock pictures and statues is much needed, since the influence of the west on northern Asiatic art and culture has been hitherto underestimated, although the objects shown on the screen prove it to have been dominant; it is not till the Han period that Chinese influence becomes evident.

REVIEWS.

Primates. **Zuckerman.**

The Social Life of Monkeys and Apes. *By S. Zuckerman. London, Kegan Paul,* 1932. **204** *Pp. xii,* 357, *with* 24 *plates. Price* 15*s. net.*

The study of human behaviour, though now an established member of the fraternity of sciences, has hardly purged itself of methods with no claim to objectivity, and dogmas with no warrant but that of an individual's experiences. Least capable of facing this indictment are those branches of the new science which deal with the social behaviour of man. Psychology and sociology have still a long apprenticeship to scientific method ahead of them.

Above all, there is a great deal to be learnt from studies of animal behaviour, which are rapidly attaining an enviable precision and freedom from anthropomorphic bias. The relative ease with which both experimental and observational methods can be applied to the restricted behaviour-repertoire (by human standards) of even such highly developed mammals as monkeys and apes, simplifies the problem for the student of animal behaviour. Nevertheless, it is in this very field of methodology that sociology probably has most to gain from a cordial interest in animal behaviour.

It has been the fashion, bequeathed to us by the ardent evolutionists of last century, to invoke animal, and particularly simian behaviour in support of theories about the institutions of primitive people such as marriage, the family, matriarchy, and so on, and in discussions of human "instincts" which are supposed to underlie these institutions. Dr. Zuckerman's book is likely to administer a much-needed corrective to such specious transposing of questionable data about animal behaviour to the domain of human problems. When we can

observe the social behaviour of man by the same scrupulous technique as that employed by Dr. Zuckerman and other investigators cited by him, we shall no doubt cease disputing about arbitrary hypotheses and fantastic schematizations. In the meantime, both Dr. Zuckerman's own findings, and the mass of corroborative data critically assembled by him from other sources, compel the present reviewer, at any rate, to acknowledge that the problems of human society cannot be solved by beholding either monkey or any other sub-human animal society.

Dr. Zuckerman's book is more than a record of his own investigations. It surveys and sifts a vast amount of the literature of simian behaviour, with considerable reference also to studies of other species.

Dr. Zuckerman's own researches were confined to baboons, and these mainly in captivity. It seems highly probable, however, from his observations on baboons in the wild state, that what he reports of the colony at the London Zoological Gardens holds for their wild brethren, if in a lesser degree. A solid foundation for the most interesting chapters in the book—those which recount the detailed observations of the 'family' life and 'social organization' of the baboon colony—is laid in the résumé of the experimental investigations made by the author and other workers of the menstrual cycle in sub-human primates. Unlike the females of other mammalian orders, whose sexual receptivity depends upon the œstrus-cycle and is, therefore, sharply limited to brief periods of heat, female apes and monkeys, like those of *Homo Sapiens*, are by reason of the menstrual cycle capable of receiving the male at any time. Sex thus becomes the one pole of monkey life, since semi-permanent sexual partnership is possible. The other pole is the dominance of the strongest males. These capture all the females, their 'harems' being apparently proportional to their relative dominance, and the most food, the remaining males forming bachelor parties. The social pattern is, however, very unstable. Deadly fights over the females, who usually perish in the course of these fights, frequently occur.

But this is not the whole story. Turning again to the microscope, the scalpel, and the arbitrament of experiment, Dr. Zuckerman shows how the monkey's anatomical and neurological development endow it with a wide range of reflexes and great susceptibility to conditioning. Sexual responses thus become attached to non-sexual situations, adding complications to the pattern of the baboons' social life. But any social organization, in the anthropologist's sense of the word, does not exist. Mutual aid, for example, has no place in monkey society, *pace* the pious misinterpretations of armchair sociologists; and maternal responses are wholly reflex in character, depending on the physiological condition of the female baboon.

Dr. Zuckerman has added another brick to the rapidly-rising edifice of solid knowledge of sub-human primate behaviour. Many problems still remain to be solved. What determines dominance? Possibly intelligence and 'temperament,' as well as sheer physical prowess, count. Is there any form of leadership in monkey society? The investigation of these and similar problems will be awaited with the greatest interest.

The book is well illustrated and includes an excellent bibliography of the literature of primate behaviour.

M. FORTES.

Africa : West. Rattray.

Akan-Ashanti Folk-Tales. *Collected and translated by Captain R. S. Rattray, and illustrated by Africans of the Gold Coast Colony. Oxford: Clarendon Press*, 1930. 8½ × 6¾; *pp.* xx + 275; 12 *plates and numerous illustrations in text. Price* 21*s. net.* **205**

This book contains seventy-five stories, text and translation, so that it is welcome as well from the linguist's as from the folk-lorist's point of view. Captain Rattray's preface opens up three interesting lines of inquiry, "which, I think, have now been adequately " explored or at any rate, judged by my own local " experience, correctly explained." The first of these relates to the origin of the tales—at least of those " sometimes classified under the Teutonic name of " *Marchen*," the second to "the apparent vulgarity " and coarseness of some of the stories" (a subject treated by Dr. Evans-Pritchard in *J.R.A.I.*, 1929), and the third "the general use of animal names in " those tales which seem otherwise wholly concerned " with the lives and actions of human beings"—a point on which the author is "not prepared to accept for " West Africa the current explanation of this " peculiarity." His view is that "the majority of " these 'Beast-fables' are apologues," in which "the " names of animals, and even that of the Sky-god " himself, were substituted for the names of real " individuals whom it would have been very impolitic to " mention"—a practice which "is still resorted to, in " order to expose someone whom the offended party " fears to accuse more openly." Father Torrend at one time expressed a similar view—I think with regard to the Tonga—namely, that these tales enabled an enslaved people to express opinions about their oppressors to which they could not otherwise give voice. In his *Specimens of Bantu Folklore* (1921), he has this note: " A question which may be submitted to students of " Bantu lore is whether the proportion of animal tales " has not increased in the same ratio as slavery. It is " certainly a notable fact that among the Xosa, Zulu, " Bene-Mukuni [a tribe north of the Kafue and east of " the Ila country], etc., who do not remember having " ever been enslaved, the proportion of animal tales is " insignificant or evidently borrowed." There can be no doubt that Captain Rattray is right on the data he gives; but it would seem that his facts apply to a comparatively advanced and settled state of society. Elsewhere the Hare-and-Tortoise stories belong to a stage which has not yet outgrown the simple faith of Uncle Remus, that beasts were once just like persons—or, indeed, that they are still much the same. Indeed, Captain Rattray admits that some of the tales in this collection may be "animal myths pure and simple."

With regard to his first point, he frankly takes up the diffusionist position. While it is probably true that " nowhere are outside influences more likely to be made " manifest than in the realm of story telling," and some very curious migrations and transformations of stories can be shown to have occurred in Africa, I cannot help thinking that his conclusion is a little too sweeping.

The notion of the girl who refused all suitors and finally came to grief through accepting a disguised hyena, ogre or demon, is one likely to occur anywhere, and the working out is so different (No. 44: "How the Parrot's "tail became red," and Nos. 53, 74 and 75, compared with a Hausa story in Mischlich's recently-published collection, and a Nyanja one obtained by myself) as to strengthen the presumption of an independent origin. I should be inclined to think No. 70 a clear case of diffusion, as it seems to be identical with "Les Trois Vaisseaux" in Junod (*Chants et Contes*, p. 304) and "The Story of a Chief" from Nyasaland (see my *Natives of British Central Africa*, p. 247), also "The Wives who brought their husband to life" in Dennett, *Folklore of the Fjort*, and another version in Thomann, *Manuel de la Langue Neoulé*. No. 8 "How the Reed got the Joints" narrates the consequences entailed by a breach of tabu; many parallels might be quoted, but this does not necessarily prove borrowing, since, wherever such a belief exists, people would naturally speculate on the results of the sin, and, here, the dénouement is quite individual.

There are some curious examples of *randonnées* (Nos. 25, 61, 65 in part, 68, 73), some of them belonging to the familiar "Exchanges" type, but space will not allow of their being discussed here.

I must not close without a word of praise for the quaint and delightful illustrations adorning a book worthy to take its place as a supplement to the author's great trilogy and a contribution to the study of West African life and thought. A. W.

Tribal Studies in Northern Nigeria. *By C. K. Meek.* **206** *London, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co.* 1931. (2 *Vols.*) Pp. x, 581: *map and* 133 *illustrations;* viii, 633 *pp. and* 136 *illustrations.* 25*s. each.*

When Mr. Meek published, in his capacity of Census Commissioner, a general ethnographical account of the Northern Provinces of Nigeria ('The Northern Tribes 'of Nigeria,' Oxford, 1925) he hoped that anthropological work of an intensive character might be carried out before tribal institutions there had become affected by alien influences. As Government Anthropologist, he has had the opportunity of undertaking this in respect of upwards of fifty different tribes; for the Jukun and their neighbours in 'A Sudanese Kingdom' published in 1931 and, for the remainder—many, perhaps most, at one time under Jukun or allied influence—in these two volumes.

The accounts vary from full ethnographical reports to hurried notes of a few days' work. Most of the data is new, as will be seen from comparison with Temple's 'Tribes, Provinces, etc., of the Northern Provinces of 'Nigeria.'

On the various pagan religions, Mr. Meek's general thesis (Vol. I, p. 42) is that the deities worshipped by a number of tribes belong to the same group of gods and goddesses as Osiris, Horus and Isis, Adonis and Aphrodite, and Baal and Astarte. While agreeing with this conclusion, I nevertheless dissent from the view (Vol. I, p. 28) that "the epithets applied to Nzeanzo "imply an omniscience and loving care *which is quite* "*remarkable in West African theology.*" The italics are mine. It would seem arguable that both Ashanti and Yoruba ideas include some of the same order. It is an interesting point, but at present surely not satisfactorily demonstrable on account of lack of evidence relating to the rest of Northern Nigeria. For, except in the case of Nzeanzo, and one or two others (Vol. I, p. 221), there is hardly any detailed reference throughout these volumes to the theologies or the theogonies of the other tribes; nor to the allied cosmological myths; nor to epic stories or myths of tribal origins, such as Mr. Seton recorded for the Igara (*J.R.A.I.*, 1928). It may be hoped that these aspects will receive attention later, difficult though such inquiries undoubtedly are.

Much space is devoted to social organization. In nearly every case, principal terms of relationship are given, by which the effect of marriage or other social regulations on the relationship nomenclature may be studied.

The linguistic material appended to each chapter includes vocabularies, sentences, numerals, generally from 1 to 13, with the words for 20 and 100. The omission of the intermediate numbers leaves us in the dark, whether the languages form the round numbers from 30 to 90 on the quinary or the vigesimal system, a matter which can be determined only by inquiry.

My unpublished notes show, for example, that in the Kwotto (Igbira) language the word for 30 means 5 times 6 and the word for 70 means 10 times 5 plus 20; whereas in the neighbouring Igara language (which is, like Kwotto, a 'West Sudanic' language) the word for 30 means 20 plus 10 and that for 70 means 20 times 3 plus 10.

Evidence of a breakdown from a duodecimal system to a decimal one is recorded (Vol. II, p. 120) in the Jaba numerals. I found a like phenomenon in the Kwotto language, by comparing it with the neighbouring Afu language, to which it is related; and this might be looked for elsewhere.

These volumes, copiously illustrated with good photographs and having adequate map and index, are a notable landmark of anthropological science in Nigeria.

J. R. WILSON-HAFFENDEN.

Sociology.

Women in Primitive Mother-right Societies. *By* **207** *Dr. J. H. Ronhaar. Published by J. B. Wolters (Hague) and David Nutt (London)*, 1931.

For students of such a young science as anthropology nothing is more salutary than a backward glance at earlier hypotheses. Dr. Ronhaar, therefore, does us a useful service in his critical summary of the 'mother-right' controversy, for this is a problem which has figured in so many anthropological doctrines that it furnishes in itself a history of the different schools of thought of the last 50–60 years.

It must be said at once, however, that the author seems to have stopped short before reaching the last chapter of events. The very word 'mother-right' has already an archaic sound to many of us.

Modern field-work has made it abundantly clear that no society is either purely patrilineal or purely matrilineal with regard to such factors as inheritance, succession, authority, or descent. The legal systems of most primitive peoples are, in essence, a balance between the rights of the paternal and maternal relatives, with an emphasis only to one side or the other. The 'position of woman,' too, cannot simply be classified as 'high' or 'low' in different types of society, but must be analysed in relation to the whole social, legal, economic, and religious life of the tribe.

The last edition of the Institute's 'Notes and Queries in Anthropology' cautions readers, in fact, against the use of the terms 'father-right' and 'mother-right' at all.

Now such conclusions do actually emerge from a study of Dr. Ronhaar's evidence, but the author himself seems to be unaware of these recent trends in anthropology and devotes all his energies to refuting the theories of the evolutionary and Kulturhistorische schools. Himself formerly a pupil of Steinmetz, he finds himself maddened by the more fantastic doctrines of Schmidt

and Koppens, and declares it to be necessary to end the 'mother-right' controversy by proving once and for all the inadequacy of their evidence—in his own more picturesque phraseology, to put a stop "to all this "drivel which has no other result but bringing ethnology "into discredit."

To many English readers, therefore, this well-founded criticism of earlier theories will seem like so much battering at an open door. They will look in vain for more constructive conclusions in the realm of theory or from the field-work point of view. But none the less the book is distinctly valuable as a collection of evidence as to the structure of matrilineal communities, and as a work of reference for those interested in the many hypotheses as to the origin of matriarchy. It opens with an account of the theories of Bachofen, McLellan, Graebner, Schmidt, Sydney Hartland and others, and hence Ronhaar draws up a list of those features of society which have been considered as correlates of 'mother-right'—including such a wide variety of institutions as the laws of descent, matrilocal marriage, the authority of the woman in the group, women's rights of ownership in agricultural communities, secret societies, girls' initiation ceremonies, a high standard of sexual morals, the cult of ancestors, peace-loving characteristics, and a number of others. These different culture traits the author examines in those societies—chiefly in North America and Melanesia—which have been considered as most typically matriarchal. He shows both the inadequacy of the ethnological data on which the earlier theories as to the origins of mother-right were based, and also the very low degree of correlation between any of the above-mentioned institutions and a definitely matrilineal organization of society. His statistical analyses are useful in this case, and his examination of the actual part played by women in economic activities, and their legal position in marriage are specially valuable.

On the whole, the mass of evidence is handled well, but the lack of an index, and the method of arranging the descriptive evidence in numbered paragraphs in each chapter, involve the reader in a good deal of labour. But he will find himself carried along by the author's vehement denunciatory style, in spite of certain obscurities in the English. Dr. Ronhaar is severe in his condemnations of those who try to popularize science, but he allows himself such purple patches as the following: "this intoxicating perfume of the great "brothel of Bachofen continually obtrudes itself upon "us!"

The proof-reading has been unusually careless, but this is perhaps natural in a book printed in Holland.

A. I. RICHARDS.

The Rural Community. *By Dwight Sanderson. Ginn & Co.*, 1932.

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Probably the Professor of Rural Social Organization in Cornell University would not regard his suggestions concerning the evolution of rural communities as anything but a useful peg on which he can hang his collection of facts. A perusal of the facts themselves is enlightening, for it shows what an enormous amount of work remains to be done before we can hope to understand how rural committees came to be as they are observed. It reveals also the need for closer and more exact definitions in the study of rural economics.

So far as uncivilized peoples are concerned, most of Professor Sanderson's attention seems to have been devoted to the American Indians, but he refers also to the cave-dwellers of the Canary Islands, to some of the inhabitants of Assam and Malay Peninsula and to certain Oceanic Islanders. He discusses the economic and social life of these rural communities, their feasts and festivals, their religion and magic. A whole chapter is devoted to a similar survey of a Chinese village. Then we are taken to modern Europe, then to U.S.A., where the 'modern rural community' exists. The author discusses the future and significance of the modern village, as well as its economic, religious and social life.

In an undertaking of so protean a character, serious lacunæ are inevitable, and students will assess variously the value of what has been done. An impression of vagueness is increased by the use of the term 'rural community' both in a generic and in a particular sense, and the contrast between a rural group, which represents the largest unit of economic organization, and that which is a small part of a larger group seems to be so great that it is doubtful if they can be compared. The illustrations and diagrams are good.

J. D. U.

Russia. A Social History. *By S. D. Mirsky. Edited by C. G. Seligman, F.R.S. Pp.* xix + 333. 10 × 6¼ *in. London. The Cresset Press.* 1931.

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In his introduction Prince Mirsky states that if he were to re-write his book "economic facts would "have been more consistently emphasized as the one "and only protophenomenon of all historical reality." We may be glad that the book stands as it is, for surely history and especially the history outlined in his valuable study shows that an equally important protophenomenon of historical reality is the spirit of man, which leads him to select out of his economic environment different factors for emphasis according as his ideals of what is the good life vary. An interesting aspect of economics plus man's selection is our present financial dependence on the gold standard. Here, right in the heart of modern materialism, is a survival of primitive man's selection of gold as something endowed with magic life-preserving powers, that has gathered momentum through the ages and given gold its artificial value as a medium of currency.

Following on a statement of the geographic background, the author gives a masterly summary in his chapter on 'Russia before the Russians' of the main archæological outlines. No finds assignable to the Lower Palæolithic have been made in any part of Russia, but Upper Palæolithic stations reveal a culture with many original features, yet distinctly related to the Aurignacian, Solutrean and Magdalenian phases of western and central Europe. These stations lie along the southern fringe of the forest and in the parkland belt between the Dnieper and the Don and Oka, and they reveal the fact that Kiev, the Mother of Russian cities, was an inhabited site in Palæolithic times. The author considers that the bronze age Fatianovo culture, with its spiderlike connections with the North Caucasian region, the steppe, the northern forests and the Baltic was a prototype of later Muscovite developments. He emphasizes the rôle of agriculture in early civilizations of the plain, pointing out that the agricultural vocabulary of the Middle Volga and Lower Kama is still mainly Bulgar in origin and that buckwheat, until recently so widely cultivated in Russia, was introduced from the Orient via the Chazars. He also draws attention to the early cultivation of spelt in the Middle Volga region and relates it to the north Caucasian region, since spelt is extensively cultivated to the south of the steppe, in the Crimea and Caucasus. The agricultural Tripolye civilization, and the problem of its pottery, related in style to Danubian types, but distinct because of its painting, is discussed, the author considering that it must be related with such painted pottery civilizations as

those of China and Transcaspia. The author considers that the recent history of Russia may be roughly summed up as the advance of the agriculturists upon the hunters and nomads. An interesting and little realized point which the author makes, is the close connection in early times between the region of the western tributaries of the Kama and Persia, a connection based on the exchange of furs for Sassanian silver; he considers the Permians to have been the purchasers of this silver.

The chapter on the Slavs and the appendices, one dealing with the distribution of physical types in Russia and adjoining countries and one giving a most valuable conspectus of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. and their languages, territorial distribution, religion and cultural types are of the very greatest importance and will take their place as a brief, though authoritative statement of the ethnology of Russia. Many readers will not agree with all the author's conclusions about the Slavs, but that only adds to the intellectual stimulus of the book. He points out the linguistic unity of the Slavs, and the length of its duration. We should have welcomed suggestions from him as to the causes of this persistence, and also as to the possible reasons for the wide wandering and great rapidity of population increase among Slavonic races. The remainder of the book deals with the history of Russia from a fresh point of view and touches on the development of architecture, literature and the arts at various periods. Its value is much increased by the series of maps which help to elucidate the text. There are chapters dealing with the national minorities at each phase of Imperial development; they are so illuminating that we hope that some day the author will be tempted to expand them into a serious study. R. M. F.

Linguistics.

Southern Rhodesia. Report on the Unification of the Shona Dialects, carried out under the auspices of the Government of Southern Rhodesia and the Carnegie Corporation. *By Clement M. Doke, M.A., D.Litt. Printed for the Government of Southern Rhodesia by Stephen Austin and Sons, Ltd., Hertford.* [*C.S.R.* 25—1931.] 9½ + 6, 156 *pp.*, 4 *maps.*

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The languages of Southern Rhodesia have long constituted somewhat of a problem, though their character as members of the Bantu family was obvious enough, also the fact that, with the exception of the intrusive Sindebele, they appeared to constitute dialects of a single form of speech. But the relation of the dialects to each other, and the name to be applied to them as a whole, have raised questions not easily decided, more especially as linguists working in various parts of the territory had adopted different methods of representing sounds essentially the same. The people themselves had no general name for themselves or their language, every tribe or sub-tribe using its own local designation, as Manyika, Zezuru, Karanga, Jindwi, etc. The names Mashona and Maswina, applied to them by outsiders, appear to have been more or less distasteful. The Committee set up by the Government for dealing with the language question have, however, come to the conclusion, doubtless for good reasons, that *Shona* is the only name to be adopted, and it is, accordingly, employed throughout the present work.

Dr. Doke, working throughout in conjunction with the Language Committee, devoted a year's intensive research to the solution of the questions involved. Taking Salisbury as his headquarters he made excursions in every direction, covering a great part of the country, reaching Melsetter in the east, 'Wankie' (Wange) in the west and Tati in the south-west, and consulting numerous European authorities and nearly two hundred natives. The conclusion come to is that the speakers of Shona fall into six main groups: Korekore, Zezuru, Karanga, Manyika, Ndau and Kalanga. The last named stands somewhat apart from the rest (for reasons given on pp. 35, 36), and is not therefore included in the proposals for a unified orthography and grammar set forth on these pages. The recommendations for 'unified Shona,' seem on the whole sound, though it is difficult to see why the order of the noun-classes (see p. 80) should depart from the Bleek-Meinhof standard; and one might also venture to suggest that the *si-vu-* class, which is really Meinhof's 19 and Johnston's 8*a* should not be included with the *ka-tu-* class, whose place it takes in the southern dialects. These pages contain far more matter of great interest than can be dealt with in a brief notice. The appendices include a useful bibliography, comparative vocabularies of thirty-seven dialects, some texts, consonantal charts of nine dialects and four excellent maps, two showing the distribution of languages and dialects and two that of certain grammatical features. Two points which Dr. Doke rightly desires to emphasize are: "the spirit of the proposed "unification should be that of natural development "and not that of artificial creation," and "the crying "need for more research into every dialect in South "Rhodesia. We know practically nothing about "Nambzya, Kalanga, Korekore, Tavara, Budya, "Karombe, Teve, Danda, Shanga, and many other "most interesting dialects." A. W.

Gã Grammar, Notes and Exercises. *By M. B. Wilkie. Oxford (University Press). London (Humphrey Milford)*, 1930. *Pp.* 239. 6¾ × 4½″.

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Gã, also known as Akra ('Inkran'), though spoken in a comparatively restricted area, is an important member of the Sudanic family. Its closest affinities are with Twi and Ewe, but the differences are sufficient to warrant its treatment as an independent language, and the people themselves are very sensitive on this point. Till recently, the few scholars at all concerned with this speech have had to depend on the works of Zimmermann (long out of print) and Christaller: "and the "very general use of English in communications with "the natives of the Gold Coast has tended to divert "attention from the vernaculars. The recent revival "of interest in native speech both among Africans and "Europeans has led to an increasing insistence on "vernacular teaching in schools and to a demand for "helps in acquiring the language." The present work, prepared in response to this demand, is very useful as a first step in the right direction, though capable of improvement in some respects. The orthography recommended by the International Institute has been adopted, to the great advantage of the learner. We have here, one might think, an example of grammar reduced to its simplest elements; inflections are seen in the making, as in the formation of the plural; prepositions are in process of developing out of the concrete terms ('face,' 'back,' 'top,' etc.) used to express relations between things. A curious illustration of the development of abstract out of concrete is the following: "An "odd but interesting verb is *mã na mí, to confirm.* It "has reference to the old times, when any resolution "or law had to be confirmed by beating it on a drum, "*mí* being the special drum. . . . Only *mã* is inflected, "*mí* is unchangeable."

Tones play a great part in Gã, not only in distinguishing syllables otherwise similar ('significant tone'), but in conjugating the verb, a grammatical feature

which I believe Professor Daniel Jones was the first to notice and has investigated very fully, in Sechuana.

Specially welcome features in this book are the section devoted to "Salutations" (pp. 106–110), the Exercises (pp. 120–187), the two vocabularies and the "General Suggestions" at the end. The references (pp. 36, 78) to Fleischer's *Grammar*, which is not mentioned elsewhere, should surely have been accompanied by some indication as to date and place of publication. We must suppose it to be included among "previous "Gā publications," to which the author acknowledges his indebtedness in the Preface. A. W.

Këndime Englisht-sqip or Albanian-English Reader. *By Margaret M. Hasluck. Cambridge University Press:* 1932. **212**

This little book can be cordially recommended to those wishing to begin the study of the Albanian language.

The dialect used is that of Central Albania, which differs somewhat from that of the South and considerably from that of the North, the only one with which I am acquainted. For example, the words used in it for 'girl' (*gocë*) and 'boy' (*çun*) I never heard. The words used were *chupa* or *caiz* for girl and *diale* for boy.

But the Central dialect is now in use in the schools and will doubtless become the standard speech in time. The alphabet used by Mrs. Hasluck was adopted at the Albanian Conference at Monastir in 1908, when, as a result of the Young Turk revolution, the printing of the Albanian language was no longer prohibited by law. Printed it had been, nevertheless, but always under foreign protection. Thus there was no unity. The British and Foreign Bible Society printed certain books of the Bible in a weird alphabet of Greek, Cyrillic and fancy letters, and circulated them. But they were liable to capture by the Turkish authorities, not on religious, but on linguistic grounds. Persons wishing to learn to read Albanian in the South could do so most safely by buying these books. I once helped to sell thirty copies of the book of Genesis in one morning to Moslems, who were all eager to read about Potiphar's wife.

The North had two alphabets—both using Latin characters in various ways. One was protected by Austria, the other by Italy. A third—the oldest—the Jesuits' alphabet, used Latin and fancy characters. The best was by the Abbot of the Mirdites, Mgr. Premi Dochi, who called on me in state in 1908 to beg me to support the use of his alphabet at the Monastir Conference.

It was a good alphabet but more suited to the Northern dialect. The one adopted and used by Mrs. Hasluck is suited to all.

All through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the Albanian language as a spoken tongue was spreading rapidly over the Balkan peninsula from the Adriatic to Constantinople in spite of Turkish efforts to put a brake on it. Its spread was checked by the Balkan wars of 1912–1913 followed by the Great War. These have resulted in the transfer of large Albanian districts to other races who are now making determined efforts to extirpate and prohibit the Albanian language. With what success remains to be seen.

I note with pleasure that Mrs. Hasluck dedicates her book to Lef Nosi. When I met him thirty years ago he was about the only Albanian who understood the value of folk-tale and folk-lore. He promised me to supply me with such, so soon as he had made a good collection. Wars and revolution caused this promise never to be fulfilled. I am glad to see him at long last reappear as Mrs. Hasluck's collaborator.

The reading matter provided is highly original and amusing, almost all the tales being written by school-children, some of them very young. They are delightfully naive and recall in some cases other folk-tales, but are full of Albanian local colour.

The English and Albanian versions are on opposite pages, and the translation is literal save where the idiom makes this impossible.

The reading matter is prefaced with a short and clear grammar. Mrs. Hasluck has wisely simplified the sometimes appallingly complicated grammars of her predecessors.

With the exception of the 'Methode per te mesuar Englischche,' by an Albanian, Sotir Petsi, published in Boston, U.S.A., in 1906, to teach Albanian emigrants to America to speak English, which also contains a simple grammar, a considerable vocabulary and a number of conversations, English-Albanian, on useful topics, Mrs. Hasluck's, I believe, is the first English-Albanian textbook. It is certainly the only one up to date. Its small handy size should make it an indispensable companion for the traveller in Albania, and the folk-tales should give him an insight into the mind of the people. I give it the North Albanian greeting *Tu nghiate jete* (long life to thee). M. E. DURHAM

India.

The Lakhers. *By N. E. Parry, I.C.S. Pages xx — 640; 29 plates (3 in colour), 30 illustrations in text and a map. London (Macmillan & Co.)* 1932. **213**
36s. net.

Among the medley of tribes inhabiting the mountainous regions on the frontiers of Bengal, Assam and Burma are the Lakhers, as they are called by their neighbours the Lushēis, or Shendus, as they were known to the Arrakanese and to most of our officers in the past, but more correctly, as Mr. Parry tells us, described as Mărās. These people, numbering in all perhaps 10,000, occupy roughly the area within the great bend of the Kaladan river and some adjoining tracts, between the Chittagong Hill Tracts in Bengal and the Chin Hills district in Burma. Until less than a century ago little definite was known of these regions. Their history is a story of constant raids by the hill tribes and of the operations undertaken from time to time to repress them. No permanent security being attained by periodical punitive expeditions, it was eventually decided, with reluctance, to include them within British territory, the Lushai Hills being annexed to Bengal in 1891, and the Chin Hills to Burma in 1896. Subsequently the intermediate area, including the Lakher region still left 'unadministered,' was brought under control, the last of their villages being attached in 1924 to the Lushai Hills district, of which Mr. Parry held charge from 1924 to 1928. The outstanding value of this monograph, accordingly, lies in the fact that it constitutes a first-hand record by a most competent authority of the life and customs of the tribe before outside influences had time to change or modify them.

As in the case of other primitive tribes, such as the Gāros, Nāgas and Lushēis, the Lakhers have been brought under British rule not at their own desire, but in the interest of the adjoining settled areas. A special responsibility for their welfare, therefore, rests upon our Government, and Mr Parry, in his introductory chapter, gives some sound hints as to the danger of uncalled-for interference with the rights and customs of such peoples, drawing an object-lesson from the ill-effects of such action among the Lushēis.

Ethnologically the Lakhers are a branch of the Lai tribe of Chins, and speak a language of the so-called

'Kuki-Chin' group, closely allied to Lai. There are, however, many cultural analogies between the Lakhers and the Nāga and Bodo tribes, living farther to the north and north-west. This is not a matter for surprise, as the linguistic evidence also indicates that the Kuki-Chin languages are connected through both Nāga and Bodo languages with the parent tongue from which they have descended, as disclosed in the 'Linguistic Survey of India.' Tradition also points to immigration from the north or north-east. Unfortunately the history of the early movements of most of these frontier tribes is obscure.

The domestic life of the people in all its aspects, including a full account of their apparel and household effects, implements used in cultivation, hunting, fishing, etc., has been dealt with in great detail, describing how each article is made. The social and family organization of the tribe, their laws and customs, religious beliefs, superstitions and ceremonies have been set forth with remarkable fullness. Chapters are added on the language and folk-lore, followed by seven appendices, all containing useful information. We may draw attention to the admirable practice adopted of always quoting the botanical name where reference is made to the use of a particular kind of tree, plant, seed, fibre, etc. The scientific value of such specification cannot be overestimated.

Originally intended to be a brief record of customs concerning which litigation most often arises, Mr. Parry's monograph has developed into an important manual of information disclosing wide research and intensive study. In several respects it is the most scholarly and detailed account yet published of any of these hill tribes, and it should prove invaluable to administrative officers serving in this area hereafter.

C. E. A. W. O.

Music.

A Study on Papuan Music. *J. Kunst. Indisch Comité voor Wetenschappelijke Onderzoekingen. Batavia. V. Pp.* 97. *Illustrations and map.* 1931.

214 This study is divided into two parts—the author's deductions and the material from which these deductions are made, as well as data on Papuan musical instruments.

In the first half of the book, Dr. Kunst endeavours to work out the underlying forms of Papuan music, apart from the actual melodies, and he evolves two main types, the 'titled' or 'Australian,' found at its strongest among the Kauwerawèt, where the melody starts on a relatively high note and gradually descends; and the 'fanfared' or 'flourished triad' music, found among the tribes of the Nassau Range, side by side with more elaborate melodies. It is interesting to note that very few tunes go beyond the compass of one octave. Very little is said about rhythm, except that the rhythmic forms are simple. The actual melodies on which he bases his assumptions are relatively few, being taken from Mr. C. C. F. M. Le Roux's phonographic records and from other data, some of which he admits come through suspicious channels. The author probably bases more than he thinks on the published works of his predecessors, judging by his frequent references to the vast bibliography found in the second half of the book. In fact, these bare references at times become rather disconcerting as though Dr. Kunst takes it for granted that we are as familiar with his bibliography as he is, or at least have the books at our elbow.

The second half of the book has perhaps more practical value than the first, being the condensation of all the known published facts, with reference to their authors, about Papuan musical instruments, and is accompanied by a very detailed map to show their distribution. Judging from the aptitude with which these tribes borrow each other's songs and playthings, this map should soon be out of date, but should then prove very valuable indeed to those seeking the origin of the various instrumental types. Dr. Kunst has revised his list of instruments at the last minute to fit in with Sach's cultural strata in the latter's lately published 'Geist und Werden der Musikinstrumente.' It is to be regretted that he did not, at the same time, give his readers some outline sketch of these strata, as, without this, his reference numbers are meaningless. It is possible to overdo conciseness, and one wishes that the author also had had the time to draw more deductions from his map, beyond indicating the limits of the slit-drum territory. Incidentally the term 'slit-drum' strikes me as infinitely more appropriate than the popular and misleading anthropological term 'gong,' and I would recommend it to all who wish to describe its African counterpart. Some sixty pen-and-ink drawings of Papuan musical instruments are added by Mas Pringadi, which are a great help to the uninitiated, but which would have been even more valuable if accompanied by a few remarks on the way in which they are played.

A. N. TUCKER.

Technology.

Die Südseetöpferei. *By Dr. Margarethe Schurig. Leipzig.* 1930. *Schindler. 8vo. Pp.* 229, 7 *plates,* 2 *maps.*

215 This very minute and careful study represents several years' work in Continental and British museums, as well as a thorough sifting of all relevant literature. Two facts had especially attracted Fräulein Schurig's attention, the remarkably sporadic distribution of the potter's craft in Indonesia and Melanesia, and the existence, side by side, of two techniques, the "coiled" and what she calls the "Treibtechnik," in which the pot is moulded out of a lump of clay with the help of a wooden spatula and a smooth stone. The latter technique is used, with or without the spatula, by women on the Swahili coast and in Nyasaland. Two maps show the distribution of these processes very clearly; their simultaneous occurrence is most marked in New Guinea, the Solomon Islands, the New Hebrides, and Fiji.

The absence of pottery in the relatively higher Polynesian culture suggests that ceramics cannot be taken as a criterion in this sense. Linguistic evidence makes it quite clear that the art was not known to these tribes when they reached their present habitat. The author inclines, however, to the view that they had formerly possessed, but lost it—whether because it had been practised by an inferior caste who did not take part in the migration, or because (which is not certain) they brought no women with them. The art being essentially a woman's concern probably accounts for the fact that "the relations between South Sea pottery "and ceremonial are slight." The conclusion is that, of the two techniques, the 'coiled' pottery is indigenous and belongs to the Papuan culture, while the other was introduced by the Melanesians from Indonesia. *Damit ist fur die papuanische Kulturschicht der Südsee ein positives Kriterium gegeben.* The whole book is an extremely valuable document for the student of sociology.

A. W.

Deserts and the Birth of Civilization. *By A. J. McInerny. Paris, 1931, sm. 8vo, pp.* 46.

216 Long residence in North Africa has convinced the writer that the pure air and meteorological régime of the Sahara and other great deserts have contributed to the whiteness and the vitality of the

'white races,' and that as their utility in this respect is not exhausted, it would be unwise to tamper with deserts by irrigation or otherwise. J. L. M.

Vícios de conformação do sistema uro-genital. *By J. A. Pires de Lima. Pôrto,* 1930. *Pp.* 210.

217

This little book is a general account of malformations of the urogenital organs in both sexes, well illustrated and arranged, and a notable addition to the literature of teratology. Apart from hermaphroditism, so fully explored by Neugebauer, there is an interesting account of rarer anomalies of which the double phallus in a Portuguese monster is one of the most curious.

E. J. DINGWALL.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Theology and Physiological Paternity. Perry.

218

SIR,—The discussion of the alleged ignorance of physiological paternity among certain peoples of low culture cannot be left in the indecisive phase it has now reached. It is essential once again to call attention to certain relevant facts that are in danger of being ignored.

In the first place, so far as I am aware, no people have as yet been found who fail to postulate the action of some agent other than the mother in the production of children. On the contrary, those who deny or ignore the part played by the male in procreation have, at the same time, a theory (and usually a highly sophisticated theory that cannot be called primitive) to account for the facts. For instance, it is believed in certain parts of Australia that each person is the reincarnation of a spirit child left behind by the traditional beings to whom all social institutions are ascribed. Every member of the tribe becomes a spirit child after death. He goes to a certain spot and then awaits a favourable opportunity of entering a woman and thus becoming reborn. The Trobrianders who, according to Professor Malinowski, do not admit physiological paternity, have also, as is well known, a theory of spirit children.

There seems to be a danger of assuming that the situation as found among the Trobrianders and the Australian natives is confined to people of low culture, and that it is 'primitive.' It must not be forgotten, however, that these views are those of modern peoples, who have had many opportunities of learning from others. Such peoples may be low in culture, but it by no means follows that all their customs and beliefs are necessarily primitive, in the strict sense of the term.

The facts at present available make it desirable to consider the situation as a whole. We are not justified in discussing the ignorance or denial of physiological paternity by itself, but must consider it in conjunction with the doctrine of spirit children.

When we look round we find numerous traces of a belief in 'spirit children' among peoples who enjoy a high degree of civilization. In India for instance, Tvashtri figures in the early Sanscrit writings as the maker of children. Each child is made by him in his function of blacksmith or potter and is described as being placed in its mother to be born in the usual manner.

I have collected (in 'The Children of the Sun') other examples of claims for the artificial production of children. The most noteworthy is that of ancient Egypt, particularly in the case of Hatshepsut, the famous Queen of the 18th Dynasty. The inscriptions on the walls of her temple at Deir-el-Bahri depict scenes relating to her birth. The god Amon disguised as the king visits Hatshepsut's mother in her apartment and tells her that he will become the father of her child. He then instructs Khnum, the Ram-headed potter god, to make the child. We then see Khnum seated before a potters' wheel on which he is fashioning two small figures, representing Hatshepsut and her double.

This fantastic procedure dates from the fifteenth century B.C. It was carried out by people who had been fully aware of physiological paternity for many centuries, and in fact, in the statement quoted, admit the paternity of the god Amon, who gives the order for the making of the child. There is every reason to believe that this procedure was the work of the Heliopolitan priesthood, who were responsible for the doctrine of the fatherhood of the Sun god, which was formally adopted by the royal family of Egypt in the Fifth Dynasty, when the title of Son of the Sun was assumed. For reasons that I have already quoted in 'The Children of the Sun,' the Heliopolitan priesthood devised the solar calendar, one of the greatest achievements of the human mind. No other nation of antiquity, not even the Greeks, can be credited with a like feat. Even in the Old Egyptian Kingdom this priesthood developed ideas concerning the connection of the kingship and the sun. The king, either living as Horus, or dead as Osiris, was regarded as the great source of life. As such the Heliopolitan theology compared him with the sun. They were led on from this to put the sun on equal footing with Osiris, that is to say, they made the sun into the father of the king. As there was no such person as the Sun god, he could not become the actual father of the child. The priests of Heliopolis, therefore, were forced to produce a child and pretended to call the craft of the potter to their aid. Not only did they announce the fatherhood of the Sun god, they actually produced the child. Clearly they were not ignorant of the essential physiological process whereby the child was brought into existence. For political and theocratic reasons, however, they put forward a fiction to explain the divine nature of the king. The doctrine of theogamy appears to date from the Pyramid Age. The fact that it was still part of the State policy many centuries later shows that a most ridiculous theory, even one that contravenes all known experience, can gain acceptance. The priests of Heliopolis could have entertained no illusions when they enunciated the doctrine of divine birth. They may not have deceived themselves, but they certainly deluded other people.

The success of this doctrine in Egypt and among the highly civilized people of the Vedic period in India, shows how easy it must have been for it to have gained acceptance among ignorant natives still further east, such as Australia and Melanesia. It is only necessary to postulate a sufficient degree of prestige among their informants, for the recognition of physiological paternity to be entirely obscured. Indeed the Australian natives have not forgotten the source of this doctrine, for the manner in which it was imparted to them is among their most cherished traditions. Spirit children are the work of the gods or their descendants, therefore they are believed in, even though such a belief may contravene common sense.

In his article in MAN (1932, 44) Professor Malinowski cites evidence that seems to me to have a vital bearing on this point. He quotes Dr. Fortune who states (in his 'Sorcerers of Dobu') that the Dobuans have often quarrelled with the Trobrianders concerning this very question of physiological paternity. "The subject is not "brought up between Trobrianders and Dobuans as it "has been the subject of anger and quarrel too often in "the past. My Dobuan friends warned me not to "mention the matter in the Trobriands before I went "there. Once I was there I deliberately made the "experiment. The Trobrianders asserted the spiritual "belief, just as Dr. Malinowski has published it. But "the head of every Dobuan in the room in which I "brought the matter up, immediately was turned away "from me towards the wall. They affected not to hear "the conversation; but afterwards when they had me "alone they were furious with me." This quotation surely implies that the Trobrianders are *not* ignorant of the physiological doctrine of paternity. They obviously have heard of it many times from their Dobuan friends. The friction engendered by discussions about it shows quite clearly that in their minds there is a conflict between common sense and tradition. The rational is struggling with the non-rational, but the non-rational triumphs because of the prestige of its association. They deny the doctrine of physiological paternity because they have been taught a fantastic alternative theory which they accept because of the authority that so often even amongst ourselves causes sophisticated nonsense to be accepted in preference to patent truth.

W. J. PERRY.

Origin of Cruelty. (*Cf.* MAN, 1932, 134.)

219 SIR,—In the last issue of MAN, Lord Raglan quotes a sentence from Roheim regarding the hypothetical primal origin of castration rites. On the strength of this quotation he proceeds to attack psycho-analysts as a body for taking up a "completely "false position" on such matters.

This is to some extent good strategy on his part. If one is opposed to the views of "our psychologists," by which Lord Raglan evidently means psycho-analysts, it is easy to express this feeling by seizing on a hypothesis regarding primal origins and contradicting it. Had Lord Raglan chosen to disbelieve the existence of castration fears and impulses in small children, he would have been faced with the embarrassing necessity of explaining away a mass of direct observations on this subject. And it was certainly rash to attempt to back up his opinions by dogmatic statements concerning child psychology.

For example, he seems to think that by attributing the cruelty of children to environmental suggestion (the display on schoolroom walls of pictures of biting, fettering, flogging, hanging, etc.) he has solved the problem. Now a problem cannot be solved simply by putting the onus on school-diagrams, although it may be made more palatable to the investigator by so doing. How does he explain the appearance of such pictures on walls? The reply may be made that adults are responsible. In that case where does the adult impulse come from? Is that impulse also due to suggestion? If so, where did the suggestion originate? Sooner or later the investigation of origin will disclose a human impulse. When little babies of seven months bite and claw at their mother's nipples, causing pain and laceration that compels the mother to inflict the final penalty of weaning, are they stimulated by class-room diagrams? Are they simply "being cruel to be kind," to use Lord Raglan's phrase? That aggression can subserve the purposes of preservation (individual or social) is not in dispute. But, in fact, the child's self-preservatory needs at that stage are adequately met by sucking and are only frustrated by biting. Nor does it explain anything about Dr. Ellis's cases of sadism to suggest, as Lord Raglan does, that "a tendency to "neurosis or sexual abnormality" was present in these cases in addition to environmental stimuli. He appears to regard these tendencies and abnormalities as innate, ignoring the fact that sadism is itself an important element in their psychogenesis.

And in any case what has become of his own theory of environmental origins? EDWARD GLOVER, M.D.
Scientific Secretary,
British Psycho-Analytical Society.

220 SIR,—Dr. Glover confuses the facts ascertained by psycho-analysis with the theories by which psycho-analysts account for those facts. I am quite prepared to take his word for it that many children have castration fears, but that does not commit me to the acceptance of his theory that such fears are innate.

He says that "a problem cannot be solved by putting "the onus on school-diagrams." Perhaps not; school-diagrams are only one influence out of many; but at any rate they exist, whereas the "primal horde" does not exist, and there is not the slightest evidence that it ever did.

Dr. Glover asks how I explain the representation of scenes of cruelty on our walls. To put it shortly, I attribute it to the magico-religious belief that people can be saved by bloodshed, which is no more a "human "impulse" than the belief that thirteen is an unlucky number.

I see no reason to believe that babes of seven months understand what pain is, and the phenomenon Dr. Glover mentions is probably due to irritation in the gums before teething.

We are all, no doubt, born differing somewhat, both mentally and physically, from a theoretical norm, and when I maintain that children's minds are distorted by the early inculcation of fallacies and superstitions, I do not suppose that they were all exactly the same before, any more than I suppose that the feet of Chinese ladies were all exactly the same size and shape before they were distorted by the bandages.

Dr. Glover, on the other hand, if I understand him aright, believes that all children, both savage and civilized, are born with their minds already filled with the same cruel ideas, upon which post-natal influences make not the slightest impression. RAGLAN.

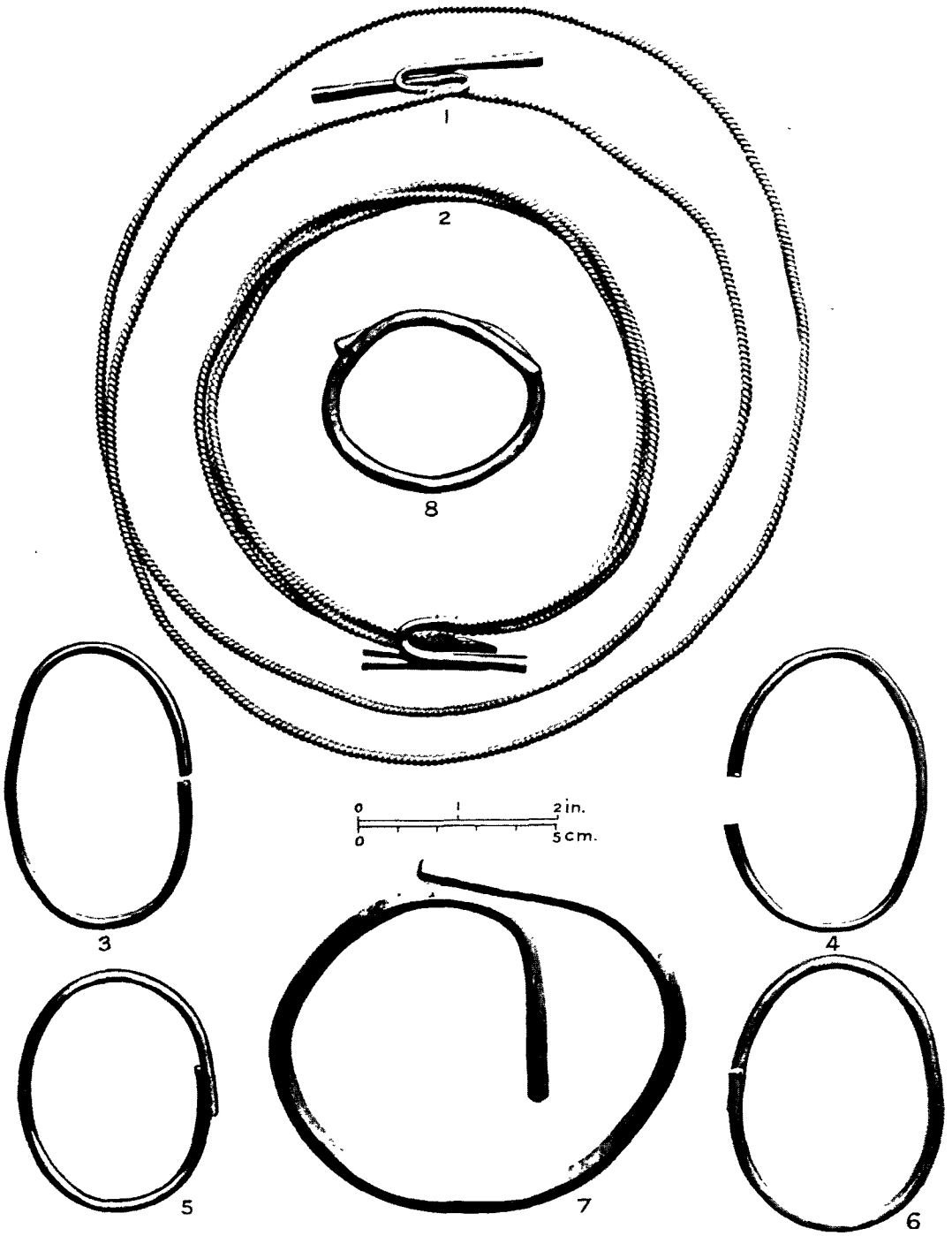
The Marriage System of the Arabana Tribe, Australia. A Prediction Verified.

221 SIR,—In an article in MAN, 1912, 55, entitled: 'Notes on Dr. J. G. Frazer's Totemism and 'Exogamy,' I criticized Spencer and Gillen's account of the marriage rules of the Arabana (Urabunna), and suggested that this tribe really had an eight-class system similar to that of the Dieri, adding that perhaps my suggestion might be tested by someone in the field before the tribe was extinct. This paper of mine, published twenty years ago, has not been noticed by any one, but it now appears from Mr. A. P. Elkin's paper: 'The Social Organization of Australian Tribes,' in 'Oceania,' Vol. 2, No. I, that the Arabana have a system under which the permitted marriages are the same as those of the Dieri.

So the question has been tested in the field and my prediction has been proved correct. Apart from any personal feelings of satisfaction at this, I think it is of some general interest that a prediction made from a study of the evidence should be verified.

RICHARD C. E. LONG.

EYRE AND SPOTTISWOODE LIMITED, His Majesty's Printers, East Harding St., London, E.C.4.



THE TOWEDNACK GOLD HOARD.

The two torcs (1, 2), the bracelets (3, 4 5, 6), and the other pieces (7, 8) found in December, 1931.

MAN

A MONTHLY RECORD OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL SCIENCE

PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE
ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

XXXII, 222-239. AUGUST, 1932

ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

With Plate H.

Britain: Bronze Age. **Hawkes.**

The Towednack Gold Hoard. *By Christopher Hawkes, F.S.A.*

The hoard of prehistoric gold which forms the subject of this paper was found in December, 1931, and May, 1932, at a spot in the parish of Towednack in western Cornwall, which lies some five miles north of Penzance and about half that distance south-west of St. Ives.

The site of the discovery is of sufficient interest to warrant description, as further exploration, if it were possible, might well furnish results of no small importance. I have been fortunate in receiving detailed information, along with a sketch-map which I have rendered as Fig. 2, from Mr. Stanley A. Opie, of Barncoose, who has carefully examined the site in company with the original finders. I must acknowledge most gratefully the value of the material with which he has supplied me. I have also to acknowledge information from Mr. B. H. St. J. O'Neil, who was able likewise to make observations on the spot, and who very kindly procured the photograph, Fig. 1.



FIG. 1.—THE TOWEDNACK GOLD HOARD. THE UNFINISHED PIECE (9) FOUND IN MAY, 1932. SCALE, 1/1.

The site (Fig. 2).—The area here represented lies within a fairly large croft or piece of uncultivated moor, numbered 563 on the 25-inch or 1/2500 Ordnance Survey Sheet, Cornwall LXVIII, 2. This croft is known as Croft an Browse or Bawze, and is on the farm of Amalveor, whose tenant, Mr. Wilfrid Hollow, began some two years ago to break it in. The eastern part of the area on the sketch-map was first taken, and it was when last December the work was being carried further west that the discovery of the hoard was made by Mr. E. T. Berryman, the labourer employed, on 11 December, 1931.

Two long low banks (*AB*, *CD*) of earth and stones will be seen on the map running at right angles to each other across this part of the croft; they have evidently been boundary-banks, altogether earlier than the present-day field-walls, and would appear to be ancient field-boundaries. This notion is strengthened by the presence of a well-marked ancient lynchet (*EF*) some 3 feet in height running by the modern field-wall north and south along the foot of the slope on the east, practically parallel to the western bank *AB* higher up, and nearly at right angles to the other, *CD*, opposite whose lower end it terminates. If these are the remains of an ancient field-system, it is possible that the peculiar circular hollow at *F* on the map, which the modern wall makes a special loop to enclose,

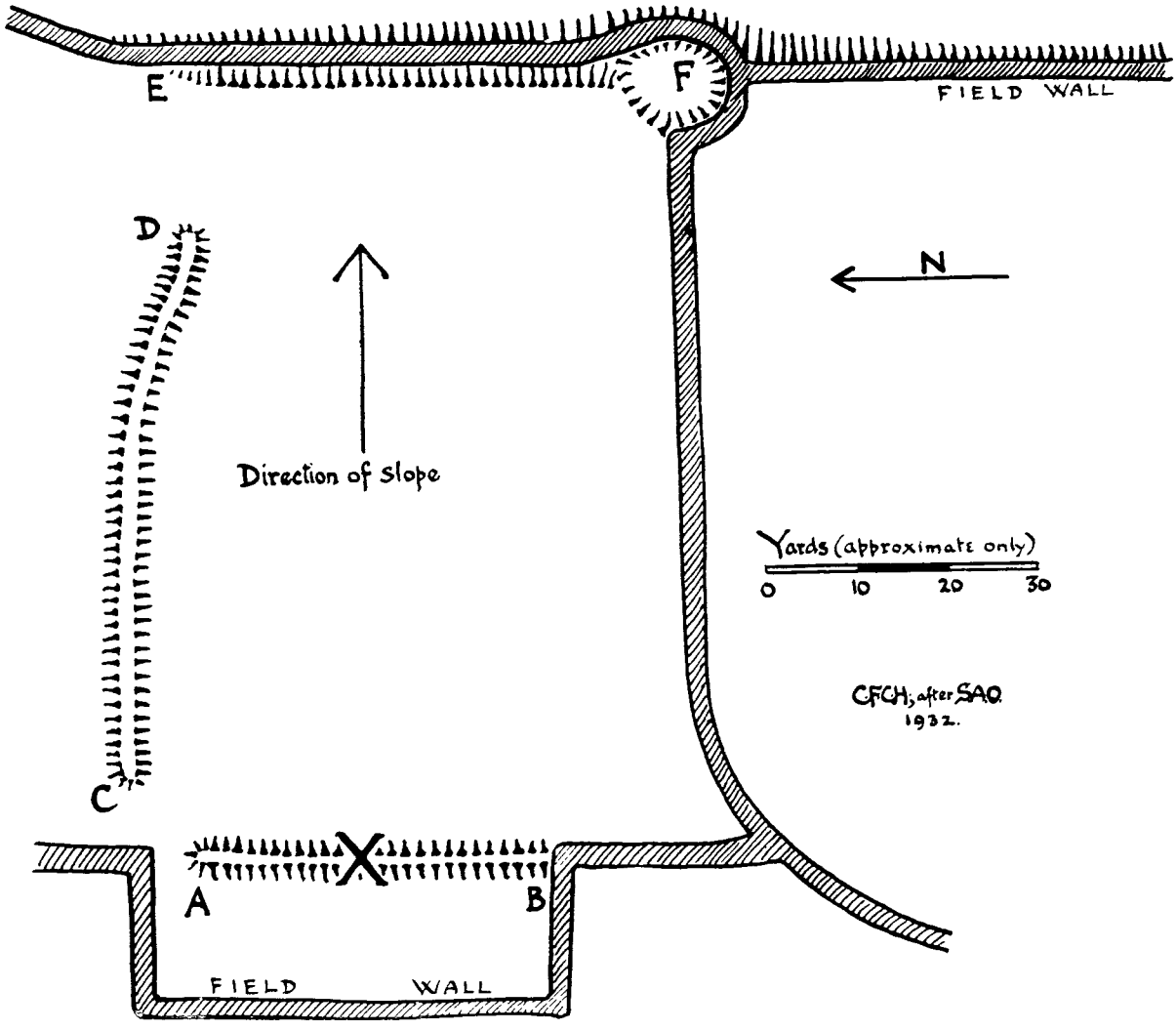


FIG. 2.—SKETCH PLAN OF PART OF CROFT AN BROWSE, AMALVEOR FARM, TOWEDNACK, SHOWING THE SITE (*X*) WHERE THE GOLD HOARD WAS FOUND.
AB, CD, APPARENT ANCIENT FIELD BANKS; EF, ANCIENT LYNCHET; F, POSSIBLE ANCIENT HUT-SITE.

represents an ancient round hut-site of the type so common in Cornwall and Devon as elsewhere in the west of the British Isles. Two oblong mounds on the west of *AB* are unexplained, and no relics of ancient occupation have so far as is known been turned up on the site beyond some rough flakes of rather poor flint: however, among certain large granite boulders to be seen near Amalveor farm-house, not far distant, is one roughly triangular stone, with sides of 16, 18 and 19 inches, and some 9 inches thick, with a fine basin or socket, $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches across and $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches deep, in its flat upper surface. Such basin or socket stones have often been noticed on ancient sites in West Cornwall, notably in the Chysauster village:[1] if not used for crushing or pounding work they were perhaps roof-pole sockets, and this example must have come from some ancient site close by, very possibly from the one in question. We accordingly have there evident traces of a field-system, to be presumed ancient, and some suspicions also (but no more) of ancient habitation.

The first find.—Mr. Berryman's discovery was made in clearing away the bank *AB*, the actual

[1] House 6: Found by Borlase and now built in to the wall: Hencken, *Archæology of Cornwall and Scilly*, 133–5.

spot being approximately marked X on the map. The bank was some 12 feet (nearly 4 m.) across and about 2 feet high, formed of soil and stones. Between 4 and 5 feet from its western edge he came upon the hoard, lying from 1 foot 6 inches to 2 feet down from the top surface of the bank, that is, on or immediately over, but emphatically not buried beneath, the natural ground-surface under the bank. The objects were certainly undisturbed—the two largest pieces (the torcs Nos. 1 and 2) lay more or less as photographed on Plate H, with the smaller pieces neatly arranged within them. Laid in this way in the base of or actually on the ground-level beneath the body of the bank, the hoard's position seems to make it nearly certain that the bank was in existence at the time of its deposit. It was evidently deposited for concealment, being, as will shortly be seen, the stock of a prehistoric goldsmith, and its presence appears emphatically to demand the shelter of the bank. The field-system described, and the suspected occupation associated with it, should therefore be not later in initial date than the time of the hoard's deposit. On this subject more knowledge may one day be available.

The second find.—The find of 11 December comprised the eight pieces here illustrated on Plate H: as Treasure Trove in the Duchy of Cornwall they passed from the finder through the hands of the Deputy Coroner[2] to H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, from whom they have since been acquired by the Trustees of the British Museum for the Department of British and Mediæval Antiquities. On 25 May, 1932, the farmer Mr. Hollow was at work on the same piece of ground, and among the stones and débris of the broken-in bank he turned up a ninth piece of gold, at the same spot, or very close to it, where the original find had been made. It had been lying hidden by a stone, and had thus escaped Mr. Berryman's notice in December, but there can be little doubt that it forms an authentic part of the hoard. This piece is at the time of writing still in the charge of the Deputy Coroner at Penzance, but it has been submitted for examination to the British Museum, and is here published with the other eight pieces by permission of the Duchy of Cornwall authorities.

Description of the pieces.—All nine pieces will accordingly be described together. I have here first of all to acknowledge help and advice from Mr. Reginald Smith, Keeper of the Department where the work has been done, from whom a notice of the hoard is before long to appear in the *British Museum Quarterly*.

Four of the nine pieces are finished gold ornaments, namely two torcs and a pair of bracelets, but a second pair of bracelets is obviously unfinished, and the remaining three pieces are bent rods or bars of goldsmith's raw material, hammered out from original nuggets.[3] The hoard is thus of peculiar interest as being evidently the stock of a prehistoric goldsmith. The eight pieces of the original find are shown on Plate H, and the additional piece on Fig. 1: all are numbered as in the table of detailed measurements and weights which follows, and as in the description of each object here ensuing.

No. 1. The *large torc* consists of a single strand of gold wire, over forty-five inches (nearly 116 cm.) in total length: it has enlarged terminals, circular in section, which taper inwards from a diameter of something under $\frac{1}{5}$ inch or nearly half a cm. at the ends, to one of $\frac{1}{8}$ inch, which is reached in just over $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch (or 4 cm.). Here the main portion of the torc begins, the wire assumes a triangular section, and is closely twisted from right to left, the twist preserving the greatest regularity throughout its length. The whole is coiled double, and the terminals are sharply bent back for interlocking as shown in the plate. When so coiled and fastened, its external measurement is from 6 to 7 inches across (15 to nearly 18 cm.). Its weight is 3 troy oz. 20 grains, or 94·6065 grammes. The gold is of fine quality, and of a medium 'red' colour.

No. 2. This is a *triple torc*, of a pattern hitherto unknown in prehistoric goldwork. The terminals resemble those of No. 1 in form, but are shorter and slightly thicker, and the body of the torc is formed not of one but of three strands of gold wire, each of triangular section and twisted like that of No. 1, though slightly less regular in thread-interval and diameter, the average of the latter

[2] An account of the inquest held by him at Nancledra on 1 January, 1932, will be found in *The Western Morning News* of the following day.

[3] For prehistoric gold nuggets and nugget-moulds found in Ireland, see E. C. R. Armstrong, *Catalogue of Irish Gold Ornaments, National Museum, Dublin*, 1920, pp. 4–7.

being slightly less than $\frac{1}{8}$ inch. These three strands are gently twined round one another twice, and are welded together at each end to form the terminals, which are bent back for fastening as in No 1. So fastened, the torc measures externally from 4 to $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches across (10·2–11·4 cm.). It weighs just over 3 troy oz. 2 dwt., or 96·5505 grammes. The quality and tint of the gold is the same as in No. 1.

Nos. 3 and 4 are a *pair of bracelets*, perfectly plain, and formed of gold rods, each measuring a little over $\frac{1}{8}$ inch across its circular cross-section, bent into an oval penannular form. The smaller, No. 3, has its ends close together, while the larger, No. 4, has them farther apart. Though undecorated they are excellently finished; each has received careful surface smoothing and a fine polish. They are of slight proportions: both measure well under 3 inches in greatest external width (about 7·3 cm.), and each weighs under 1 troy oz. (No. 3, 28·5115 grammes, No. 4, 29·1595 grammes). The gold of which they are made is of a markedly 'red' colour.

Nos. 5 and 6 are another but *unfinished pair of bracelets*. The surface of both still awaits the removal of roughness and irregularities, and though they were evidently intended to be perfectly plain, like Nos. 3 and 4, the stage of final smoothing and polishing had clearly not been reached when the hoard was deposited. They were to be a larger pair than Nos. 3 and 4—their diameter in cross-section is slightly greater, and though their being bent so that their ends overlap gives them smaller cross-measurements, namely just over and just under $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches (7·1 and 6·75 cm.), they are distinctly heavier. The larger of the two (No. 5) weighs rather more than $1\frac{1}{2}$ troy oz. (47·9512 grammes), while No. 6 weighs about half a troy oz. less (30·7795 grammes). In contrast to Nos. 3 and 4, the gold of both is noticeably pale in colour, showing that some amount of silver is present.

No. 7 is a *bent gold rod of lozenge-shaped section*. It is 14·8 inches (nearly 38 cm.) in total length, and the diagonals of its cross-section are both just over half a cm. The angles of the lozenge become noticeably flattened near the ends, which are themselves slightly rounded off. Bent as found and shown in the Plate, the rod measures from 3 to just over 4 inches across (over 7 to over 10 cm.). Its weight is very little less than that of the triple torc, and it is made of noticeably pale gold. The condition of its surface makes it clear that it is an unfinished piece: all over it minor irregularities await smoothing away, the marks of the goldsmith's hammer are plain to see and all suggestion of a final polish is absent. It is in fact little more than goldsmith's raw material.

No. 8 is a *coiled rod of irregular section*, nearly 9 in. long (22·61 cm.), and roughly $\frac{1}{5}$ inch in average thickness—it weighs over 2 troy oz. (63·503 grammes). It is in an even more unfinished state than No. 7. The entire surface is still rough: hammer-marks are prominent, and nothing like final polishing has been attempted. In this case again the gold employed is of a very distinct paleness.

No. 9, Fig. 1, is a *similar coiled rod*, rather shorter (just over 8 inches; 20·64 cm.), and on the average a little thinner: it thus weighs hardly more than 2 troy oz. (62·858 grammes). Its condition resembles that of No. 8, but is, if anything, rougher.

Origin and date.—The alluvial deposits of gold in the Wicklow district of Eastern Ireland have long been recognized as the chief, if not the only, source of gold in north-western Europe in early times. They have yielded considerable quantities in modern times, and their abundant resources in the prehistoric age must have put them above competition. Small but not altogether insignificant

WEIGHTS.

No. 1	1460 grains	= 94·6065	grammes.
,, 2	1490 ,,	= 96·5505	,,
,, 3	440 ,,	= 28·5115	,,
,, 4	450 ,,	= 29·1595	,,
,, 5	740 ,,	= 47·9512	,,
,, 6	475 ,,	= 30·7795	,,
,, 7	1480 ,,	= 95·9025	,,
,, 8	980 ,,	= 63·5030	,,
,, 9	970 ,,	= 62·8580	,,
Total	8485 ,,	= 549·9222	,,
or 17 troy oz. 8 dwt. 15 grains			

Note.

In weight the pieces will be seen to fall into three groups: (*a*) the torcs 1 and 2, and the raw bar 7 (1460–90 grains), (*b*) the unfinished 8 and 9, perhaps destined for a pair of bracelets (970–80 grains), and (*c*) the two pairs of bracelets 3 and 4, 5 and 6, whose weights are 440–75 grains, save for No. 5: its weight of 740 grains is out of harmony with the others, but it may be remarked that it is exactly half that of the bar No. 7 (1480 grains). These facts may possibly find importance in some future metrological study of prehistoric gold weights in general.

TABLE OF MEASUREMENTS.

——	Total length measured externally.		Length of Terminals.		Diameter of Terminals at ends.		Diameter of cross-section of screw.		Thread-interval.		Average cross-measurements when coiled and fastened.			
											Max.		Min.	
	ins.	cm.	ins.	cm.	ins.	cm.	ins.	cm.	ins.	cm.	ins.	cm.	ins.	cm.
1. Large torc - -	45·65	115·95	1·65 & 1·6	4·19 & 4·06	·18	·46	·125	·32	·061	·152	7	17·8	6	15·2
2. Triple torc - -	18·4 (measured round the spiral)	46·74	1·47 & 1·37	3·64 & 3·48	·187	·635	·122	·31	·059	·15	4·5	11·4	4	10·2
			Diameter of cross-section (average).				External cross-measurements.							
			in.	cm.			in.	Max. cm.			in.	Min. cm.		
3. Finished bracelet, ends close together.	7·7	19·56	·13	·33			2·875	7·3			1·88	4·78		
4. Finished bracelet, ends apart.	7·35	18·67	·13	·33			2·87	7·29			2·05	5·09		
5. Heavier unfinished bracelet.	8·4	21·48	·19	·48			2·78	7·1			2·17	5·5		
6. Lighter unfinished bracelet.	7·6	19·3	·15	·38			2·42	6·75			1·97	4·9		
			Diagonals of cross-section (average).											
7. Bent rod, lozenge section.	14·8	37·88	·22 & ·21	·56 & ·53			·41	10·41			3	7·62		
			Diameters of cross-section (average).											
			ins. Max.	cm.	ins. Min.	cm.								
8. First coiled rod -	8·9	22·61	·23	·58	·19	·48	2·06	5·23			1·8	4·86		
9. Second coiled rod -	8·125	20·64	·20	·51	·18	·455	2·05	5·21			1·9	5·11		

quantities of gold may indeed be recognized as occurring in Cornwall in company with the famous tin ore, just as tin ore also occurs in Wicklow,[4] but though a local origin for gold objects found in Cornwall cannot thus be altogether excluded, yet the unmistakably Irish character of the great majority of all those known, coupled with the distribution of the types in question spread from Ireland over N.W. Europe generally, makes it clear that in Cornwall as elsewhere Ireland may be considered the only really effective source of supply.

Cornwall has, in fact, been in all ages an important point on the Atlantic sea-route between Ireland and the Breton and Biscayan coasts, the Iberian peninsula and the Mediterranean. Her own resources put Spain beside the reckoning as regards Irish gold, but as between Ireland and N.W. France the gold trade had from the beginning of the Bronze Age the peculiar importance for Cornwall of a natural complement to the staple trafficking in Cornish tin. The Early Bronze Age commerce represented by the distribution of Irish gold lunulæ is well known, and has been suitably emphasized in Mr. H. O'N. Hencken's recent book.[5] Similarly in the Late Bronze Age, when the Cornish tin-workings were rising to the peak of importance they attained in the Early Iron Age, such finds as the Morvah hoard of gold bracelets, the great gold loop found near the Lizard, and the bracelet

[4] As Mr. Opie has pointed out to me, quoting a number of references embodied in unpublished work of his own.

[5] *The Archæology of Cornwall and Scilly* (1932), pp. 78–9.

from Tredinney, Sancreed, combine with Irish and other foreign bronze types to emphasize the importance of contemporary gold and tin trading.[6] For the Middle Bronze period, however, roughly datable between 1400 and 1000 B.C., we have not hitherto had much evidence from Cornwall for foreign relations of the same kind, whereas the growing importance of Continental land-routes, which brought Scandinavia into such prominence, evidently opened up a new gold traffic from Ireland across Central and Eastern England, as gold finds of this period show: Cornwall, like Spain and the Pyrenees, thus appears by contrast as a commercial and cultural backwater.[7] The dating of the Towednack hoard will thus be of especial interest, as Mr Hencken has himself pointed out in his preliminary notice of the find,[8] as either confirming or modifying this account of the Bronze Age history of our south-western peninsula. We shall actually find that it is not really discrepant.

The two torcs obviously provide the firmest basis for chronology. The triple torc, indeed, is a variant type which is at present without parallel, but its complexity of structure and fineness of workmanship point to an advanced stage in the development of torc manufacture. The simpler form of the other torc, No. 1, invites a greater abundance of comparative material, and in the detailed studies of gold torcs, each embodying earlier work, contributed successively by Count Olivier Costa de Beauregard,[9] Mr. H. St. George Gray,[10] Mr. O. G. S. Crawford[11] and Mr. E. C. R. Armstrong,[12] this material has been admirably brought together.

The simplest form of torc is the ribbon torc, whose name is self-explanatory: the small hook terminals are very often knobbed, but never bar-shaped as in our examples. They occur plentifully in Ireland, and also in Scotland and England. Though association-evidence is scanty, they were assigned by Montelius to his Third and Fourth or Fifth Bronze Age periods[13]: however, they are clearly the most primitive of the known types of torc, and the important find at Largatreany, Co. Donegal, where several were found with other gold objects including part of a lunula,[14] confirms the notion that they appeared quite early in the Irish Bronze Age—one may guess roughly about 1500 B.C. on the current chronology. As the type appears in bronze in the Wedmore hoard[15] along with 2 palstaves and 2 examples of the later type of torc in cast bronze, which lasted into the late Bronze Age, we must be content to accept the notion that the ribbon torc, though the earliest and most primitive type, enjoyed a long life. But improvements upon it very soon appeared, and these form the Grunty Fen or Yeovil class of torc, which is one of the principal glories of the Middle Bronze Age. These lovely things are formed of two, three, or four long gold ribbons 'sweated' longitudinally together, and ending in great bar-terminals of circular section and slightly conical forms like those of the Towednack torcs. The multiple-ribbon construction presents five, or at least four, variations, whose cross-sections can be diagrammatically represented thus:

(i)  *E.g.* Grunty Fen, Cambs.: Castlemount, Dover, Kent: Ashill, Norfolk: Bittering Common, Norfolk: Stanton, Staffs.: Boyton, Suffolk.

(ii)  *E.g.* Yeovil, Somerset: Allington, Wilts.

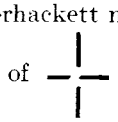
(iii)  *E.g.* both the famous torcs from Tara, Co. Meath: Mullingar, Co. Westmeath: Naas, Co. Kildare: Fresné-la-Mère, Calvados, France.

(iv)  *E.g.* Haxey, Lincs. (given by Crawford as 'Lincolnshire' only).

[6] *Op. cit.*, pp. 92–4.
[7] *Op. cit.*, pp. 81–2.
[8] *Op. cit.*, p. 287.
[9] *Congrès Archéologique de France*, Beauvais 1905 (1906), pp. 285–303.
[10] *Proc. Somerset Arch. & N. H. Soc.* Vol. LV (1909), pp. 66–84.
[11] *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Lond.* (2s.). Vol. XXIV (1912), pp. 39–48.
[12] *Catalogue of Irish Gold Ornaments, National Museum, Dublin* (1920), pp. 20 ff.
[13] *Archæologia*, Vol. LXI, i (1908), pp. 130, 133–4, 141–2.
[14] Armstrong, *op. cit.*, pp. 23–4 (Nos. 39, p. 57; 110–2, p. 64; 455, p. 97).
[15] Evans, *Bronze*, figs. 466–9.

(v)  (or perhaps identical with (iv) really) *e.g.* Kilmutt, Co. Mayo: a torc (Dublin) from Co. Down.

All these examples will be found in Mr. Crawford's and Mr. Armstrong's lists of torcs in the papers quoted above, under their localities, with all references.

It need not be supposed that there is any chronological distinction between these variations of type. The Grunty Fen association with 4 palstaves[16] is a reliable index of the Middle Bronze Age date of the whole class of multiple-ribbon torcs: further the gold 'ring money' associated with the Boyton and Haxey (Lincs) torcs[17] recalls the Stretham find near by, where a 'wreathed torquis of pure gold' (since vanished) was found with a broken Middle Bronze Age rapier and a plain gold bracelet like the Towednack examples, on which was threaded similar 'ring-money.'[18] The same type of plain bracelet with unexpanded ends appears associated with the Beerhackett multiple-ribbon torc,[19] and apparently also in a find at Naas, Co. Kildare, with a torc of  section.[20] Another such bracelet and similar torc together form part of the goldsmith's hoard from Fresné-la-Mère, Calvados, now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (Evans Coll.). The rest of the hoard comprises a bronze hammer and anvil, bronze knives (one of the curved-blade socketed variety), a socketed bronze spearhead, and a bronze tanged 'maple-leaf' razor (Evans, *Bronze*, pp. 375, 180, 182–3, 209). Now all these bronzes are typical of the Late Bronze Age: but in view of the secure Middle Bronze Age associations already recorded for this class of torc and of bracelet, Déchelette was without doubt right in regarding the Fresné gold pieces as survivals, perhaps destined for melting down (*Manuel II*, p. 356). Still, if the Towednack bracelets have a Middle Bronze Age form, we are as yet without parallels to suggest a date for the torcs, which are markedly different from the multiple-ribbon class.

In the same lists of torcs which I have been quoting there appears a third class, twisted from a thin but solid gold rod or wire of square or triangular section. It is to this class, as we have seen, that the Towednack No. 1 torc belongs, and of which the triple torc is a splendid variant. These solid-wire torcs have hitherto been grouped with the multiple-ribbon class, and the current conclusions as to dating have been applied indiscriminately to both: it is accordingly now desirable to see whether separate treatment will afford any different results.

It is necessary first of all to subdivide the class. First we have a group loosely twisted from square rods, usually fairly thick. There are 5 available examples:—

River Medway at Aylesford, Kent.

Two, fairly loosely twisted from thickish rods: the terminals of circular section, but not bent back: ? unfinished or damaged? *Arch. Cant.* IX, p. 2, pl. A: Jessup, *Arch. of Kent* (1930), p. 113, and pl. X.

Gorey, Co. Wexford.

Loosely twisted: the terminals cut off short to form short flat-ended hooks. Armstrong, *op. cit.*, No. 72 (pl. XIII, 97).

Castledermot, Co. Carlow.

Two, loosely twisted, the terminals square in section and not bent back: unfinished appearance. Armstrong, *op. cit.*, Nos. 82–3 (pl. XIII, 105, 110). Found together with 2 flat penannular bands (*ib.*, Nos. 377–8: pl. X, 58–9: cf. p. 45), and a plain bracelet (*ib.* No. 264: pl. XVIII, 376), with very slightly thickened but not expanded terminals, of circular section. *Proc. R. Irish Academy*, VII, p. 132.

The Castledermot association with a plain bracelet suggests a date in the Middle Bronze Age, and that is also the date of the tumulus of La Combe-Bernard, Côte d'Or, France, where a very similar but small-sized torc was found.[21] Further, the famous torc found by Schliemann in the royal treasure

[16] *Cambridge Antiq. Soc. Proc.* Vol. XII (1908), pp. 96 *ff.*

[17] *Brit. Mus. Bronze Age Guide* (1920), pp. 53–5.

[18] *Cambridge Antiq. Soc. Proc.* 1st sec. Vol. II (1853), p. 103: Fox, *Arch. Cambridge Region* (1923), pp. 51, 57; *Brit. Mus. Bronze Age Guide*, pp. 53–4 ("Ely").

[19] *Arch. Journ.* Vol. VII (1850), pp. 64–5.

[20] Armstrong, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

[21] Déchelette, *Manuel II*, p. 151.

of the city of Hissarlik II[22] belongs to the same class: it has fairly short hook-terminals, circular in section. If this were really a piece of Irish goldwork that had somehow reached Hissarlik II before its destruction, it would take the antiquity of the type back nearly to 2000 B.C.; the lack of intermediate examples both in time and space forbids enthusiasm for this idea, but leaves just open the possibility of a Trojan model for the Irish type, for which an Early Bronze Age origin cannot anyhow be disproved at present. Possibly, however, the Hissarlik torc is Transylvanian gold and unconnected with Ireland. At least the Irish type is as old as the multiple-ribbon torcs, and it may be older: whereas they are clearly elaborations of the ribbon-torc, it seems to be a collateral and not an affiliated form. A further testimony to its Middle Bronze Age date in Ireland is the example from Enniscorthy, Co. Wexford,[23] where the rod is untwisted, but the terminals are of the bent-back slightly conical type, as on the multiple-ribbon class; this was found with a large plain bracelet with unexpanded ends,[24] like the Stretham example considered and dated above.

In the second place, we have a class of torcs likewise loosely twisted from rods of triangular section: there are four of these, all from Ireland:—

Athlone, Co. Roscommon.

Very loosely twisted, with small hook-terminals. Armstrong, *op. cit.*, No. 71 (pl. XII, 86).

Ireland, no locality.

A fragment only. *Ib.*, No. 74 (pl. XIII, 104).

Skelly, Drumnakilly, Co. Tyrone.

Fairly loose twist: terminals cylindrical and not bent back. Two small ribbed rings (? 'ring-money,' or fasteners) threaded on it. *Ib.*, No. 81 (pl. XIII, 99).

Coppeen, Co. Cork, in a 'fort.'

Incomplete: torc fairly loosely and irregularly twisted: the terminals as in the Skelly example. *Ib.*, No. 80, pl. XIII, 103.

Associated with this were a plain bracelet (*ib.*, No. 253, pl. XVII, 357), the ends very slightly expanded, and two thick bars or rods, one (*ib.*, No. 456, pl. XIV, 240), thick and of oblong section, bent into a ring, the other (*ib.*, No. 252, pl. XVIII, 395) square in section and irregularly twisted, the ends somewhat expanded. These two would seem to be raw material for bracelets like the unfinished pieces from Towednack, and the whole find[25] likewise suggests a goldsmith's stock. Here we have no examples of the typical Middle Bronze Age bent-back bar-terminals, and the somewhat expanded ends of the Coppeen bracelets suggest the coming of the Late Bronze Age, when expanded ends were the rule. If, indeed, this and the square-rod class be taken together, their chronological centre of gravity should lie in the Middle Bronze Age: though the Coppeen find hints at a somewhat longer life.

Next, two much finer classes of rod or solid-wire torcs confront us, both much more tightly and regularly twisted from slenderer wires, and both with the characteristic bent-back bar-terminals, slightly conical as in the multiple-ribbon class. In the first the wire is square, in the second triangular in section. The first comprises the following[26]:—

Romsey, Hants.—A fine specimen, 3 feet in total length. *Archæologia*, XXXIX, ii, p. 507.

Bryn Shon, Ysceifiog, nr. Holywell, Flints.—Similar but longer still (44 inches). Wheeler, *Prehistoric and Roman Wales*, p. 171.

Near Harlech Castle, Merioneth, and *Above Llyn Gwernan, Brithdir* (on Cader Idris), *Merioneth*. Wheeler, *ib.*, p. 171.

Ireland, no locality (British Museum).

Ireland, no locality.—A fragment only. Armstrong, *op. cit.*, No. 73 (pl. XIII, 95).

France[27]*: St. Leu d'Esserent, Dépt. Oise.*—'Une tige d'or massif à section cruciforme.' Costa de Beauregard, *Congrès archéologique de France*, Beauvais 1905, p. 285 *ff.* (Fig. 1).

Jalligny,[28] *Dépt. Allier* ('au lieu dit le Champ Bonnet, à Marseigne'). St. Germain Museum.

[22] Schliemann, *Ilios*, p. 577, fig. 757; Déchelette, *Manuel II*, p. 355.

[23] Armstrong, *op. cit.*, No. 78 (pl. XII, 87).

[24] *Ib.* No. 79 (pl. XII, 79).

[25] Armstrong, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

[26] The references here given are supplementary to those given by Crawford (*op. cit.*).

[27] Perhaps some of those listed by Crawford, *op. cit.*, p. 48, as from unknown or doubtful sites in France should be added: all are isolated finds.

[28] Misprinted by Crawford as 'Saligny' (*op. cit.*, p. 47).

Like the St. Leu torc, but smaller. Together with it were found the terminal of another torc, a gold bracelet and a piece described as a ' lame d'or enroulée,' both now melted down, and the quarter of a big hemispherical cake of founder's bronze or copper, a typically Late Bronze Age object. Déchelette, *Manuel*, II, App. i, 1. Costa de Beauregard, *op. cit.*, pp. 292–3.

Carcassonne, Dépt. Aude. Evans Coll., Ashmolean Museum.

Found with six small gold earrings, twisted like the torc from wire of square section, but of course without terminals. Costa de Beauregard, *op. cit.*, p. 295. For such earrings see Armstrong, *op. cit.*, pp. 38, 87: they have not at present been more closely dated than the torcs.

The similar class of torcs twisted from wires of triangular section comprises the following, all from Ireland:—

Athlone, Co. Roscommon.—With fine bar-terminals. Armstrong, *op. cit.*, No. 70 (pl. XII, 85).

Ireland, no locality.—Fragment, the terminals missing. Armstrong, *op. cit.*, No. 67 (pl. XII, 88).

Ireland, no locality.—This piece is peculiar in having small hook-terminals instead of bar-terminals. Armstrong, *op. cit.*, No. 69 (pl. XII, 84).

The Towednack torcs complete the available list of this class. These two classes of slender, tightly-twisted solid-wire torcs may clearly be taken together as contemporary variants of a single type. It is remarkable that the only associated finds other than Towednack come from France, and there the only definite context is Late Bronze Age, for the Jalligny cake is unmistakable. Now of course the Jalligny gold, like that of Fresné-la-Mère, may possibly be a Middle Bronze Age survival. But while the Grunty Fen type to which the Fresné torc belongs has the Middle Bronze Age securely fixed as its proper date, these solid-wire torcs have no associations of the kind. And the Late Bronze date demanded by Jalligny is supported by typology, for the solid-wire torc clearly represents a culminating stage in the history of its class: it ought thus to be a Late Bronze Age form, being a refinement of the older loosely-twisted thick-rod types, which we have seen to be mainly at least Middle Bronze Age products, whether or no they began earlier or lasted a little later. It is also a technical improvement on the multiple-ribbon torc, a fine feat of craftsmanship, but difficult and inevitably weaker than the solid forms.

The new type in fact gained in elegance and strength by combining features from each of its predecessors. This typological contention may be coupled with the absence of all Middle Bronze Age associations, to strengthen the evidence of the Jalligny hoard for a Late Bronze Age dating of the type; and if a further argument be wanted, it is surely supplied by the Towednack hoard itself, in the character of the triple torc. Its three twining stems, so slender and so ingeniously welded, make it a clever and delightful, but finicky piece of work, quite out of harmony with the grander beauty of the Grunty Fen torc and its kinsmen, where a laborious technique is used to produce an effect of perfect simplicity. The whole of the slender solid-wire group must, in fact, belong to a somewhat later age than these. But the terminals emphasize their inheritance of the same tradition: the big, slightly conical bar-form is normally the rule, and the only exceptions are some cases of hook terminals, recalling the primitive ribbon and solid-rod types. By the end of the Middle Bronze Age these had also become regular features of the derivative class of bronze bracelets, where torsion was imitated in solid casting, a technique more appropriate to the harder and brittler metal, and in the Late Bronze Age at the height of its development.

But the Towednack torcs cannot be relegated to the Late Bronze Age without further qualification. Not only do they represent, in their way, a Middle Bronze Age tradition, they represent a native tradition which came to be swamped in the unrest and confusion of the Late Bronze Age, with its invasions and imported novelties, already represented in the Fresné artificer's equipment of bronzes. By the beginning of the 7th century B.C., obscurer movements into South-eastern Britain had culminated in those of the Deverel-Rimbury Urnfield people, and an offshoot of these newcomers was settling in West Cornwall and dominating or at least mingling with the old inhabitants.[29] Ireland herself can hardly have escaped immigration, and whatever its effect upon her racial complexion, there are many new elements in the metal types of her Late Bronze Age which lasted seemingly undisturbed until the coming of the Celts of La Tène culture towards the end of the

[29] Hencken, *Arch. of Cornwall and Scilly*, pp. 94–7.

pre-Christian era. In particular as regards gold, torcs in the old tradition seem to die out: bracelets regularly grow expanded ends, and blossom into the distinctive cup-ended and disc-ended types. The old plain-ended bracelet was evidently superseded: the great Clare find of 1854[30], the largest hoard of prehistoric gold known in all Western Europe, is characterized throughout by expanded ends, though there are many gradations down to quite slightly expanded examples, resembling those already noticed as indicating the arrival of the Late Bronze Age in the Coppeen hoard.

It is after these Late Bronze Age characters have become fully established in the west that we must date the various other finds of Irish gold in Cornwall, which emphasize the renewed commercial activity of the second quarter of the first millennium B.C. Among these (noticed above, p. 181) the bracelets in the Morvah hoard best point the contrast with Towednack by their expanded and cup-shaped terminals. Our gold treasure belongs to an earlier date than this.

The period to which it belongs is, in fact, now fairly clearly indicated by the foregoing considerations. It must fall after the passing of the settled western Middle Bronze Age, with its technique and traditions, had begun. It must correspond to the westward advance of the various elements of Late Bronze Age culture. But it must precede their full establishment both in Ireland and Cornwall. It belongs, in other words, to the period 1000–750 B.C. on current chronology. Closer dating is manifestly impossible at present. My purely personal preference is for a date rather nearer the lower than the upper limit, but I think there is really nothing in it. For reasoned dating, two hundred and fifty years is close enough, at all events in a case like this of the Towednack treasure. It may be that one day systems of field-banks like that here involved as explained above will become amenable to closer dating in various districts, of which West Cornwall might well be one. If so, the importance of the Towednack discovery will be materially increased. But meanwhile we may be content to leave it in the transition of the Atlantic lands from Middle to Late Bronze Age culture: marking a renewal, perhaps, in the Irish-Cornish gold and tin trade, pointing a date, probably, in the chronology of British agriculture, and displaying the raw, half-worked, and finished stock-in-trade of a prehistoric goldsmith who, if he was the maker of the two torcs, has to his credit at least one unique piece of craftsmanship.

CHRISTOPHER HAWKES.

Technology: Flint Daggers. **Clark.**

Note on some Flint Daggers of Scandinavian Type from the British Isles. *By J. G. D. Clark.*

223 On March 23rd, 1914, Mr. H. H. Halls exhibited specimen No. 1 before the Prehistoric Society of East Anglia at Norwich (*P.P.S.E.A.*, vol. I, p. 490), and a photograph appeared in the Proceedings (vol. I., pl. CXXV.). The present illustration is from the original, now in Norwich Castle Museum (No. 83.24), by the generosity of Mr. Halls. In form the handle resembles closely an advanced type of the Scandinavian flint dagger. It is clearly defined from the blade and shows lateral projections at the butt end. The blade, of which the tip is missing, is curiously stumpy and asymmetric, which led Mr. Halls to describe it in the underline of his plate as a 're-chipped dagger of Scandinavian type.' Yet close examination of the original has convinced me that, except for the extreme tip, the dagger has never been substantially larger. The blank zone seen on one face of the blade represents part of the original flake surface. Such being the case it is clear from the side view that the implement was never much larger. The secondary work has been largely executed by the pressure technique as the ripple marks on the flake scars testify. The flint is of a cloudy grey colour and is quite glossy, the state of preservation suggesting a 'breckland' provenance. In point of fact it was found on the surface at Rushford, Norfolk. Mr. Halls tells me that the late W. G. Clarke always took a great interest in the stone and was fully satisfied that it was in fact a genuine local find.

The splendid dagger No. 2 shows a narrow and clearly defined handle, which for the last 1½ inches of its length is considerably thicker than the blade. Except for slight damage producing a notch

[30] Armstrong, *op. cit.*, p. 14 *ff.*

on one edge of the blade and a blunting of the tip, the implement is complete. A vestige of the original striking platform may be seen at the butt-end, and is indicated in the side section. The side edges of the handle show signs of slight rubbing designed to blunt them for the hand. The secondary flaking is mainly of the pressure variety, especially on the blade, which shows the characteristic ripple marks. On the right-hand side of the face figured this pressure flaking has been especially well controlled to produce a sequence of narrow parallel flake scars. The flint is well preserved and shows the brownish tinge so typical of specimens from the Fen country. This beautiful dagger, which would pass unremarked in a Scandinavian collection, was brought to the Cambridge University Museum of Archæology and Ethnology in 1926, together with other surface flints of similar preservation, all of which were found in West Row Fen, near Mildenhall, Suffolk. The museum number is 26.148.

The late Dr. Sturge always claimed to have found fragments of Danish dagger-handles in the neighbourhood of North Stow, Suffolk (*P.P.S.E.A.*, II, pp. 546–7). Many, however, of the pieces set apart by him as of this character have appeared to the present writer to represent fragments of other types, such as fabricators, chisels and celts. Yet one at least among them, actually from Culford, illustrated by our Fig. 3, shows every indication of being in fact a section from the handle of such a dagger as our Fig. 2 on a rather larger scale. Indeed, the character of the edges seen in the side-views, together with the fine flaking of both faces, make such an interpretation the only reasonable one available. The importance of this will be discussed later: meanwhile attention is drawn to the character of the implement into which this fragment of dagger-handle has been converted. Briefly, it is one of the finest double facetted *bec de flûte* burins that one could imagine. Finally, we must point out that certain prominences on the burin facets have themselves been removed by grinding, such areas being indicated on the figure by the letter 'P.' This flint is therefore remarkable on three separate counts—as a fragment of a dagger of Scandinavian type found at Culford, Suffolk: as a tangible proof that the burin technique survived into at least late Neolithic times; and, finally, as a burin showing polished or ground facets. The flint is moderately smooth, well preserved, unpatinated, and dark grey in colour.

The dagger illustrated in Fig. 4 is roughly intermediate in form between Figs. 2 and 5. The handle is defined from the narrow blade fairly markedly, being narrower and thicker in section. The side edges of the handle towards the butt-end and the butt itself are blunted by rubbing. This is especially marked on prominences. The secondary flaking seems to be largely of the pressure type. The technique resembles closely that seen on Fig. 2. A small piece is missing at the tip of the blade. The surface of the flint is smooth and glossy and the whole is tinted a faint brownish colour, which is only really perceptible in a local area where very slight patination has set in. The flint is now in the Colchester and Essex Museum (No. 3372.15). It came to the museum from the collection of the late Rev. Kenworthy, of Braintree. Kenworthy's label tells us that the flint was an Essex find, locality unknown. The authorities of Colchester Museum inform me that Kenworthy 'was a local collector only, and it is improbable that he would buy from dealers.' It is to be feared that we shall never get nearer the truth as there seems no chance now of discovering from whom the flint was originally obtained. Yet it is unlikely that Kenworthy, who was no mere collector, would have labelled it 'Essex' without some reason.

The small dagger, of which an outline and longitudinal section are given in Fig. 5, is now in Norwich Castle Museum (No. 22, 7408). The handle is defined from the blade by a slight constriction in plan and a considerable thickening in section. The butt-end of the handle and the edges for nearly an inch on each side show considerable rubbing, presumably to blunt them. The flint is pale grey in colour with the faintest suspicion of a yellowish tint, due to staining, towards the butt-end: it is otherwise perfectly fresh and well preserved. The flint once formed part of the Beloe Collection formed at King's Lynn. Most unfortunately it is quite unlabelled, though it is almost certainly a Norfolk find. Typologically it is, of course, Scandinavian. From the character of the collection of which it formed part it is most unlikely to be a foreign find.

The flint dagger, of which Fig. 6 is an outline, was exhibited before the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland in 1895 by Robert Day, F.S.A., a vice-president. An excellent photograph may be found in vol. XXV, p. 176, of the *Journal* of that society. It is reproduced in Macalister's 'Ireland in

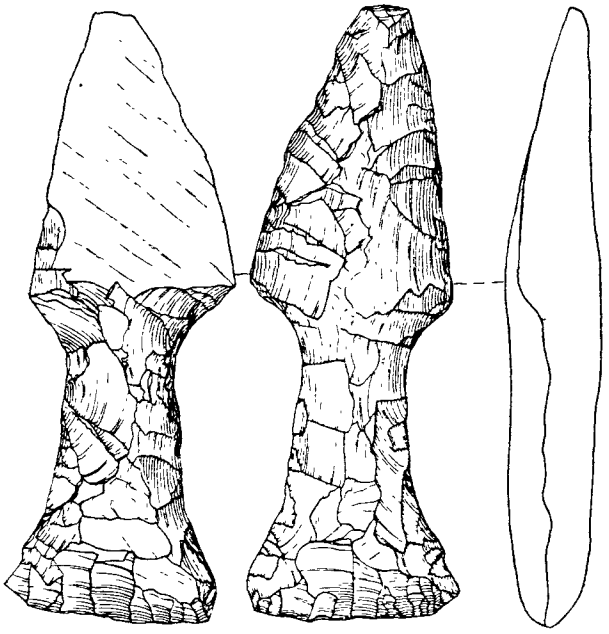


FIG. 1.

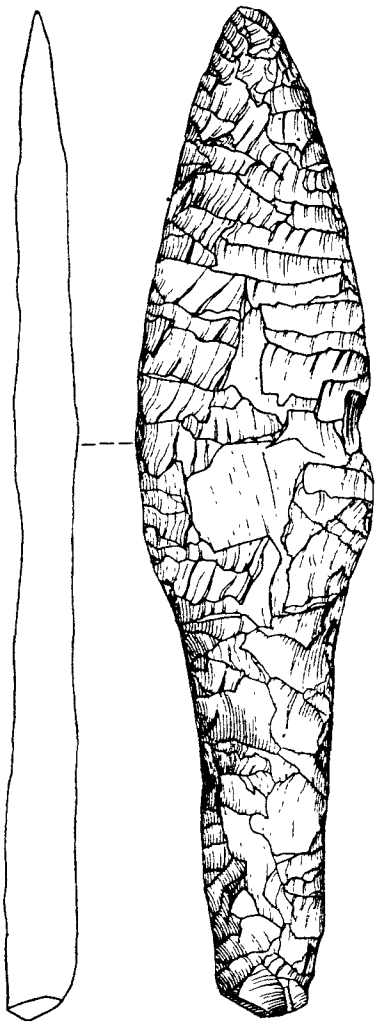


FIG. 2.

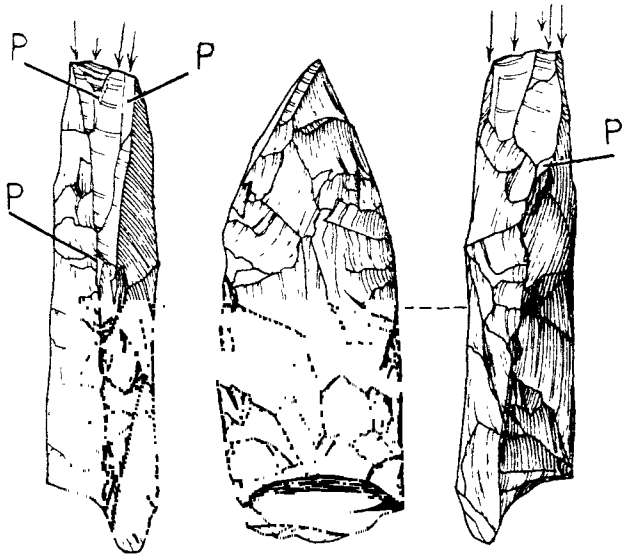


FIG. 3.

FIG. 1.—FLINT DAGGER FROM RUSHFORD, NORFOLK. *Norwich Castle Museum* (83.24).
FIG. 2.—FLINT DAGGER FROM WEST ROW FEN, NEAR MILDENHALL, SUFFOLK. *Cambridge University Museum* (26.148).
FIG. 3.—FLINT IMPLEMENT FROM CULFORD, SUFFOLK.

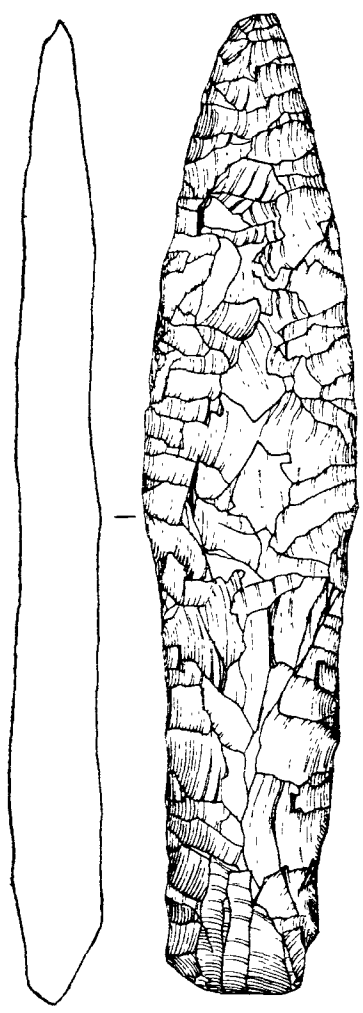


FIG. 4.

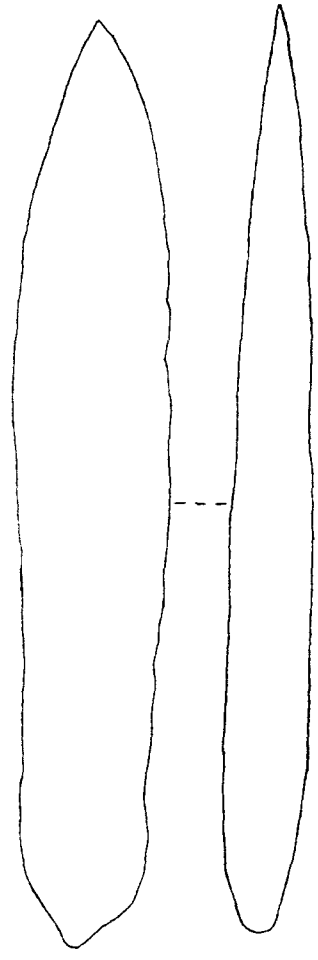


FIG. 5.

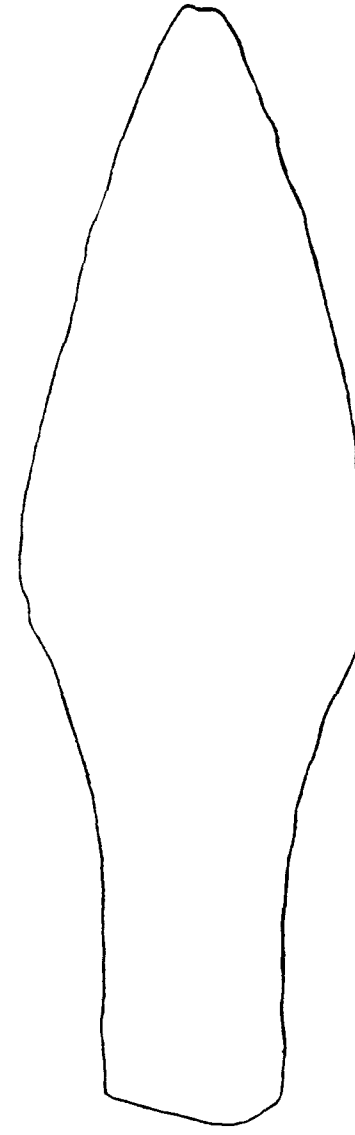


FIG. 6.

FIG. 4.—FLINT DAGGER FROM KENWORTHY COLLECTION. *Colchester and Essex Museum* (3372.15)
FIG. 5.—FLINT DAGGER FROM BELOE COLLECTION. *Norwich Castle Museum* (22.7408).
FIG. 6.—FLINT DAGGER FROM SCARRIFF, COUNTY CLARE. *J. R. Soc. Ant., Ireland*, XXV, 176.

Pre-Celtic Times,' Fig. 11A. Day describes it as having been " dug up from the bottom of a dried-up " lake at Scarriff, in the county Clare, by John O'Brien, a peasant farmer, who lives near Tullow." The handle is well defined from the blade, of which the extreme tip is missing. The flint itself is of grey colour, and Day claims it as " altogether foreign to the South of Ireland." Whether or not this is the case it is quite certain that typologically the dagger is quite un-Irish, standing out all the more as the beaker type of flint dagger is absent from the country. Day recognized it quite rightly as being of Scandinavian type. Of the authenticity of the find there seems no reasonable ground for doubt; the circumstances of finding are quite explicit.

Of all the pieces described and illustrated in this note it can be said that their form proclaims them to belong to the Scandinavian tradition: from the normal British types they stand out as uncompromisingly alien. The question which calls for discussion is how far their provenances may be considered reliable. As is well known, American Indian flints have found their way into our museums as local surface finds before now. Again, many collectors purchase foreign flints, which later, in the hands of dealers, may blossom forth with a local label, and so find their way into museums to deceive the searcher after truth. Yet it may be said at once of the specimens here described, that, though unusual in this country, they are rather poor and small examples of the Scandinavian dagger. The collector buying for specimens would be more likely to select larger and finer implements. This argument becomes all the more effective when applied to Fig. 3, a mere fragment of the handle of a dagger. But all this leaves out of account the fact that we have in some cases at least strong positive evidence for believing the specimens to be in fact of local provenance. It so happens that this evidence is strongest in the case of the most remote and unexpected of the finds, that from county Clare. The evidence, as recounted by Day, is about as circumstantial as one could wish for. That a collector's piece should have found its way into the hands of old John O'Brien, the peasant farmer ' who lives ' near Tullow ' is unlikely; that it should have found its way into the bottom of a dried-up lake at Scarriff is still more improbable. Day's account is rather unbalanced, but we have no good reason for doubting his honesty. In the case of the Rushford dagger we have the testimony of Halls and the late W. G. Clarke, both of whom have satisfied themselves of its local provenance: we have remarked on our own behalf that the preservation and appearance of the flint are quite consistent with its being found in breck country. Again, the West Row Fen dagger was brought in with a number of flints from the same locality and agrees in its preservation entirely with a fenland provenance. The Culford fragment was presumably found either by Dr. Sturge himself or by one of his immediate helpers, and, in any case, would hardly have attracted the ignorant collector. With the Essex example we are on more doubtful ground, though, on the evidence at our disposal, one is, I think, justified in including it in this note. The small dagger from the Beloe collection must always remain doubtful, though even here we can truly say that the flint is more likely an English find than not, and, if so, probably a Norfolk one.

The subject of our relations with Scandinavia in Neolithic times treated of by R. A. Smith (*Archæologia*, vol. 72, and *P.P.S.E.A.*, III) is not one into which I propose to enter here, except to point out that the occasional discovery of flint daggers of Scandinavian type in this country should occasion no real surprise. After all we have the West Hartlepool pottery of pure passage grave type (Black Gate Museum, Newcastle, and *P.P.S.E.A.*, III, p. 25, pl. I). Numerous flint celts of Scandinavian type exist in our museums with local provenances, though it is usually difficult to get behind their labels!

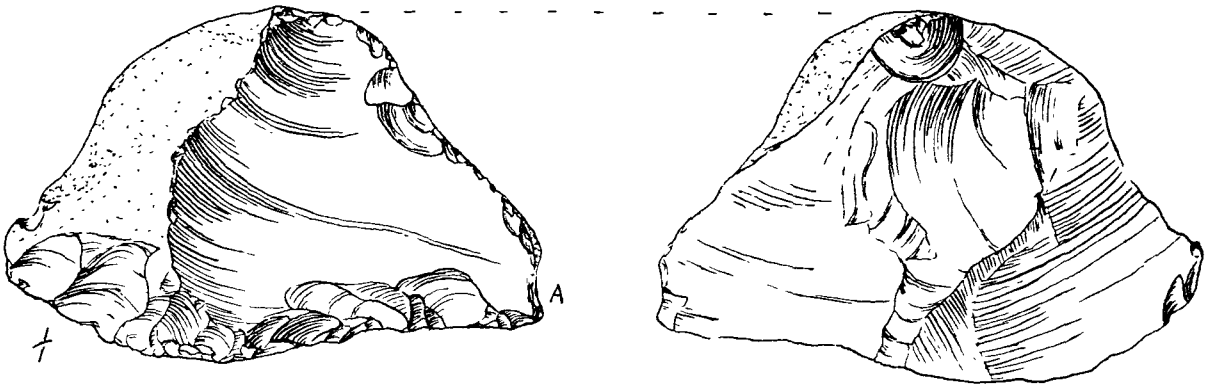
J. G. D. CLARK.

Technology. **Burkitt.**

Eoliths: A Test Specimen. *By M. C. Burkitt, F.S.A.*

224 The specimen here figured can well be used as a test by those who are still doubtful about the existence of artifacts in Tertiary times. There is no doubt as to where the implement came from—the lower channel at Bolton's Pit, Ipswich: not only are there traces of the material in which it had been embedded still adhering to the specimen, but, further, the patina is typically that

found on objects from this bed. The age of the bed is undoubted : no geologist has hesitated in assigning to it a late Pliocene date.



As to the chipping, it should be noted that the under surface is a flake-surface with bulb and bulbar scar: the upper surface shows primary flaking also, the direction of the blows being the same as that which formed the flake-surface below. The working edge is convex and is formed by fine trimming (secondary working), the blows being struck *at right angles* to those which formed the primary flake-scars. At A the secondary working has determined a sort of small rudimentary awl. During the period of the Congress the specimen will be placed in a showcase in the Museum of Archæology and Ethnology at Cambridge.

M. C. BURKITT.

Scotland : Archæology. **Childe.**

Age of Skara Brae. *By Prof. V. Gordon Childe, F.S.A.*

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The age of the prehistoric village of Skara Brae in Orkney, the excavation of which has received considerable press publicity in recent years, was regrettably difficult to determine: the only definite statement I was able to make from the archæological evidence was that the village was not contemporary with the brochs, and even this statement has been questioned. Recently, some fresh data has come into the hands of Prof. D. M. S. Watson, who very kindly examined the animal bones from Skara Brae and now permits me to mention the following facts. He has lately received a collection of cattle-bones from the broch of Akerness, in Orkney. These he finds agree essentially with those of Celtic cattle from Early Iron Age sites in southern England and are absolutely distinct from those found by me at Skara Brae. He considers it highly improbable that two such different breeds of cattle could have subsisted side by side on so small an island under primitive conditions.

Now, Prof. Watson's attribution of the broch cattle to the same breed as those from Early Iron Age sites in England is in striking harmony with the archæological evidence showing that the broch relics agree in principle with those from sites like Glastonbury (*vide* my 'Skara Brae,' p. 162). The broch-folk, then, presumably brought herds of their Celtic cattle with them to Orkney together with other elements of La Tène culture. But Mr. J. H. Craw, the excavator, tells me that the bones in question come from a secondary occupation of the broch well in the Roman period. It would then be difficult to understand how the Celtic cattle, in view of the apparent stability of the type (Watson, in 'Skara Brae,' p. 202), should have been supplanted by an entirely different breed, not descended from them (*ibid.*) in the five centuries that are the most that can be assigned to any interval between the secondary occupation of the brochs and the advent of the first Norse colonists. Skara Brae being admittedly pre-Norse, it seems more than ever likely that it should be regarded as pre-broch also, as I tentatively suggested before the new evidence came to light. Additional support for this view is provided by Mr. A. O. Curle's discovery, near Sunburgh Head, in Shetland, of buildings rather analogous to mine, in which socketted celts and slashing swords were still being cast in bronze. (*Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, lxvi, p. 120.)

V. GORDON CHILDE.

Africa : Prehistory. **Hopwood.**

The Age of "Oldoway Man." *By A. Tindell Hopwood, M.Sc., F.L.S.* (*Published by permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.*)

226 Ol Gedju Olduvai*, the River of the Wild Sisal, is the name given by the Masai to a deep gorge which cuts into the eastern margin of the Serengetti Plains. The gorge extends in a roughly S.E.–N.W. direction for nearly twenty miles, and its mouth lies in approximately 3° S., and 35° 25′ E. The steep cliffs on either side expose a complete section through four conformable beds of water-laid tuffs, which have been faulted and eroded, and then covered unconformably by a complex of loess followed by a layer of calcrete, or steppe-lime. Underlying the tuff is a flow of basaltic lava thirty feet thick.

Bed I, at the base, consists of about 120 feet of silvery-grey tuffs with yellow pumiceous layers, and, in certain horizons, numerous concretions. There is practically no contamination by non-volcanic material. Occasional pebble beds occur.

Bed II is generally of a buff colour. It is 30 to 40 feet thick, more compact and earthy than Bed I, and contains pebbles of lava at two horizons at least.

Bed III is distinguished by its bright red colour. It is close-grained, with occasional layers of pebbles and gravel. The weathered surface is very hard and cindery under foot, and the bed often forms vertical cliffs.

Bed IV is grey, or brownish. Near the top are coarser layers representing shoal conditions or even periods of comparative dryness.

After the deposition of Bed IV the whole series was fractured, as is shown by a series of step-faults which have an eastern throw. Next followed a period of erosion during which the first valley was cut. This was shallow, with gently sloping sides. During a subsequent arid period the loess-like Bed V was formed and covered the sub-aqueous beds discordantly. Then the valley was rejuvenated, and the present gorge came into existence.

The faulting in this region was purely tensional, the blocks of strata between the faults being tilted, some to the east and some to the west, and their edges eroded, so that the deeper beds II and III came to lie immediately below the loess and steppe-lime. Near the eastern edge of one of these

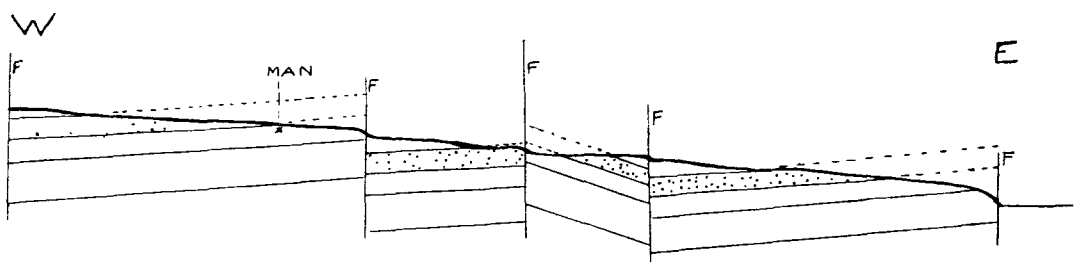


FIG. 1. DIAGRAMMATIC SECTION ALONG THE OLDUVAI GORGE. BED III IS DOTTED, AND PROVIDED WITH AIR-LINES. BED V AND THE STEPPE-LIME ARE REPRESENTED BY THE THICKNESS OF THE LINE AT GROUND-LEVEL. F. F. FAULTS.

blocks, at a point 12 to 13 feet below the level of the plain, the 'Oldoway Man' was found by Professor Hans Reck of the University of Berlin. The horizon in which it lay was Bed II; just below, and in the same bed, were remains of *Elephas antiquus recki*.

Professor Reck (1914, a, b) claimed that this skeleton was of the same Middle Pleistocene age as the numerous other fossils found in Beds I–IV, and, indeed, that it was actually deposited with them in Bed II. This opinion was not accepted. Some authors maintained that it was an intrusive burial of much later date, whilst various theories were put forward by others (*cf.* Leakey, 1931, p. 15).

* The spelling is phonetic; hence the British 'Olduvai' and the German 'Oldoway.'

Examination of the site in 1931 confirmed the observation that the bed in which the skeleton lay was, undoubtedly, Bed II. The cliff at that point shows the full thickness of Bed I followed by Bed II, which is reddish in colour at the top. Over the red top of Bed II lies a narrow band, a few inches thick only, of bright red material, the residuum of Bed III. This material is sharply demarcated from the reddish top of II, and forms a continuous conglomeratic layer. It is succeeded by a softer, but still hard bed, the loess-like Bed V, here locally compacted, and by the steppe-lime. Direct evidence bearing on the question of an intrusive burial was not found: for that had been destroyed in the original exhumation, and must now be sought in the original descriptions by Professor Reck. Since there seems to be some danger of Reck's statements being overlooked, the relevant extracts are here reproduced in full.

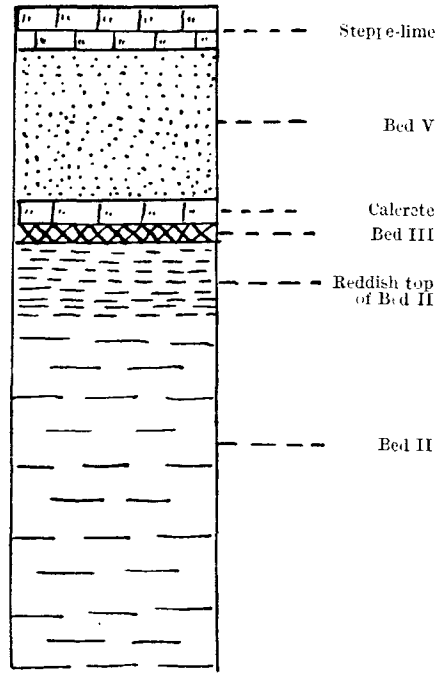


FIG. 2. DETAILS OF THE SECTION AT "MAN SITE." THIS IS DRAWN TO SHOW THE SUCCESSION OF BEDS, AND IS NOT TO SCALE.

"Der Menschengraben selbst zeigte das Skelet noch in "völligem, wenn auch teilweise etwas verschobenem und "verdrücktem Zusammenhang, in horizontaler Lage, völlig "parallel den Schichtfugen des Gesteins in diesem eingebettet, "genau wie dies auch bei sämtlichen Tierfunden der Fall war." (1914a, p. 90.)

"Wie ich schon in meinem ersten Bericht betonte, zeigte "die Schicht, in der der Mensch ohne Beigabe jeglicher "Manufakte eingebettet lag, keine Spur einer Störung, "die Stelle erschien genau wie jede beliebige andere des "Schichthorizontes, so dass jeder Anhaltspunkt zur Annahme "einer zugeschütteten Höhlung, also eines Grabes fehlt." (1914b, p. 310.)

"Geologisch gesprochen bedeutet ein Grab die Unterbrechung des natürlichen Schichtverbandes durch Aushub. ". . . Wird bei der Grabeinfüllung aber das Entstehen der Schüttungsschichtung etwa durch "Feststampfen des Bodens u. dgl. verundeutlicht oder verhindert, so bleibt doch noch ein zweites "Merkmal des künstlichen Eingriffes: Die Durchmischung des Aushubmaterials. Eine solche "müsste hier besonders deutlich gewesen sein. Das Skelett lag in einer roten Bank. Darüber "folgten nur matte Erdfarben von gelbbraun bis graubraun. Besonders aber die harte Kalkbank, "die nur zu festen weissen Brocken zerfallen oder zerschlagen worden sein konnte. Jedoch wurde "keine Spur solcher Farbmischungen, keinerlei Deckenkalkbeimengungen beim Skelett gefunden, "weder beim Überblick über die ganze Fundstelle und ihre Grenzen im Oldoway selbst, noch auch "bei der späteren Einzeluntersuchung seiner ursprünglichen Gesteinhülle, in der das Skelett nach "Deutschland gebracht worden war. Auch im Überblick über die Talhänge des Oldoway zeigte "die so starke und deutliche Schichtung des gesamten Schichtpaketes an der Fundstelle keinerlei "Unterbrechung oder sonstige auffällige Eigenheiten, wie sie etwa in der Bewachsung, Böschung, "Bodenfarbe und Zusammensetzung hätte vermutet werden können." (1926, pp. 85–6.)

"Die Matrix ist ein ziemlich mürbes, bröckeliges Gestein von rötlichem fast noch erdigem "Aussehen. . . . Das Sediment . . . ist derart beschaffen, dass die künstliche Unterbrechung der Schicht mit ihren Schichtstreifen durch das Graben einer Grabgrube notwendig "und mit genügender Sicherheit zu erkennen gewesen wäre. Die Grubenwand einerseits hätte "eine Grenzfläche, eine Fuge im Profil als Trennung gegen das unberührte Nachbargestein hinterlassen müssen, die Grubenfüllung andererseits sollte eine abweichende Struktur sowohl wie eine "heterogene Stoffmischung aller Aushubsprodukte, unter denen besonders der der hangende "Steppenkalk leicht festzustellen gewesen wäre, haben erwarten lassen. Beides ist trotz der "grossen Aufmerksamkeit die diesen Fragen sofort geschenkt wurde, nicht der Fall gewesen. Das "Gestein unmittelbar am Skelett war vielmehr von den der näheren Umgebung der Schicht weder

" nach Farbe, Härte, Dichte des Lagerung, Struktur oder Zusammensetzung zu unterschieden." (Unpublished MSS.)

It is clear that Professor Reck, when he found the skeleton, thought it possible that he might be dealing with an intrusive burial, that he was careful to look for evidence of this, and that he failed to find it.

The geological evidence obtainable in the field is limited to the identification of the horizon of the skeleton as Bed II: to confirming the presence of the overlying bright red layer, the residuum of Bed III: and to establishing the fact that Bed V has a hard layer of calcrete, both above and below. The slope is covered by rubble from Beds III and V in such a manner that it is difficult to see how a shallow grave could be dug and filled again without including some of this rubble. The reddish colour of the matrix is against the theory that any inclusions of Bed III would have been decolorised by decomposition products.

Another piece of evidence is furnished by the published figures (Reck, 1914a, pls. ii, iii) of the skeleton *in situ*. This shows it to have been lying on the right side, in a contracted position, with both arms flexed to bring the hands to the region of the neck. The present inhabitants of the country, the Masai, rarely bury their dead, but the procedure when they do so is to place the contracted body on the left side, with the left hand close in front of the head, and the right arm with the upper part resting on the trunk, whilst the fore-arm is extended at right angles so that the hand rests on the ground. Then the shallow grave (about one metre deep) is filled with stones and earth, and the whole stamped down to keep hyænas from abstracting the body (Merker, 1910). This difference in posture, and the absence of stones, seems to prove that, despite physical resemblances (Gieseler & Mollison, 1929), the skeleton is not that of a Masai.

If this conclusion is correct, we may pass on to another line of thought which is, frankly, of a more speculative character. It is speculative for two reasons: first, we know little or nothing of the history of the Masai: and, second, we can only guess at the rate of recession of the sides of the gorge.

As regards the first, Merker (1910) places the incursion of the Masai to Africa at a date not later than the fourth Egyptian dynasty. Sir Charles Eliot (1905) says, " they must have been a long " time in their present haunts, and have lost all trace of their origin." The pedigrees of their ' medicine men,' or Ol oiboni, go back about two hundred years, and that is as far as we can definitely trace their history.

The rate of recession of the sides of the gorge is comparatively slow, for sticks inserted to support a grass screen in 1913 were still in position in 1931, whereas the edge of the lower layer of calcrete, which incorporates the residuum of Bed III, was only eighteen inches to two feet from the same spot.

Assume, then, that the Masai entered the country not more than two hundred and fifty years ago: at that period the place where the skeleton lay would certainly have been covered by the lower hard layer, which is ten to twelve inches thick, and any burials by earlier inhabitants would have had to be made through that layer, unless, indeed, they tunnelled in from the side. Modern Kikuyu, working at their own speed with heavy crowbars, failed to dig a hole two feet square and three feet deep through similar material, although they were two days on the job. It does not seem reasonable to suppose that other tribes with native tools would be more successful. Nor does it seem a proper assumption to make, that the corpse was placed at the end of a tunnel which was then blocked with earth. It would appear that the onus of proof lies on those who might wish to make such a suggestion.

If, then, two premises be conceded: first, that the Masai have inhabited the country for two hundred and fifty years; and, second, that the erosion is of the order of three feet in the same time; it is evident that the skeleton is not likely to have reached the spot where it was found by subsequent burial. Actually the erosion is much more rapid than is assumed; it is probably ten feet in a century, but of that there is no direct proof. Any rate of erosion quicker than that assumed increases the difficulties to be overcome by the pre-Masai in making an intrusive burial.

In conclusion, it would seem to follow from the original evidence of Professor Reck that the

skeleton lay in undisturbed sediment without trace of foreign matter. The ethnological evidence appears to show that, despite physical resemblances, the skeleton is not of the Masai, who inhabit the country to-day. Geological evidence shows that the bed in which the skeleton was found is Bed II, and that in pre-Masai days the actual part of the bed was in such a position that it was inaccessible to a tribe armed only with native tools. Hence the conclusion of my colleagues and myself that the skeleton was enclosed in Bed II before that bed was covered by later deposits: and in that sense we regard the skeleton as contemporary with Bed II.

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A. T. HOPWOOD.

Metallurgy. **Rickard.**

The Falmouth Ingot of Tin. *By T. A. Rickard, D.Sc.*

The accompanying photograph of the so-called 'astragalos' ingot I owe to the courtesy of Mr. George Penrose, the Secretary of the Royal Institution of Cornwall. The object itself is in the museum of the Institution at Truro. The weight of it is 159½ pounds, but a piece of one of the

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arms was taken for assay, therefore it is probable that originally it weighed a little more than 160 pounds. When discovered, the ingot was supposed to be silver, but the assay proved that it was metallic tin. It was found in 1823 during dredging operations, the purpose of which was to obtain sand from a bank opposite St. Mawes, at the entrance of Falmouth Harbour.

Evidently it had been submerged for a long time; the convex, or under, side is much corroded in spots, which, when the ingot was brought to the surface, contained crystals of tin salts. In the lower right corner of the ingot as shown in the photograph there is to be seen a stamp, or trade-mark, representing itself in miniature. One side is convex, and the general shape is well adapted for conveyance by two men, for transport in a boat, or for carriage on a horse.

The ingot has been supposed to be of the astragalos, or knuckle-bone, type, such as Diodorus mentions in his reference to the ancient tin-trade of Britain, a trade conducted mainly on the island of Ictis, which has been identified with St. Michael's Mount, off the southern coast of Cornwall, and only 20 miles west of Falmouth. As a supposed Phœnician relic it has been claimed to support the fanciful stories concerning the remote antiquity of the Zimbabwe ruins in Southern Rhodesia. These are known now, thanks to Dr. Randall-MacIver and Miss Caton-Thompson, to be no older than about A.D. 1200, therefore any resemblance between this ingot and a mould found by Theodore Bent at Zimbabwe, serves now only to throw doubt upon the extreme (B.C.) antiquity of the Cornish relic. It is not a knuckle-bone in shape, we have no evidence of a Phœnician origin, but it is an old and interesting relic from the days when Cornwall was an important source of tin.

In one of the paintings on the walls of the Royal Exchange building in the City of London there is a picture, by Sir Frederick Leighton, of the Phœnicians trading with the ancient Britons: and among the articles of trade there is depicted in a corner of the painting a little heap of ingots having the shape of the one found in Falmouth Harbour. The ingots are badly done, because the artist had little feeling for metal; they look wooden, and their unreality is in keeping with the myth they signify.

T. A. RICKARD.

ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE: PROCEEDINGS.

Ordinary Meeting.

228 **The Oldoway Expedition.** *By A. T. Hopwood, M.Sc.*, 21 *June*, 1932. This paper is printed in full above. (MAN, 1932, 226.)

Annual Meeting. 28 *June*, 1932.

229 The Report of the Council, Treasurer's Report and Statement of Accounts were received and adopted: these will be printed in full in the *Journal*. The Officers and Council for 1932–33 were duly elected.

The Rivers Memorial Medal was presented to Captain M. W. Hilton Simpson, for his work in Algeria, Sahara and Belgian Congo.

The Wellcome Gold Medal for Anthropological Research was presented to Mr. J. H. Driberg, M.A.

The President, Captain T. A. Joyce, M.A., delivered an Address on 'Eccentric Flints from 'Central America.' It will be printed in full in the *Journal*.

PROCEEDINGS OF SOCIETIES.

The Projected International Congress for Ethnic Sciences. *By J. L. Myres.*

230 In MAN, 1932, 108, it was announced that Professor Dr. Fritz Krause of Leipzig had undertaken to supplement the inquiries already in progress on behalf of the Royal Anthropological Institute, by ascertaining the opinions of members of the German *Gesellschaft für Völkerkunde*, of which he is president, on certain preliminary matters. He now sends a detailed analysis of their replies, from which the following are the principal results:— Out of 180 members, 54 sent replies. (1) A separate Ethnological Congress was preferred by 31 ethnologists and 7 representatives of other human sciences; a congress for Anthropology and Ethnology combined, by 5 ethnologists and 7 others. A few

replies contained alternative suggestions. (2) For an exclusively ethnological congress, there were 5 votes; against 42 for inclusion of other studies such as linguistics, historical sciences, ancillary studies, and special aspects or departments of ethnology. (3) For organization in sections 30 (5 against); for permanent subdivisions 9, against 21 for subdivision as circumstances may require. (4) Such a separate ethnological congress was thought practicable (with various qualifications) by 40, impracticable by 10. A fuller statistic will be published by the *Gesellschaft fur Völkerkunde* for the information of its own members.

More recently, on the occasion of a visit of Dr. Krause to London, an informal discussion with members of the Royal Anthropological Institute took place, on the hospitable invitation of Dr. C. G. Seligman, Ex-President, at which the whole project was examined in all its aspects, and it was agreed to continue informal enquiries and negotiations for the establishment of an International Congress of Ethnic Sciences on a broadly inclusive basis in the year 1934. In view of the present economic situation, it would not be prudent to hasten unduly the preliminary stages. But it is hoped that in the spring or early summer of 1933 it may be practicable to summon, at some convenient centre, a constituent conference such as was recently successful in establishing the International Congress of Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences.

J. L. MYRES.

REVIEWS.

England: Archæology.

The Archæology of Somerset. *By D. P. Dobson, M.A. London. Pp. 272, 7 maps and 58 illustrations:* 1931.

231

Each County Archæology, as it follows those ahead of it, has the advantage of using the experience which they have bought and Mrs. Dobson, in taking this advantage, has found out the secret whereby a valuable work of reference may be combined with an interesting story; for, while it is as accurate and carefully planned as those preceding, it is pleasanter and easier to read than they.

One reason, no doubt, is that a map of the county is given, with all the places named in the text; and the reader who is not a Somersetshire man can, after a little search, find out exactly where he is. We think that the map could be made more useful still if it were divided into numbered squares, and if the number of each square were indicated in the text, in brackets, when each place was named. This, of course, would add to the labour of the writer, but would save the reader a good deal of time.

But apart from the map, which is a great gain, the book is more alive and less of a catalogue than its predecessors. It seems more human, if that carries any meaning, and perhaps this may be due to the authoress taking more interest than any of her colleagues have hitherto done in the people who made the things about which she has to write.

The head contours of a male and female Anglo-Saxon for instance, on page 174, are singularly characteristic and well chosen, but we fear that one or two of the Abbots' skulls from Glastonbury are suffering from posthumous distortion which would seriously interfere with the value of a composite contour of the five tracings. No doubt the authoress is right in regarding them as the remains of Anglo-Saxon clerics, since the custom of giving special care to these was quite common.

The quotation from Dean Buckland on page 7, that the people of the plains are more comely than are those on the hills, is rather fascinating, though probably what the Dean meant to say was that they are more comely to us, seeing that our standard of comeliness is the Nordic statuary of Ancient Greece. It is quite conceivable that the stocky, short-legged, bull-necked, bullet-headed, Alpine type of man may be more comely, because more useful, to the hill dwellers of his own race.

It seems that in four possessions Somerset is very poor. She has no traces of glaciation, no Neolithic camps, no definite Goidelic place names, and no pagan Saxon cemeteries. About the last item we are a little doubtful, for we remember long ago measuring several Saxon skulls, said to be pagan, from Somerton; while the Saxon burial ground at Camerton which the authoress describes, agrees quite well with those of pagan Saxons, and the fact that grains of charcoal were found with the skeletons would hardly be taken, even by Paley, as one of the evidences of Christianity.

From our past experience we doubted whether reading through one of these county archæologies could be other than a wholesome discipline, but in this one, though the wholesomeness remains, the discipline is hardly felt.

F. G. PARSONS.

The Archæology of Surrey. *By D. C. Whimster. London,* 1931. *254 pp.* 10*s.* 6*d.*

232

As one County Archæology succeeds another we are more and more impressed by the farseeing boldness of the man, whoever he was, who first visualized the possibility of the scheme. One thinks, now it is well under weigh, that the plan of marshalling a team of local experts and enthusiasts and setting them to work out the archæology of their own counties on a common system is so obvious and rational a thing to do that anyone might have done it. But nobody did until now and we are just beginning to see the great results which a series of handy and cheap reference books must mean to the future of archæology.

Surrey is popularly known as the 'Stockbrokers' 'County,' which means that it is freely sprinkled with the homes of well-to-do, middle-class men who live there because it is pretty and near London. Probably no county has a larger proportion of well-informed, shrewd and successful men living in it, and, since their estates are small they are able to know every inch of them. And so, though many records of the county's past have undoubtedly been lost through carelessness and indifference, it is probable that much has been saved and recorded which in a less settled-up county would have been ignored. We think, as each of these County Archæologies comes to us for review, that they are growing more and more interesting and readable. Mr. Whimster's certainly is both; though whether he will take this as praise or blame we do not know, since the archæological specialist necessarily demands accurate measurements and minute detail, and to make archæology anything like a table-topic is to him a waste of valuable space and time.

But there is another side of the picture, which shows us the County Series in every landowner's library and

its owner on the look out for every chance find: and when this view is taken the pleasant reading which this volume gives us justifies itself indeed. Mr. Whimster has gone more fully into the literature of his subject than his colleagues hitherto have done, and often gives actual quotations of the quaint old English of Leland, Camden and Aubrey, but when he speaks of "the "unusually outrageous and inconsistent spelling" of the former we cannot think that he has chosen very happy or just adjectives, for the quotation on p. 148 is very cultured English of Henry VIII's time: ever so much better than King Hal's own spelling at any rate.

For the rest, the book is a good example of a good series. Everything that we can think of seems to be there and sometimes, we are glad to say, the author is guilty of the blazing indiscretion of constructing a theory from the facts at his disposal. It is quite likely to get him into trouble but at least it shows that he is human, and can write a book as well as a catalogue.

The maps, illustrations, gazetteer and appendix are well up to the high standard of the series.

F. G. PARSONS.

Archæology.

La Préhistoire. *By L. Capitan. 220 pages. Payot (Paris): 1931.*

233 The above work has been brought up to date by M. Faguet with the co-operation of Prof. Breuil, who himself has written a preface. The late M. Capitan was a pioneer in the sense that most of the remarkable discoveries in prehistoric research that have been made since 1859, when the scientific world first seriously realized the importance of the subject, were made during his lifetime. Indeed, he partook himself in not a few. The above work is in no sense an exhaustive study of the subject; it is rather a readable account for the interested amateur written by one who has watched the growth of knowledge on these matters and who has tried to view the matter as a whole with a due sense of proportion. The ground covered is from earliest times to that of the La Tène period. There is a bibliography but no index. The illustrations are not bad considering the paper on which they are printed, and there are a few half-tone plates.

M. C. BURKITT.

Cambridge Excavations in Minorca. *By M. A. Murray, with chapters by Edith M. Guest, C. Ainsworth Mitchell and T. J. Ward. Trapucó Part 1. Pp. 50, plates LII, 10¾ × 7¼. London (B. Quaritch), 1932. Price 12s. 6d.*

234 This book is a careful and most profusely illustrated account of what must have proved to the excavators themselves to have been in many ways a most disappointing dig. The remarkable stone monuments of Malta are well known, especially owing to the continuous enthusiasm of Dr. Zammit, and Miss Murray herself has contributed not a little to their study. Those of the Balearic Islands are less well known, although it is now thirty years since M. Émile Cartailhac published his well-known and excellently illustrated monograph. The plans of the buildings have, however, remained very obscure, owing especially to the abundant vegetation which covered them. Miss Murray in this monograph describes her efforts to clear one site, and discover if possible the meaning and purpose of some of the structures, and especially the remarkable monoliths, crowned with a large stone set in equilibrium on the top, like a gigantic oblong stone mushroom on a stone stalk, and called locally a *Taula*. The site at Trapucó appears to fall into three periods. The earliest is similar in the style of its pottery to the Maltese bronze age. This layer is covered with ashes and in the author's opinion the ash layer represents the end of the use of the buildings by the ancient peoples. On the ash stratum was a great accumulation of rubbish. Finally all the stones, fragments of pottery and other indestructible remains were heaped together, and the enclosure filled up leaving only the tops of the taller stones standing like the mountains after the deluge, a catastrophe whose date is probably pre-Roman. Comparatively few whole objects were found on the site, but there were masses of broken potsherds. These are catalogued and described in great detail. The original purpose of the buildings and of the *Taula* is also discussed, and though Miss Murray's suggestions may not perhaps appeal to every one, this careful record of finds represents a useful contribution to a most vexed problem.

L. H. D. B.

Ethnology.

Archiv für Rassenbilder. *By J. F. Lehmanns Verlag in München. Preis: Jeder Bildaufsatz (8–12, meistens 10 Karten mit je 1–3 Bildern) einzeln Mk. 2, bei Bezug von 20 verschiedenen Bildaufsatzen Mk. 1.70. 1926 and in progress.*

235 This is a series of sets of cards, 8″ × 5″, giving photographs of racial types, with physical measurements of the people photographed, and with general notes on the tribe to which they belong. There is also for each set a useful bibliography. The data have been prepared by field anthropologists amongst whom are de Zwaan, Puccioni, von Eickstedt and other well-known ethnologists. Bryn has prepared a set for the Norwegians, while Weinert has a set on Der Neandertaler-schadel von Le Moustier and K. Gorjanović-Kramberger on Der diluviale Mensch von Krapina. For students who can read German the sets form a valuable outline index of the salient points about the past or present races included in the series: they also indicate sources for more extensive study.

R. M. F.

Technology.

Craftsmen's Measures in Prehistoric Times. *Ludovic McLellan Mann. Glasgow, 1930. 8vo. Pp. 25; ten plates and grid diagram. Price 5s. net.*

236 "The theme here put forward is admittedly, at the first glance, unfamiliar, perhaps even incredible," that Palæolithic man fashioned flint implements by "a foot-rule and a scale of measures." And as "science "is concerned mainly with absolute facts," readers must form their own opinion about measurements "extracted by tracing" (p. 16) from printed illustrations. A "positive percentage" of 62, among objects selected from Evans' *Ancient Stone Implements of Great Britain*, would seem to indicate that either early man or Sir John Evans' draughtsman did not observe these "craftsmen's measures" scrupulously. But 38 is a high percentage for "ritualistic" objects, which in this respect seem to be nonconformist also. "To his "further astonishment," which the reviewer shares, Mr. Mann finds the same units employed in pre-Chellean objects, as in later Palæolithic periods.

J. L. M.

Beekeeping in Antiquity. *By N. Malcolm Frazer. London: University of London Press, 1931. Pp. xi + 131. 14 Plates. 4s. 6d.*

237 This is a thesis approved for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of London, and is necessarily largely in the nature of a compilation. It forms, however, a useful and attractive study of a subject which does not appear to have been hitherto dealt with in English. The author has brought together in a readable form the published views of many ancient authors on the theory and practice of beekeeping. The accuracy of much that was written gives us cause for admiration, and if the belief in the origin of swarms of bees from the carcasses of dead oxen is no longer tenable,

it was put forward as a statement of fact as late as 1842, when the operation was said to have been performed in Cornwall. Some of the mysteries of the bee-hive have only been solved in recent years, and the ancient bee-keepers of Greece and Rome were practical men who knew enough for their main purposes—the procuring of honey and wax. Those who wrote about bees, without practical knowledge, were apt to search their imaginations too diligently, or to accept earlier statements too uncritically, and thus keep error in circulation. H. S. H.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Metallurgy.

238 SIR,—Much to my regret, I shall be unable to attend the forthcoming International Congress of Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences, and for that reason I venture to write to you on a subject that is near my heart, namely, the analysis of metallic relics in museums.

Few of the metallic relics on exhibition have been analysed, and yet, without accurate knowledge of their composition, such relics are mere curios, possessing little informative value, and sometimes even misleading in the inferences they suggest. For example, owing to the retention of the old idea of a world-wide Bronze Age, it is customary to label most of the green stained pieces of metal as 'bronze,' whereas such metal may belong to any one of five categories: it may be (1) true bronze —that is, intentional alloy of tin and copper; (2) a piece of copper containing tin as an inadvertent ingredient, or impurity; (3) smelted copper—that is, copper produced by reduction from ore; (4) melted copper—that is, native metal shaped by casting; and (5) hammered native copper. Many hundred years—even a millennium—may separate these successive stages of metallurgic progress.

The labelling would not be of much consequence, if analyses were quoted. For example, the early Roman coinage is described by numismatists as of copper, brass, or bronze, confusedly, these three terms being employed as synonyms. Analyses are few. If we had enough of them, the epithets applied to such pieces of money would be less confusing.

In the prehistoric department of the British Museum there are shown two lumps of rusted iron, found at Tell-el-Amarna, and said to be of the 18th dynasty, or about 1370 B.C. Here are two relics that would be of extreme interest and significance if we knew whether they are composed of smelted iron. They may be pieces of meteoric iron. An analysis for nickel would settle the question. The date is such that the iron might possibly be one of the earliest imports into Egypt from the iron-founders in the Hittite highlands, but the chances are equal that it is *bia-n-pet*, or celestial iron. A contemporary relic, the iron dagger of Tut-ankh-Amen, in the Cairo Museum, has not been analysed. The comparative freedom from rust, the preciousness of it (as indicated by the position in which it was found), and the dating all join in suggesting the possibility that it may be made of heaven-sent metal.

The fragments of an iron dagger found at Ur in remains of the first dynasty, or about 3100 B.C., were not even mentioned by Mr. Woolley in his report for 1926–1927, but later when placed in the British Museum this most interesting relic was assumed to be the product of smelting and the label stated that it indicated the remote antiquity of the founder's art. The label remained unchanged for several years, even after it had been analysed by Dr. Desch and proved to contain 10·9 per cent. of nickel, which established its meteoric origin. Any iron believed to be older than 1300 to 1400 B.C. may be suspected to be of meteoric origin, and calls for analysis.

In the British Museum also is a copper axe-head found at Abydos; it is said to be of the first or second dynasty, and it is dated 'before 4000 B.C.' This date will be reduced to 3300 B.C. by most Egyptologists, I believe; but the more interesting point is the question whether the copper is native metal or smelted metal. If the date were 4000 B.C., I should expect to find it to be native copper; if 3000 B.C., then I should expect it to be the product of a smelting operation. Long before the so-called Bronze Age began—several thousand years earlier—contemporaneous with the rudimentary use of stone—primitive man used native copper (and other metals found in the elemental state) as soft (or malleable) stone. It is possible by analysis and by examination of the microstructure of the metal to ascertain whether it has been smelted or only hammered.

In this connection the work done by Dr. Cecil H. Desch on behalf of the Committee on Sumerian copper (Section H of the British Association) is an example highly to be commended. The study of prehistory will be greatly aided by such accurate information concerning the composition of metal relics. T. A. RICKARD.

The Oldoway Skeleton.

239 SIR,—To my regret I was unable to be present at the meeting of the Institute (21 June) when Mr. Hopwood discussed the Oldoway skeleton (*see* No. 226 of current MAN), but three days later I took part in the discussion which he opened (on 24 June) at the summer meeting of the Anatomical Society. I should like to record in print, with more precise references, the impromptu criticisms which I made verbally then.

The careful account of the circumstances under which the remains were found and the nature of the bones, given by Professors W. Gieseler and Th. Mollison ('Untersuchungen uber den Oldowayfund,' *Verh. d. Ges. f. phys. Anthropologie*, III. Stuttgart, 1929) contains nothing which conflicts with the idea that the skeleton is that of a modern man not demonstrably different from the present inhabitants of the region, the mixed people known as the Masai. I would not have thought it necessary to comment upon this if it were not for the fact that Dr. Leakey and Mr. Hopwood have cited cultural evidence in support of the opinion they have expressed that the treatment of the body differs from that known among the Masai, and have claimed such evidence in support of the view that the remains are older than the coming of these people to East Africa.

The fact that the skeleton was sharply flexed and the limbs in positions that they could not have naturally assumed, but into which they must have been put by the use of great force, corroborates the other evidence that we are dealing with a burial and not with a skeleton which has been naturally deposited. The degree of flexion is also very significant. Although bodies were buried in a flexed position in the Nile valley from very early times, it was not until the time of the Second Dynasty —in other words, at the time when coffins were first invented—that the extreme degree of flexion which is found in the Oldoway remains was introduced.

Special emphasis has been given to the fact that the body was lying upon the right side, and differed from the usual Masai practice of burial on the left side. It should not be forgotten, however, that elsewhere in East Africa burial may be either upon the left or the right side, and that in most cases in regions where it is the usual practice to bury upon the left side, exceptions to this rule are not infrequent. Hence the finding of an isolated skeleton buried in a position which is the reverse of that customary in a region should not be given the exceptional importance which has been attached to it in the case of the Oldoway skeleton.



PART OF FIG. 3 OF PROFESSOR MOLLISON'S REPORT ON THE OLDOWAY SKULL TO SHOW THE FILING OF THE LOWER INCISOR TEETH.

The feature of the skeleton to which I desire particularly to refer, however, is the condition of the lower incisor teeth, which Professor Mollison, part of whose Figure 3 I reproduce here, has described as due definitely to filing. It was suggested at the meeting of the Anatomical Society that these teeth were not filed but were subject to the type of erosion of the neck such as occurs under pathological conditions in modern human beings. In reply to this it must be emphasized that the filing is not on the neck of the teeth, but upon the anterior enamel surface, and is quite unlike a pathological alteration. The photograph affords definite evidence that it was due to filing, and this opinion has been expressed by Professor Mollison and was not questioned by Professor Eugen Fischer or by Dr. Weinert, who took part in the discussion of Mollison's communication.

As doubt has been cast upon this issue, perhaps I may quote the actual words used by Professor Mollison (*op. cit.*, p. 66):—"Ein Merkmal von nicht zu unterschätzender Bedeutung ist die Deformation der unteren Schneidezähne. Sie weicht vollig ab von den Arten der Zahndeformation, die wir aus Afrika kennen. Die Zahndeformationen Afrikas bestehen durchweg in einer Meiszelung, durch welche die Seitenränder und Kanten der Zahne bearbeitet werden. Hier liegt dagegen eine Deformation der Vorderfläche vor, die nur durch Feilung, nicht durch Meiszelung hervorgebracht sein kann. Die Wirkung des horizontal gefuhrten Instrumentes, vermutlich einer Sandsteinfeile, hat nicht durch die medialen, sondern auch ein wenig die lateralen Schneidezähne getroffen. Eine derartige Zahndeformation kennen wir etwa von Protomalaien, aber bisher nicht aus Afrika."

Mollison was unable to find any record of this type of dental mutilation in Africa, although he says it is found in the Malay area. Hence I must call attention to a record made by Professor Douglas E. Derry and myself (in Bulletin No. 5 of the Archæological Survey of Nubia, published in 1910) of the finding of the skeleton of a negro in a Ptolemaic-Roman cemetery near Dakka in Lower Nubia (Cemetery No. 98). In this case all the teeth in both jaws had been horizontally filed on the labial aspect. In addition, the upper two central incisors had had their edges rubbed down and filed to assume a semi-lunar form. The process of filing had removed the enamel from the labial surfaces in a way that is comparable to that found in the Oldoway skeleton. In the same cemetery there was the skeleton of a negress whose upper central incisors had been filed so that their inferior margins inclined to form a wide-angled inverted V-shaped notch and the lower incisors had been removed, apparently deliberately. This operation had been done soon after the eruption of the permanent dentition, as the other teeth had inclined inwards towards the gap which is now much too small to hold four incisor teeth. This suggests that the removal of these teeth may have been part of an initiation ceremony at puberty, such as is the case in other parts of Africa at the present day.

The variety of dental mutilations found in this one cemetery suggests the possibility that it was a time of experimentation incidental to the invention of such practices, *i.e.*, in Ptolemaic-Roman times. It may be that the process of filing the enamel was the original device for removing the incisor teeth, which was almost immediately superseded both by lateral filing or the more drastic operation of evulsion of the teeth. As to the significance of these practices Dr. A. P. Elkin has made the interesting suggestion in the case of the aboriginal Australians that the association of the removal of the incisor teeth with ceremonies of initiation, which as the late Sir Baldwin Spencer showed (*The Arunta*, 1927, Vol. II, pp. 391, *et seq.*), simulate the ritual of embalming and reanimation, points to the conclusion that it was the ritual procedure for 'the opening of the mouth,' the original purely symbolic act being replaced by the drastically realistic procedure of knocking out the teeth.

If this suggestion should be justified, the filing of the teeth in the Oldoway skeleton would represent the survival of a practice that was not invented before about 300 B.C. In the case of mummification it has been found that practices (such, for example, as the earliest method of extracting the brain from the skull by the foramen magnum, which in Egypt is known only in the case of one Pharaoh, Ahmosis I), which were quite transitory in the home of their invention, survived for many centuries elsewhere (in Nubia, for example) or even until modern times (in the islands of the Torres Straits). Hence the tooth-filing in East Africa suggests a relatively recent date.

Sir Harry Johnston tells us that the Masai file a triangular space between the upper incisors, and that almost all the men and most of the women knock out the two lower incisor teeth, which he claims to be "a very ancient custom inherited by the Masai from the Nilotic stock which was their origin."

This reference is of special interest in the present case because we find in a Nubian of about 300 B.C. the mutilations which are practised by the Masai of the present time, associated with a horizontal filing of the enamel such as is found in the Oldoway skeleton.

These considerations add corroboration to the inference that the Oldoway skeleton is probably that of a modern Masai.

G. ELLIOT SMITH.

EYRE AND SPOTTISWOODE LIMITED, His Majesty's Printers, East Harding St., London, E.C.4.

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INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF PREHISTORIC AND PROTOHISTORIC SCIENCES.

GROUP OF MEMBERS IN THE GREAT COURT OF SOMERSET HOUSE: 3 AUGUST, 1932.

Photograph by "Photogeneral" 137, Edgware Road, London, W.

MAN

A MONTHLY RECORD OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL SCIENCE

PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE
ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

XXXII, 240-265. SEPTEMBER, 1932.

INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF PREHISTORIC AND PROTOHISTORIC ARCHÆOLOGY.

With Plate I–J.

The International Congress of Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences: First Session, London, 1–6 August, 1932. *By Professor J. L. Myres, a Secretary of the Congress.*



CONGRESS MEMBERS' BADGE.

The International Congress of Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences, founded by a conference at Bern in May, 1931 (MAN, 1931, 137), held its first session in London on 1–6 August, 1932: *President*, Sir Charles Peers, President of the Society of Antiquaries of London and Chief Inspector of Ancient Monuments: *Secretaries*, Dr. A. W. Brøgger and Professor J. L. Myres; *Treasurer*, J. Holland Martin. The meetings were held at King's College, Strand: twenty foreign countries were officially represented, 654 members were registered, and 168 communications were accepted.

The Congress was received on behalf of His Majesty's Government by the Rt. Hon. W. Ormsby Gore, First Commissioner of His Majesty's Works and Public Buildings, in Lancaster House, St. James's, where a special exhibition of the latest results of prehistoric studies in Great Britain had been arranged in the London Museum by the Director, Dr. R. E. M. Wheeler, and a display of archæological air-photographs by Mr. O. G. S. Crawford, on behalf of the Director-General of the Ordnance Survey. Special exhibitions were also arranged for the inspection of the Congress in the British Museum, in the Royal College of Surgeons, at Bedford College, and at the house of Mr. Alexander Keiller.

At the opening session on Monday, 1 August, an invitation to hold the second session of the Congress at Oslo in 1936 was accepted. Sir Charles Peers delivered a Presidential Address (MAN, 1932, 241). Dr. A. W. Brøgger was elected President for Oslo, with Dr. J. Bøe, Dr. S. Grieg and Prof. J. L. Myres as Secretaries, and Dr. Englestad, as Treasurer.

Evening discourses were delivered by Dr. Cyril Fox, Mr. E. Thurlow Leeds, and Mr. T. D. Kendrick (MAN, 1932, 242, 244–5), and another by Mr. O. G. S. Crawford on the morning of 6 August on *Air Photography and Archæology*.

A visit was paid to the well-known implement-bearing gravels at Swanscombe, Kent, and after the Congress large parties spent the week-end in Oxford and Cambridge, meeting later at Salisbury for visits to Old Sarum, Stonehenge, Yarnbury, Devizes Museum, the Wansdyke, Windmill Hill, Avebury and Silbury.

At its concluding meeting the Congress established Research Committees for the prehistoric cultures of South-eastern Europe and of the Western Mediterranean, where there is especial need for collaboration between archæologists of several countries; adopted a project for a polyglot vocabulary of current archæological terms under the editorship of Professor V. Gordon Childe; recommended to the Executive Committee for Oslo the preparation of authoritative statements of the views of certain schools of prehistorians for discussion at the second session; and addressed to the Egyptian Government a request for more uniformly scientific treatment of prehistoric antiquities.

The great success of this Congress is mainly due to the secretaries of the British Organizing Committee, Professor V. Gordon Childe, Messrs. Christopher Hawkes, H. S. Kingsford, and C. A. Ralegh Radford, and to their many willing helpers.

The Beginnings of Prehistoric Studies in Britain. *Summary of the Address of Sir Charles Peers, President of the Society of Antiquaries and Chief Inspector of Ancient Monuments. 1 August*, 1932.

241 The interest of primitive man in his predecessors was inspired by the hope of hidden treasure, not by curiosity about former owners. Consideration for the dead would not lead to any interest in their manner of life or immediate surroundings. Traditions would not be precise on minor points. Yet the great monuments of former ages had at no period failed to attract the attention of the living, and to give rise to folk-lore. Thus our early antiquaries set about the explanation of prehistory by the light of history as known to them. A thick darkness brooded over the unrecorded past; mediæval legends were mere romance and fable, and only in the revival of classical learning was any trustworthy record to be found. The exploits of savage men were held of little importance to a more cultured age, and where anything remarkable remained it was ascribed to the Romans.

At the end of the sixteenth century, William Camden set about writing the story of Britain with Julius Cæsar as his first trustworthy historian of Britons and Druids, and the advent of the Belgæ. But Camden saw no reason to ascribe a date before the Roman occupation of Britain to any notable monument except Stonehenge.

Aubrey, the Wiltshire squire, was impressed by the absurdity of deriving such structures as Avebury (the site of which he first encountered while hunting in 1648) from classic tradition, as Inigo Jones had done in the case of Stonehenge. Fifteen years later, Charles II commanded Aubrey to write an account of it and of Silbury and the other antiquities on the Plain. His account was careful and in its way thorough, for he had the definite merit that he took trouble to set down what he saw.

A few years after his death in 1683 was born William Stukeley, a man with vivid imagination and insatiable curiosity. A world-history in his day was no illimitable task. While we in the twentieth century are conscious of knowing too little, Stukeley undoubtedly knew too much. Nothing daunted him. "What is all learning," he said, "but a knowledge of antiquities?"

The next great investigator, Sir Richard Colt Hoare, set at the head of his first volume "We speak from facts, not theory." He refused to involve himself in controversy, or to place too much reliance on former antiquaries. Hardly a tumulus in Wiltshire escaped investigation. He realized that the great hill camps could not be attributed any more to the Romans, but were the work of native Britons.

Through the work of William Smith in 1790, stratigraphical geology opened a new conception of prehistory, and the palæolithic weapons described in 1797 before the Society of Antiquaries by John Frere were attributed by him to a period "even beyond that of the present world." Here we reached the transition from ancient to modern archæology. Two principles established could never again be ignored: that no science could neglect the collateral evidence of other sciences, and that science was not a matter for separate peoples, but for the community of learning in the civilized world.

But the dawn of archæology coincided with a period of wanton and ignorant destruction. Many years were to elapse before public opinion was ready for legislation in defence of monuments. But a large number of our prehistoric monuments were now scheduled for protection. Man's earliest evidences on our soil were realized to be worthy of preservation, and for such an advance in civilization we acknowledge our debt to the pioneers.

The Personality of Britain: Its Influence on Inhabitants and Invaders. *Summary of a Discourse by Cyril Fox, F.S.A., Director of the National Museum of Wales. 2 August*, 1932.

242 Position, outline and structure are first involved in this study of the island of Britain during the period 2500 B.C.–100 A.D.; the climate resulting from position, and the soil derived from structure, determine the vegetable life which she nourishes and the animals which she harbours. The whole represents Man's environment, and Britain's 'Personality.'

KEY TO PLATE I–J. **No. 243**

INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF PREHISTORIC AND PROTOHISTORIC SCIENCES.

GROUP OF MEMBERS IN THE GREAT COURT OF SOMERSET HOUSE: 3 AUGUST, 1932.

No names were recorded when the photograph was taken, but the following have been recognized by officers of the Congress and others. The Editor of MAN will be grateful for further identifications.

A

1. M. Heaney.
2. S. Hazzledine Warren.
3. Miss D. Stanton.
4. Mrs. E. Holden.
5. Miss S. Seeley.
6. H. J. E. Peake.
7. Lady Boyd Dawkins.
8. Sir A. Keith.
9. E. T. Leeds.
10. Mrs. Leeds.
11. Sir A. Smith Woodward.
12. R. A. Smith.
13. Dr. H. S. Harrison.
14. Prof. H. Obermaier.
15. Dr. T. J. Arne.
16. Dr. A. Mahr.
17. Dr. A. E. van Giffen.
18. P. V. van Stein-Callenfels.

19. Dr. J. Boe.
20. Mlle. F. Henry.
22. P. W. W. Walker.
23. Père Dr. R. Koeppel.
24. C. S. Nicolaescu-Plopsor.
25. Dr. R. Vulpe.
26. G. R. Gair.
27. Miss N. Terry.
29. Dr. M. Stekelis.
30. Dr. E. Baumgartel.
32. H. Shetelig.
33. Dr. H. Kjaer.
34. E. L. Andrade.
35. Mme. Dumitrescu.
36. Rev. H. Tyrrell Green.
37. Mme. Millet.
38. Prof. A. Low.
39. H. E. Kilbride-Jones.
40. H. St. George Gray.
42. Mrs. M. M. Banks.
43. Mrs. H. C. Beck.
44. Mrs. Smedley.
45. Miss O'Reilly.
48. Dr. H. Weinert.
49. Mme. de Miranda.
50. Dr. H. de Miranda.

51. Rev. Prof. Roque Ruaño.
52. Rev. P. Hynes.
53. A. O. Curle.
56. Prof. G. Schwantes.
57. J. H. Craw.
59. A. L. Armstrong.
61. G. J. B. Fox.
62. H. G. Leask.
63. H. C. Beck.
64. Miss Beck.

B

1. P. V. van Stein-Callenfels.
2. W. Willems.
4. General Nagovicius.
5. Dr. G. Bersu.
6. Prof. V. Gordon Childe.
7. Prof. J. L. Myres.
8. Lady Peers.
9. Sir C. Peers.
10. Prof. U. Rellini.
11. L'Abbé H. Breuil.
12. Prof. H. J. Fleure.
13. Dr. Cyril Fox.
14. L. G. C. Clark.
15. Col. J. Parker.

17. W. H. Bennett.
18. W. P. D. Stebbing.
22. Mme. Rellini.
23. C. A. Ralegh Radford.
25. Major F. C. Tyler.
26. T. D. Pryce.
27. J. W. Layard.
28. Mrs. Dingwall.
29. Miss M. L. Tildesley.

30. Mme. de Miranda.
31. Dr. H. de Miranda.
32. Dr. V. Madsen.
33. Mrs. Dewey.
34. Dr. H. D. Dewey.
35. F. H. Worsfold.
36. Dr. C. Tauber.
38. Dr. F. Wiedenreich.
39. K. Keller-Tarnuzzer.
40. Prof. C. Daryll Forde.
41. C. F. C. Hawkes.
42. C. E. Stevens.
43. Prof. Chevket Aziz.
44. Mrs. F. W. Goodbody.

45. S. Piggott.
46. W. J. Hemp.
49. Dr. B. Bonnerjea.
50. C. O. Skilbeck.
53. Freiherr von Richtofen.
54. Dr. W. Hansen.
55. Dr. N. Niklasson.
56. H. Sprockhoff.
59. M. Cooper.
60. C. W. Phillips.
61. Prof. J. Collette.

C

2. Miss E. D. Amphlett.
3. Dr. F. Tompa.
4. Prof. R. Vaufrey.
5. Prof. P. Vouga.
6. H. S. Kingsford.
7. Mrs. Kingsford.
8. R. Lantier.
9. J. P. Bushe-Fox.
10. Dr. W. Unversagt.
11. Prof. V. Dumitrescu.
12. J. M. de Navarro.
13. Prof. R. A. S. Macalister.
14. Dr. J. Brøndsted.
15. Dr. Antoniewicz.
17. H. J. Braunholtz.
18. E. N. Baynes.
19. Prof. G. Elliot Smith.

20. Miss M. L. Tildesley.
21. Th. C. Sandeman.
23. Prof. N. Puccioni.
24. T. D. McCown.
25. Miss M. F. Hamilton.
28. Mme. A. B. Kelly.
29. Mrs. C. E. C. Kelly.

30. Mrs. Goodbody.
31. Mrs. Greene.
32. A. E. Greene.
33. J. Greene.
35. P. L. O. Guy.
36. Mrs. Guy.
37. Mme. de Vallois.
38. Mrs. N. Anderson.
39. Dr. H. L. Movius.
40. D. C. Whimster.
41. A. W. G. Lowther.
42. Dr. Hančar.
43. Mme. Hančar.
44. D. B. Harden.
45. L. C. Watelin.

46. Prof. J. Colette.
48. Miss N. C. Jolliffe.
49. Dr. G. Kraft.
50. Col. R. G. Berry.
51. A. H. Davison.
52. Miss M. Gaffikin.
53. Miss L. F. Chitty.
55. V. B. Crowther Beynon.
56. P. Marks.
58. Dr. H. O. Hencken.
59. W. Amrein.
60. Miss D. Bate.

The position of Britain adjacent to the Continent renders her liable to invasion from any point on some five hundred miles of the European coast: her indented outline offers convenient harbourage for invaders, her deep estuaries and slow-moving rivers invite penetration.

There are three main routes for invaders: to the western side of the island from the Atlantic coasts of France and Spain: across the English Channel or the Straits; across the North Sea.

The objects most in demand, and of greatest significance for cultural development of an island in a state of barbarism, are the products of higher civilizations. Higher civilizations in prehistoric times are Mediterranean civilizations, hence the first two routes are then important trade routes.

In the earliest times under review the land was higher than at present. The Straits of Dover were either not open, or were but a narrow gorge, through which great tides swept past chalk cliffs, equal and opposite. The Western European trade route was then the outer sea route by the Hebrides to Scandinavia: by contrast, entry into eastern Britain offered little difficulty to landsmen such as the Beaker Folk. When subsidence and sea erosion had moulded Britain into the now familiar outline, oversea invasion tended to concentrate on the continental angle Kent and the Thames estuary.

The structure of Britain has exerted a powerful influence on her prehistory. South of the Forth–Clyde isthmus the island consists of two parts, the Highland Zone to the west, and the Lowland Zone to the east. In the Highland Zone, high plateaux and mountains are characteristic: in the Lowland Zone, such hills as occur are usually of slight elevation.

The area of Britain adjacent to the Continent being Lowland, it is easily overrun by invaders and in it new cultures of continental origin tend to be *imposed*. In the Highland, on the other hand, these tend to be *absorbed*. Hence a given culture brought across from the Continent tends to manifest itself later and less distinctively in the Highland than the Lowland. Again, the Lowland provides the largest area of fertile and habitable ground, and hence it nourishes wealthier populations than the Highland.

There is greater *unity* of culture in the Lowland Zone: greater *continuity* of culture in the Highland Zone. There is some tendency in the Highland Zone south of the Forth–Clyde isthmus to cultural unity: the Highland *north* of the Forth–Clyde isthmus, on the other hand, tends by reason of its remoteness to develop unique cultures.

Britain is subjected to influences from a quarter other than those mentioned—from Ireland. The more permanent effects of this Irish contact are usually limited to the Highland Zone. The existence of the Highland Zone tends to isolate the inhabitants of the British coast-lands facing the Irish Sea: the lands washed by the Irish Sea thus tend to cultural unity.

The distribution of population in Britain in prehistoric times is controlled by physiographical conditions. In the Lowland Zone porosity of sub-soil, resulting in open country of forest with not too dense undergrowth, is the chief factor. Low hills and plateaux of easy contour, possessing such sub-soil, form the framework of lowland Britain and thus provide the main field for Man's activities; but low-lying sandy heaths and gravel terraces by rivers are equally suitable. The areas shunned by Early Man are the claylands, of which large areas exist in Britain; these tend to be waterlogged and to carry dense forest.

In the Highland Zone also soils exert a powerful influence on distribution, but this influence is masked by another factor peculiar to the Zone—elevation. Above a certain level, whatever the soil may be, Man cannot comfortably live in our wet and cold winters.

Hence we may say that *soil* character is the controlling factor in Lowland distribution, *elevation* in Highland distribution: also that Man tends to fit himself *into the mountain pattern* of the Highland Zone, *on to the hill pattern* of the Lowland Zone.

The preference shown by Early Man for upland, whether in the Highland Zone or in the Lowland Zone, is more apparent than real. His wealth being then mainly in flocks and herds, he needed porous soil and open or thinly forested country; and there was, comparatively speaking, very little of it in Britain. Moreover, large areas of such country were not available, since the range within which he could live in reasonable comfort was limited to about 1,000 feet—from sea-level upwards. Now the most extensive of the areas of suitable country for Man to exploit as herdsman in Britain happen to be hills or plateaux from between 200 and 1,000 feet in height. On these he

is accordingly in greater evidence than in the equally suitable intrinsically, but restricted low-lying areas, in the Highland and the Lowland Zones alike: there is no difference between the two Zones in this respect. But whereas this serviceable upland country *dominates the pattern* of the Lowland Zone, it is *recessive in the pattern* of the Highland Zone. The psychological effect of this difference in environment can hardly be other than profound.

The most complete manifestation of any primitive culture entering eastern or southern Britain from the continent will come to be in the Lowland Zone. The centre and focus in the Lowland Zone of such a culture will be the Salisbury Plain Region because it has the largest area of habitable country, is close to the South-coast seaports conveniently reached by sea-borne Atlantic and Armorican trade, and is the meeting point of the traffic routes of the Lowland Zone.

As civilization developed, and overseas trade tended to move eastward to the Thames-mouth, an economic change began to make itself felt, a change in the type of country and of soil desired by inhabitants and invaders.

Porous soils are more easily worked, but claylands are more fertile. Hence the progress from subjection to, to control of, environment, which is that from barbarism to civilization, is expressed physiographically by the utilization of the 'damp oakwood' forests and their gradual replacement by arable fields. Though this change made but little progress, save in Roman and late Anglo-Saxon times, it is not improbable that the preponderance of heavy soils in south-eastern Britain as contrasted with that of porous soils in south-western Britain (Salisbury Plain Region) influenced the transfer of the chief cultural area to the neighbourhood of the Thames estuary in the late La Tène period. The absence hereabouts of any spot combining geographical and economic suitability (a sufficient open hinterland) resulted in varied choice of a centre (St. Albans: Colchester): but these both lay at no great distance from the Thames estuary, the disadvantages of which for concentrated settlement were overcome when the Roman civilization was established: they, of course, recurred when it decayed.

While the Western Sea-route was in full use in megalithic times, Britain was in the van of western European progress. But in the Middle Bronze Age the land routes (amber routes) which had been developing across Europe sapped the *European* importance of the Atlantic trade. Britain from thence onward tended more and more to occupy a position historically familiar: a country on the edge of the known world, the last to receive and absorb cultures moving transcontinentally from east to west. But the 'Atlantic' trade and culture routes never fell into complete desuetude, though probably mainly limited in their influence to south-western England and Wales, and Southern Ireland.

Celtic Art in Britain. *Summary of a Discourse by E. T. Leeds, F.S.A., Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford:* 3 *August,* 1932.

244 The earliest historical evidence for the presence of Celts in these islands is generally regarded to be the account of the voyage of Pytheas (c. 330 B.C.). How much further back their history in Britain goes is a matter of lively controversy, but there are strong archæological grounds for suspecting their arrival as far back at least as the later Bronze Age. Art in Britain down to the close of that period is of a primitive kind, and not until after the continental Celts had about the middle of the first millennium B.C. evolved from borrowed classical motives the decorative system known to archæology as the La Tène style, can we fairly speak of Celtic art as applied to these islands. It is not easy to say exactly what place and date saw implanted in British soil the first seeds of this style, which gave birth to an artistic epoch that, in spite of Roman domination over nearly four centuries, lasted down to the eleventh century of our era. The weight of evidence points to the south coast, and probably in the late fifth or fourth century B.C. The style does not, however, take firm root until the third century, by which time it was beginning to discard the naturalistic tendencies of the parent continental school in favour of purely geometrical arrangements of curving lines. This movement finds its most brilliant expression in a western school, corresponding to districts first occupied by Iron Age immigrants, a school whose influences permeated the eastern Midlands chiefly by way of the Jurassic Ridge, and spread to Yorkshire and beyond. Its work is exemplified in simple form on

pottery-designs, such as those from Glastonbury, Somerset, and Hunsbury, Northants, and in more masterly fashion on engraved mirrors, like those from Birdlip and Desborough, and is characterized by flamboyant scrolls, alike amazing in the ingenuity of their conception and the boldness and balance of their treatment, often enhanced by 'basketry' shading as a background. On a period of excellence there ensues one of decadent and unintelligent work, well illustrated by material both from the west and from the more easterly counties, to which by the first century B.C. the style had been diffused. This latter region, scarcely affected by invasion since the later Bronze Age, now experienced an influx of Belgic tribes, whose chief contribution to Celtic art in Britain seems to have been the introduction of champlevé enamelling or at least its development to the high pitch of excellence which it attained in Britain. Admirable examples of this work from the eastern counties retain memories in their designs of some of those naturalistic motives which were already mere memories in the west. There a special school of enamelling grew up, practising a craft probably borrowed from more easterly tribes, but using their own patterns and devising new forms on which to employ them. In the gradual geometricization of ornament the British craftsman at this period is seen attempting to obtain novel effects by the bizarre process of what may be termed breaking the back of the curve. It is to be observed in a group of brooches with the same distribution as other objects of the western school and subsequently appears more widely diffused on the later mirrors and enamels. Its life, however, in Southern Britain was short: the coming of Rome loomed too near ahead: its real importance lies in the formative influence which it can clearly be seen to have exercised in the subsequent development of Celtic ornament.

Already before the Roman conquest southern Britain was falling under the influences of the mass-production of the continental factories. Imports of bronzes, pottery and the like were flowing into the country. The result was a marked deterioration in the output of native artistic work, a loss of the bold phantasy which stamps its earlier efforts, and the increase of a dry formalism, best seen in the reduction of enamelled surfaces to small geometrical designs in squares and triangles aiming at jewelled effects, as on objects from hoards at Seven Sisters, Neath, and from Saham Tony, Norfolk. The style can be closely dated by its association with other imports, brought over unquestionably by the Roman legions on their first arrival.

Only in districts on the periphery of the Roman occupation, Wales, northern England and Scotland, was Celtic art able to survive. From these areas come some of the most striking examples of the broken-backed scroll in a moulded technique (Trawsfynnyd tankard and Lochar Moss torc). Prominent bosses, which are a feature of their design, constitute the hall-mark of a large series of products from lowland Scotland (*e.g.*, Middlebie hoard) in the first and second centuries. Local schools, and especially one in northern England, borrowing new ideas and forms from classical sources, still displayed the Celtic genius for adaptation clearly illustrated by such masterpieces as the Aesica brooch. But from about 250 B.C., a Dark Age of Celtic art sets in. The spirit, however, still shines, though dimly, in the decoration of certain Romano-British pottery, like the so-called Castor ware, and in analogous scrolled designs in relief on bronzes. These link up in the north with a style which becomes prevalent in southern Scotland and in Ireland from the close of the fourth century, one which has lately been dubbed by Mr. Kendrick the 'Ultimate La Tène,' a title fitly characterizing its tenuous, ribbon-like scrolls, too arid in conception to have laid the foundations from which the edifice of Celtic art in the Christian period eventually sprang.

For these we have to look to a fresh outburst of Celtic artistic energy in south-east England. This manifests itself in the enamelled escutcheons of bowls, like that recently found at Winchester, of which a large group is known, practically confined to an area east of the Fosse Way. Though rightly regarded by Mr. Kendrick as initiated by examples decorated with classical motives, the tendencies which the group displays are hardly those of a "Romanizing school," as he suggests, but rather of a de-Romanizing movement, in which the native, shaking himself free from the trammels of an imposed foreign art, followed the same road as his ancestors in the centuries before the Christian era in adapting borrowed motives to his own æsthetic needs. The outcome was the production of the amazing *trumpet-scrolls*, arranged in the threefold manner beloved of the Celt, and executed in Celtic enamel with all the inherent feeling of the Celt for the sweep of curving line. These products of a renaissance in southern England of the Celtic spirit, amply supported by literary testimony, fall

within the sixth and seventh centuries. Taken in conjunction with certain zoomorphic designs imbued with the same spirit as well as with the colour-schemes employed, they alone can provide the key to the problem raised by the sudden appearance in Ireland at the close of the seventh century, unheralded by anything in the previous art-history of the island, of the earliest representatives (*e.g.*, Book of Durrow) of that period of Celtic art which gave to the world those wonderful masterpieces, which have recently been brought together as never before in the admirable catalogue issued from the National Museum in Dublin.

The Crafts in Ancient Britain. *Summary of a Discourse by T. D. Kendrick, British Museum: 5 August*, 1932.

245 At no period in Britain's past do the crafts present such a remarkable field for research as in the early Dark Ages. Indeed, it is possible that the archæologist may soon be able to grope his way towards the long-expected discovery of what may be rather loosely called the Arthurian archæology of this country. Vortigern, Aurelius Ambrosianus, and King Arthur mean much to the historian, but archæologically they and their subjects are almost unknown. A study of the Migration Period jewellery from the rich and half-continental province of Kent shows that whereas one class of jewel is plainly of Jutish manufacture, a richer and more magnificent sort is very likely the product of native post-Roman workshops. In the same way the distribution and the style of certain enamelled ornaments suggest that they are of British origin.

The difficulty of reconstructing the lost archæology of the Britons out of the material found in the graves of their conquerors makes the task excessively hard. Moreover the natural tendency to suppose that the brilliant Kentish jewellery is a visible expression of the Jutish triumph that culminated under King Ethelbert has made any other interpretation of the facts seem at first unlikely. But on examining in detail the chronological position of such a gorgeous and resplendent jewel as the famous 'Kingston brooch' (Liverpool Museum), it becomes plain that the weight of the evidence is emphatically in favour of a date that is comparatively early, and as this brooch belongs to the native class of jewel, we are more likely to be right in supposing it to be British work of the late fifth or very early sixth century than Jutish work of the days of Ethelbert.

Naturally the position is complicated by the existence of a recognizable British-Teutonic style. But as this is in a large measure jewellery imitating the fine British work, we get useful chronological information concerning this last if we can determine the date when the imitative work first appears. The rich burial from Taplow is extremely important in this connection, and now seems to be early sixth century rather than early seventh.

These studies certainly increase our respect for the Britons in the days of Vortigern and Ambrosius; but the jewels that can still be described as 'native' in the days of King Arthur are of inferior workmanship, and suggest a loss of touch with the continental world.

It is very unlikely that we shall ever find or excavate 'many-towered Camelot,' but there is a definite probability of some progress in the task of sorting out minor Arthurian antiquities from the 'Anglo-Saxon' cases of our museums. A great deal is to be expected from such studies as that of Mr. Leeds [MAN, 1932, 244].

SECTIONAL PROCEEDINGS OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS.

SECTION I. HUMAN PALÆONTOLOGY. *President: Sir Arthur Smith Woodward, F.R.S.*

246 In addition to a programme of two full days, the Section joined with Section II for discussions of common interest, and assisted at a demonstration at the Royal College of Surgeons by Sir Arthur Keith and Miss M. L. Tildesley, and at University College by Prof. G. Elliot Smith.

Early Types of Man.

Prof. B. Oetteking. *Morphology and Human Antiquity in America.* Being the continent most recently populated, America offers unusually intricate anthropological problems complicated by the association of evolutionary processes with contemporary faunistic and geological changes.

Dr. Hans Weinert. *The Palæontological Proof of our Descent.* Among the Summo-primates, the Chimpanzee is nearest to Man, and the 'missing link' must be an extinct common ancestor. Among anthropoids *Pithecanthropus* is the most closely related to the Chimpanzee, and the most primitive fossil man hitherto discovered. *Sinanthropus* is nearly similar; so is the lower jaw of *Eoanthropus*.

Prof. Adloff. *The Significance of the Dentition* in interpreting fossil remains of genera related to Man

lies in its peculiarly specific character, its hardness which frequently preserves this evidence, and its slight evolutionary modification. As pleistocene Man already possessed a modern dentition, fossil forms with human dentition must be *Hominidæ*, and the anthropoids must have branched off from a human stem, the Chimpanzee last of all.

Prof. A. J. P. van den Broek compared the *Jaw of Heidelberg Man* with a similar dental arch of a recent Javanese woman, with teeth similarly worn. The relative proportions of the masticatory muscles in Heidelberg Man must have been the same as in recent Man, though their absolute strength must have been greater. Principal differences are the massivity of the Heidelberg jaw, the breadth of the *ramus ascendens*, and the absence of a chin; the evolution of which is due to the facial muscles and connective tissue on the outer side of the *regio mentalis*. Prof. Elliot Smith thought that the argument overlooked the growth factor in the individual human body. Chin development might be associated with delay in the eruption of the teeth, and this pause with the period when the child was learning to use his already very large brain.

Prof. F. Wiedenreich noted *Typically Pithecoid Characters in the Temporal Bone of Sinanthropus pekinensis*, especially in its tympanic and petrosal portion, which make *Sinanthropus* more primitive than *Homo primigenius*. Prof. Elliot Smith agreed, but compared *Sinanthropus* with a child that has not grown up, 'a sort of Pleistocene Peter Pan,' and urged similar criticism of the Piltdown temporal bone.

Prof. G. Elliot Smith commented on some *New Discoveries in Human Palæontology:* (1) Dubois has found three more femora from Trinil confirming the peculiarities of the femur found there in 1892 and the use of specific name *erectus;* (2) Oppenoorth's discovery of five fossilized skulls of a new type of mankind in the upper Pleistocene beds of the Solo valley in Java complicates the Trinil problem by the possibility that the Trinil femora may belong to *Homo Soloensis;* (3) resemblances with *Sinanthropus* suggest that the Piltdown cranium is as *pithecoid* as the jaw found with it, and belongs to the same individual; (4) the Lloyd's skull (which was exhibited) was found in fluviatile deposit forming part of the Taplow (Middle) Terrace of the Thames, and Miss Garrod regards it as of Mousterian age, if not older. Probably it belongs to *Homo sapiens*, and if so is vastly more ancient than any other known representative of this species.

Africa.

Dr. L. S. B. Leakey described *Fossil Remains of large Anthropoid Apes from Lower Miocene Deposits of Rusinga Island.* Kavirondo Bay, Lake Victoria, Uganda. One species is of the same size as the Chimpanzee; it differs from the lower miocene *Proconsul africanus*, found by Dr. A. T. Hopwood, at the Koru, Uganda, and is of the genus *Dryopithecus:* Sir A. Keith has named it *D. leakeyi*. Another is larger and resembles *D. rheuanus*.

Dr. Franz Wiedenreich noted the *Occurrence of Oldoway types* among the C-group population of Aniba, during the Egyptian Middle-Empire and among the existing Nilotic people of Africa. Two skulls from Aniba, hyperleptoprosopic with small brain capacity resemble Watussi or Wahima types and the fossil skull from Oldoway.

Prof. M. Boule and H. Vallois described the *Fossil Men of Apalou-bou-Rhummel* in Algeria, characteristic of the Capsian culture; of brutal aspect and various cephalic index; unrelated to Neanderthal, or Cromagnon, Mediterranean, or negro types, but agreeing with types already known from Neolithic deposits in Algeria. Incisor teeth were knocked out in early life.

Palestine.

Sir Arthur Keith discussed the *Late Palæolithic Inhabitants of Palestine* associated with the Natufian culture in the caves at Shukbah and Carmel explored by Miss Garrod. They have affinities with the neolithic people of Malta, with the negroid element represented amongst south Europeans in the Aurignacian period, and more distantly with the predynastic inhabitants of Egypt and late-palæolithic people of N. Africa. They belong to the Mediterranean stock (cephalic index 72–78) with cap-shaped occiput, larger heads than pre-dynastic Egyptians, short, wide faces, with sub-nasal prognathism, low, wide nasal arch, and prominent chins marked by the fullness of the teeth-bearing parts of the jaw. They had low stature, strong thigh and leg bones, and other peculiarities of the limb bones. They extracted their women's upper central incisors, practised cannibalism, and for some reason burned dried human bones, like the early people of Ur, and the earliest folk at Zimbabwe. This paper was discussed by Miss Garrod, and Drs. Elliot Smith, Wiedenreich, Weinert, Chevket Aziz, and Vallois.

Theodore McCown and Sir A. Keith described the *Skeleton of a Child from a Mousterian deposit on Mt. Carmel* (Mugharet es Sukhul) which they name *Palæanthropus palestinus*, together with the Neanderthaloid fragments from Zuttiyeh Cave in Galilee, and teeth from the Shukbah Cave in Judæa. The skeleton, buried squatting, with body flexed forwards, differs from a Neanderthal child and from *Sinanthropus* but has resemblances with a Neanthropic child.

Theodore McCown further described the *Discovery of a Mousterian cemetery on Mt. Carmel* in which, besides the infant, eight more individuals have been found this year. They, too, appear (so far as can be seen at present) to combine Neanderthaloid physical features with some clearly Neanthropic ones. Their flint industry is of well developed Levallois type with tortoise-cores, blades and burins, including angle-gravers with facetted butt. Miss Garrod compared the lowest layer at Mugharet-el-Wad, the industry at Shukba and M-el-Tabūn, that of Harar Merd in S. Kurdistan, and the Levallois of Kharga Oasis. The Abbé Breuil compared also the Levallois of Egypt and the West; and noted the association of transitional industry with a transitional variety of Man.

Mediterranean.

Prof. N. Puccioni gave a detailed account of the work of the *Italian Institute of Human Palæontology* founded five years ago in Florence, and Prof. S. Sergi compared the *Saccopastore and Gibraltar Skulls.*

Prof. R. Battaglia's *Human Skulls from Castellieri in Istria* indicate a brachycephalic Dinaric element in the Bronze Age, but no Slav or proto-Slav element in pre-Roman Carso or Istria.

Prof. G. Genna detected *Cro-Magnon Elements in Latium* in a neolithic cemetery at Monte S. Giovanni Campano in the Liris valley; one skull of this type had been trepanned (the first Italian instance) with a stone implement.

Prof. John Cameron reported on *Human Bones excavated in Minorca* on sites described below (MAN, 1932, 250) by Dr. Guest. The crania from an ossuary were of 'river bed' type; one was trepanned; some of the humeri showed unusual range of movement at their shoulder-joints, and great muscular power, illustrating the ancient fame of the Baleares as 'slingers' islands.' From Biniatap come a broad-headed type with another 'slinger.'

J. L. M.

SECTION II. PALÆOLITHIC AND MESOLITHIC.

President: R. A. Smith, F.S.A., British Museum.

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The Palæolithic and Mesolithic Section included communications from Asia and Africa as well as from Europe; but reference should also be made to Section V for Tasmanian and Pacific material. The Section spent a whole day under expert guidance in the well-known gravel pits of Swanscombe.

Egypt and North Africa.

Miss G. Caton Thompson. *The Prehistory of the Kharga Oasis* (summarized already in MAN, 1932, 158), includes Acheulean, Acheuleo-Levallois, pre-Sebilian (a new facies of Le Moustier), Aterian, and Capsian to Capso-Tardenois, all *in situ* in gravels, silts, and Pleistocene spring deposits. Tufa deposits date from Acheulan to pre-Sebilian, and moist climate to Aterian. Neolithic hearths and huge flint mines on the plateau were deserted after the Pleistocene fossil springs in the depression failed. A remarkable exhibition of specimens from Kharga was arranged at Bedford Congress.

Dr. K. S. Sandford. *Recent Work on palæolithic Man in the Nile Valley* showed that the climate, the behaviour of the Nile, and the peoples on its banks underwent important changes in late and post Mousterian times.

R. Vaufrey described *Acheul-Mousterian foldings of alluvial beds at Gafsa;* and M. Reygasse, the *Campignian Forms in North African Palæolithic,* and *Tardenoisian in North Africa.*

Dr. L. S. B. Leakey sent a preliminary note on the *Culture-sequence at Oldoway.* Over the lower beds I–IV in the Oldoway gorge lie unconformably Va–b and the 'steppe-lime.' Implements from I–IV progress from pre-Chellean pebble-tools to advanced Acheulean ovates: in V are a few tools resembling Upper-Aurignacian of Kenya. In humus on the 'steppe-lime' are small lunates and scrapers like the Wilton of Kenya and South Africa. Fossil-beds in the Kendu–Homa area, south of Kavirondo Gulf, have pre-Chellean tools associated with Oldoway *Deinotherium,* and subsequently Chellean with Oldoway fauna. Both beds yield human remains.

M. C. Burkitt and E. J. Wayland. *The Magosian Industry of Uganda* is of the latest palæolithic phase. Though middle-period elements persist, the tendency is towards a mesolithic earlier than the Wilton phase in Kenya.

China.

Prof. l'Abbé H. Breuil attributed *Fire and Instruments of Stone and Bone from Chou-Kou-tien* to Sinanthropus.

Siberia and Eastern Europe.

Prof. Minns, in the absence of Profs. Efimenko and Petri, summarized recent work on the *Old Stone Age in European Russia* and *Palæolithic Siberia.* Crimea and Caucasus have a few Mousterian sites: a Crimean cave Kük-Koba resembles Krapina and late-Mousterian; Kostenki on the Don is related to Willendorf and Prdmost; White-Russian sites to late Solutrean. In Siberia, harpoons with a curious hafting-notch come from Verkholénskaya-Gorá. At Mal'ta on the Belaya R., 50 miles N. of Irkutsk and 100 miles from L. Baikal, Gerasimov found, beneath dolmen-like slabs, ivory figures of women and birds, and a buried child with bones broken and ruddled: all closer to European Aurignacian or Russian material than to Siberian.

Dr. J. Boe's *Palæolithic Finds from Finmark* challenge Nummedal's opinion that sites in Finmark were only occupied on one occasion, and correlate them with Magdalenian. The coast route being difficult, northward movement was probably across E. European tundra.

Western and Central Europe.

S. Hazzledine Warren. *The palæolithic industry of Clacton-on-Sea* is now recognized in many parts of E. Europe. The lowest 100 ft. gravel at Swanscombe is earlier than the type station: the High Lodge brick earth later: so-called Clactonian I at Swanscombe perhaps earlier than all these.

Dr. H. Dewey described *Early palæolithic implements from the 100 ft. terrace of the Thames.*

A. L. Armstrong described an *Open-air station of Upper Aurignacian date* near Hillerton in Lincolnshire, earlier than Sheffield's Hill, and related to the middle zone of Mother Grundy's Parlour in Cresswell Crags.

Major E. R. Collins distributed the *Palæolithic implements of Nidderdale,* between Early Chelles and Aurignac. Mindel and Riss glaciations seem continuous here, and Wurm moraines contain relics of all preceding periods.

Dr. H. H. Kidder discussed the *Dimensional characters of Upper Palæolithic flint industries in Corrèze and Dordogne.*

Prof. W. Schmidtgen described *New Sites of Palæolithic Implements in Loess near Mainz,* on the Rhine; the related Wiesbach terraces are late

Mousterian; Aurignacian hearths occur at Linsenburg.

At a demonstration in the British Museum, R. A. Smith exhibited *St. Acheul implements from the gravels at Fordwich, Kent.*

Prof. G. Schwantes. *New palæolithic finds from Holstein* (open-air sites at Wellingsbuttel and Wulfsdorf, N. of Hamburg) resemble the Magdalenian of Chaleux in Belgium. The borer with curved point is new.

Dr. N. Niklassen. *The Settlement of Sweden in late glacial times* closely followed retreating ice, using pebble-tools and simple scrapers.

Spain and Portugal.

Prof. Pericot y Garcia described *Spanish solutrean points of levantine type* and *Painted plaques from the Parpalló cave, Gandia, Valencia.*

Lieut. A. do Paço. *Stone Implements from coast sites in N.W. Iberia* include quartzite hand-axes distinct from the Chellean and Acheulean of Carreco, which themselves differ from local Asturian forms.

Prof. A. Mendes Corrêa discussed *Portuguese Mesolithic Questions* in the light of excavations at Mage; Cabeco da Amoreira resembles late palæolithic; C. da Arruda is Tardenois, Asturian culture is earlier in N. Portugal, but after Maz d'Azil in Cantabria: it is distinct from the Capso-Tardenois of the Tagus valley.

Rev. E. Jalhay asked *Is Asturian industry purely local?* but regarded it as a post-palæolithic and pre-neolithic development, originating in the south and spreading slowly up the Atlantic coast; in Brittany it may overlap æneolithic.

Mesolithic Problems.

Grahame Clark. *The Mesolithic Age in Britain* covers all between final Pleistocene and introduction of agriculture and domesticated animals ca. 2500–2000 B.C. Azilian culture is confined to N. and N.W. Britain; Tardenoisian to Pennines, Northumberland, Isle of Wight, and N. Cornwall. Maglemose types are more frequently reported.

A. D. Lacaille described the *Mesolithic industries of Scotland.*

Dr. K Keller-Tarnuzzer. *The absolute date of Mesolithic and final-Magdalenian* is determined from Swiss sites—Hermitage (Basle), Moosbuhl (Berne), Schotz (Lucerne)—where Magdalenian passes into neolithic without mesolithic phase.

Miss D. A. E. Garrod described a *New Mesolithic Industry, the Natufian of Palestine,* first found in 1928 in Wady-en-Natuf near Shukba, and characterized by small lunates with blunted backs, small parallel-sided blades with blunted backs and ends obliquely retouched, larger blunt-backed knives, core-scrapers and bone points. Burins are common but not very typical. Mugharet el-Wad, a cave near Haifa, yields a similar industry, here divisible into an upper Natufian corresponding to Shukba B, and a lower Natufian.

Miscellaneous.

Prof. l'Abbé H. Breuil summarized actual knowledge of the *Evolution of Wall-painting in the Reindeer Ages.* Altamira, Marsoulas and Font-de-Gaume had suggested the sequence, (1) tracing in colours, (2) shading in black flat tints, (3) polychrome painting and red symbols. But the evidence from Niaux, the Cantabrian Pyrenees, Sergeac and La Ferrassie complicated this. Aurignacian is now divided into seven stages and is prolonged in E. Spain; the possibilities of Solutré are recognized, and there are seven stages of Magdalenian art. As Maz d'Azil times approach there is reversion to tracings in red, but letter-like symbols had no further development.

Dr. A. Cheynier. '*Raclettes*' *and the* '*Retouche abrupte*' are upper palæolithic peculiarities, frequent in Aurignacian and Capsian, known also in Solutrean, and common in Magdalenian.

Prof. Erdtmann's *Dating of North Sea* '*moor-log*' *by pollen-analysis* recognized both the significance and the risks of this method.

R. M. FLEMING.

SECTION III. AGES OF POLISHED STONE, BRONZE, AND IRON IN THE ANCIENT WORLD.

This section was divided into three subsections;

248 A. Western and Northern Europe; B. The Ancient East, including the Ægean; C. Central Europe and Mediterranean.

III A. Western and Northern Europe. *President: Prof. H. J. Fleure, F.S.A.*

This subsection interested itself especially in the culture-movements of the dawn of the age of metal when agriculture and trade spread to the British Isles, through a number of contacts, some *via* the narrow seas or the Straits of Dover, which in the third-millennium B.C. may have been only a very narrow channel or even almost land, and some thalassic along Atlantic shores between the Mediterranean, Spain and Brittany on the one hand and the West Baltic on the other, connections being along the Irish Sea, the Hebrides and Orkneys.

Megalithic Monuments and Similar Structures.

Z. le Rouzic's absence for reasons of health was deeply regretted. His paper, *The Chronology of Prehistoric Burials in Morbihan,* will be printed shortly, probably in the Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, as it summarizes the work of many years on the derivation of megalithic culture from the Mediterranean; the corbelled tomb is a primary type, and there is continuity down to Roman and later times.

C. D. Forde's *Morphology of Breton Megalithic Monuments* makes the *dolmen à galérie* the basic type, suggests detailed resemblances to Iberian tombs, and develops local tomb types in Brittany by reference to the multiple-chambered passage tomb, the angled gallery, and the monuments with large closed chamber. The *allée couverte* shows connections with north-eastern France. Some tombs of late Bronze Age show marked break in grave goods as well as tomb form.

Miss V. C. C. Collum described her *Excavation of an Iron Age burial in a Megalithic gallery at Tressé,* Ille et Vilaine, Brittany. Associated finds included a single-edged iron axe, from which it was argued that Breton megaliths are later than is generally admitted. In discussion the alternative inter-

pretation was put forward that the burial was made at a late period in a monument of earlier date.

H. J. E. Peake gave an account of *The British Association's Catalogue of Megalithic Monuments* now in course of preparation for Britain and urged the need for parallel schemes in other countries.

M. Gaffikin described the *Catalogue of Megaliths in Northern Ireland* in course of preparation and illustrated a number of these monuments.

Mrs. F. Ayscough's *Carvings on Megalithic Monuments in Guernsey* demonstrated the value of flood-lighting and other devices of night-photography for the discernment of new details on the statue-menhir *la Gran'mere*, at S. Martin, Guernsey, and in the Déhus Dolmen, Guernsey.

W. Hansen. *Distribution and meaning of Cup Markings in Europe.* These are not to be interpreted as imitations of fire-borings in wood. In the later Bronze Age and afterwards they occur as parts of rock-carvings. The placing of offerings in these hollows in recent centuries in Finland and Middle Sweden suggests a better interpretation. Discussion revealed much divergence of opinion.

H. G. Leask described the *Ornamented Stones of the Irish Bronze Age*, with examples from Dowth, of incised circles, pecked circles sometimes with rays, concentric circles, vertical incised lines with cups at intervals, vertical incised lines with horizontal interrupted lines, chevrons, and circles with petaliform decoration around.

W. J. Hemp described the chambered cairn *Bryn Celli Ddu*, bringing out Mediterranean affinities, and suggesting a date about 1500 B.C.

W. Lindsay Scott emphasized *Mediterranean Features in Chamber Tombs in Anglesey*, and resemblances with monuments of the Iberian peninsula, the Balearic Isles, Provence and Sardinia. The first type has entrance gallery broadening towards the outer end, and cross-walls separating aligned chambers. The second is that of a single rock-cut tomb (so far) from Anglesey. The third has corbelled roof.

R. A. S. Macalister illustrated the monuments formerly at Anaghclochmulinn and at Clones, proceeding to a discussion of *Horned Cairns in Ireland*, a type of monument remarkably resembling the Tombe-di-Gigante of Sardinia.

H. St. G. Gray summarized *Excavations at Avebury:* the finding of Peterborough ware in the deeper part of the ditch-filling suggested a relation to the second occupation of Windmill Hill.

Mrs. M. E. Cunnington, on *Timber Circles in relation to Megalithic Monuments*, gave arguments for dating British stone and wood circles not earlier than early Bronze Age, and probably later than the Long Barrows with which Abingdon pottery may be associated. Peterborough ware and beakers are nearly, if not quite, contemporary.

A. E. van Giffen explained that beakers of type B predominate in Holland, the *Harendermolen* resemble the British stone circles, and the Dutch *Palisade-Barrows with Mound and Ditch* the Atlantic-European corbelled graves. Timber circles have been found near Köln by Rademacher and near Cuxhaven by Bravel. At Hijken in Drenthe is a barrow with palisade, ring-shaped wall, ring-ditch, and central pit-grave, *i.e.*, the first disc-shaped grave mound found on the Continent. A neighbouring barrow shows inner trench, outer palisade, and a former wall between. Migrants from Holland to England, on making contact with the late megalithic culture, fused their ideas, which led on to the building of Stonehenge.

W. J. Varley described the wood-circle at *Bleasdale* (Lancs) as a blend of the Dutch type of wood-circle with ideas (such as entrance passage), suggesting connections with west-British megalithic culture. Special attention was drawn to the site of Bleasdale at the western end of one of the branches of the Aire gap.

Earthworks and Settlements.

E. C. Curwen, *Neolithic Earthworks in Sussex*, described two widely separated groups of long-barrows, and the four Sussex camps with causeways, of which Whitehawk Camp and the Trundle are the best known. At the Trundle, between the inner and the outer ring, are elongated pits in series: roof chambers are found, and presumably also dwellings. The pottery, round-based, and usually carinated, commonly has vertically perforated legs and simple stroke-ornament, incised lines, or impressed dots. Peterborough ware is unknown in the county. Four clusters of flint mines have been found.

A. Keiller discussed his *Excavations at the Causewayed Camp at Windmill Hill*, Avebury, and its stratified finds; at the bottom of the ditch, plain round-based, simple-rimmed bowls with solid lugs, the earliest backed with flint grains, later ones with shell and chalk. Ware backed with oolite, found throughout, appears to have come from the Frome area. The upper third of the ditch contains Peterborough ware as well as sherds of Mortlake type. Overlapping these, but mainly higher up, are red beaker-sherds of Abercromby's Type A. Dog, deer, sheep, goat, pig and ox occur. Antler picks, rakes and combs, bone pins and awls, articles in carved chalk, saddle-querns and rubbing stones occur, perforated hammers and polished axes of various foreign materials; the only district with all the necessary rock types is North Wales and a special type from Graig Lwyd, Penmaenmawr, has been identified.

C. A. R. Radford, *Hill Villages in S.W. Britain:* the older are small and rough, the later have pottery allied to Windmill Hill and the beakers. They continue to the end of the Bronze Age.

C. Burdo. *The Pinnacle œncolithic site* at St. Ouen, Jersey, is dependent upon a mass of stones on a raised beach; the sea being then far out beyond its present margin: but in the upper part occur implements of Grand Pressigny flint as well as a small flat copper axe.

Abbé Philippe illustrated the *Use of Flint in the Bronze Age at Fort Harrouard.* The oldest remains include Michelsberg and Chassey pottery, with flint and bone and antler. Later more and better Chassey pottery appears. In a third stage the

flint industry is very fine. Pressigny flint is used, and the pottery illustrates Chassey and Halstatt types.

Bronze Implements.

H. J. E. Peake, on the *British Association's Catalogue of Bronze Implements*, appealed for international co-operation in such a catalogue, and illustrated its value by results of mapping, which suggested connections like those inspired from Keiller's finds of North Welsh stones among implements at Windmill Hill.

E. Estyn Evans brought forward an argument concerning British spear-heads. The leaf-bladed forms he considers, with Coffey, are a continental type distinct from the eared forms. But hybrids occur, and from some of these hybrids are developed spearheads with hollow wings, known in Picardy, Brittany, Spain and Russia.

W. Amrein described a *Village found at Winkelhorn* 4 m. deep in Lake Lucerne, and near it a hill settlement with 50 hearths and finds suggesting continuous habitation from late Neolithic to Halstatt.

C. A. R. Radford classified *Pottery of Halstatt type in Britain*, as (*a*) rough with finger impressions, diagonal lines and encrusted bands; (*b*) hard, polished, with incisions, omphaloid base and narrow neck, found with the Wiltshire fibula (*La Tène B*), so the date is fourth-third century B.C. and the movement a peasant immigration; (*c*) hard, smooth, with pecked surface (*cf.* Holland and Rhine), associated with fibulæ not of Wiltshire type, fifth-fourth century B.C.; (*d*) hard, well-baked, with high belly, third-second century B.C. Yorkshire had now extensive relations with the south-west.

G. Bersu, *Prehistoric Excavations and Museums*, urged the making of models of places excavated, to supplement the deficiencies of photographs.

Iron Age.

A. E. van Giffen gave an account of the *Early Iron Age in Holland*, laying special stress on the occurrence of what in England are called Celtic fields, which, however, do not occur in South Holland, where are found urn-fields. But something analogous to the 'Celtic fields' occurs in Jutland. Tumuli among the fields were rather later.

T. J. Arne summarized *Recent Archæological Research in Sweden*, emphasizing pollen-analyses, phosphate analyses, and air photography, etc. Some dwellings are claimed to be as old as the Ancylus period. Sweden's prehistoric remains are being officially mapped.

C. F. A. Schaeffer, through R. Lantier, sent a paper on *Hallstattian waist belts* found in Alsace and worn by women. They show series of signs that appear to be based on embroidery work. Designs from the Near East, taken up in North Italy, have passed on, not without loss, to regions north of the Alps.

Domestic Animals.

C. Bryner Jones, *Origins of British Cattle*, discussed the domesticated cow as a polymorphic species retaining features of *Bos primigenius*, and of the Pliocene *Leptobos*. The stocks of the prehistoric herdsmen showed wide range of variation. Origins of domestic cattle must be sought in Asia.

J. W. Jackson, *Prehistoric Domestic Animals*, agreed that the old names for supposed races of cattle should be discarded. Remains of the horse found in Britain in various long barrows and elsewhere with a neolithic associations did not suffice to decide whether the horse was then already domesticated.

H. J. FLEURE.

SECTION III B. THE ANCIENT EAST, INCLUDING THE MEDITERRANEAN. *President: Sidney Smith, British Museum.*

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Mesopotamian Cultures.

L. C. Watelin: *Neolithic Tools from Kish.* On the virgin soil are microliths; above these, a fine flake-industry with local workshops. Later still the workmanship degenerates, as metal comes into use, and polished celts appear, with finely worked arrowheads.

Dr. C. L. Woolley: *The Chronology of the Early Graves at Ur.* These are certainly royal graves, not relics of a fertility site. The names in-*lugal* may be of persons under the I. Dynasty of Ur. The graves are stratigraphically much older than the Sargonid and I. Dynasty layers, and their contents are in a distinct style. Probably they contained vassals of the I. Dynasty, and should be dated about 3500–3100 B.C.

D. B. Harden: *Pottery Fabrics from Kish.* The Culture at Jemd-et-Nasr is less homogeneous than the tablets would suggest: possibly the 'A' palace was not flooded with the surrounding areas.

M. E. L. Mallowan: *The Prehistoric Cultures of Nineveh.* Stratified deposits 22 metres thick, beneath the Sargonid levels, reveal five distinct cultures:—(i) with incised pottery; (ii) with painted ware as in Waziristan, and polychrome ware as at Samarra and Tell-Halaf; obsidian and flint, but no metal; (iii) self-coloured burnished ware, with rare copper; clay sickles as at Ur, Abu-Shahrein, and Al-'Ubaid; (iv) pottery related to Ur, Jemd-et-Nasr, Erech; copper, burnt brick, seals with patterns and animals as at Ur and Susa I; (v) painted pottery as in Susa II, Sumerian seals, relations with royal graves of Ur. The series ends about 2700: culture (iv) may have begun about 4000: Samarra is therefore earlier still.

H. Frankfort: *Iranian and Anatolian Strains in Pre-Sargonid Mesopotamia.* Comparison of excavation results reveals four periods: (i) Al-'Ubaid period: culture of the first settlers when Mesopotamia became habitable, coming from the Iranian plateau with a culture homogeneous as far as E. Baluchistan, and perpetuated into the Indus culture, which as Tell-Asmar shows, was contemporary with the early Dynastic culture in Mesopotamia. The black-painted ware of Susa II, a later stage of this Iranian, with Indian elements, has no parallel in Mesopotamia. (ii) Uruk period: closely related to (i) but the pottery is ruder and related to Anatolian black, grey or red polished,

which displaces painted ware in Susa, Anau, Gavra-tépé: trough-spouted vases in Persia as in the Ægean come (with copper) from contemporary transitional phases of Anatolian culture, probably in the IV millennium. (iii) Jemd-et-Nasr period: with polychrome pottery, burials fired after interment, seal impressions, tablets and copper tools. (iv) Early Dynastic period with slip ware; including the 'Royal Tombs' of Ur, and the 'Deluge' layer at Kish.

A general discussion of the significance of *Painted Pottery in the Near East* revealed the lack of agreed vocabulary and classification, by which sequences might be described without employing 'absolute' chronologies. It was agreed to collaborate in the projected international vocabulary under the editorship of Prof. Gordon Childe (MAN, 1932, 240).

Egypt and Syria.

Prof. M. Amer: *Excavations of the Egyptian University at Ma'adi, near Cairo.* A new type of neolithic culture, with oval houses, red and black pot-fabrics, stone vessels, textiles, flint implements, and very rare copper.

Rev. Prof. R. Koppel, S.J.: *Geology and Prehistory of Tell-Ghassul.* Three mounds east of the Jordan with four Bronze-Age layers yielded evidence of changes of climate and vegetation.

M. Dunand described *Æneolithic Byblos,* as revealed by recent French excavation.

L. Harding described a proposed *Corpus of Egyptian Pottery,* to be compiled in collaboration by the principal field expeditions.

Sir Flinders Petrie: *The Races of Palestine.* On sites in Wady Ghazzeh (Gaza) on the Egyptian frontier, palæolithic and neolithic give place to a copper culture during the V–VI Egyptian Dynasties. Syrian conquerors introduced bronze and reached Egypt to found Dyn. VII–VIII. Their palace at Gaza was replaced by Egyptian and Hyksos buildings (Dyn. XV–XVI).

Anatolian Cultures in Asia Minor and S.E. Europe.

T. Burton Brown: *Pottery from Cilicia.* The fabrics differ regionally W. of the Taurus range; incised blackware occurs only on the coast, and Anatolian red-ware does not reach the Ægean till 2400 B.C. Eastward Ægean fabrics are found; Cilicia was in contact with Cyprus, and resemblances between Cilician and Hittite wares suggest early movements of Indo-Europeans, perhaps including the 'Achaeans' of the Ægean.

A. Safrastian: *Pre-Urartian Discoveries in Armenia* include rock-sculptures, and early tombs with abnormal skulls.

Dr. H. H. von den Osten: *Preliminary Report on the Neolithic Settlement at Alishar-Huyuk.* At a depth of 90 feet on this Anatolian mound-site are houses with wooden columns, wooden implements, elaborately incised grey pottery, red-ware, and occasional painted-fabrics.

Dr. P. Dikaios: *Recent Discoveries in Early Bronze Age Cyprus,* from rich tombs at Vounous, included an elaborately modelled scene of worship, and symbols of mother goddess, bull, and snake. Sir Arthur Evans and Prof. Myres thought the scene rather domestic than a public ceremony. Miss J. du Plat Taylor added details of the tomb-equipment.

Miss Winifred Lamb: *West-Anatolian Culture illustrated by excavations at Thermi in Lesbos.* Of five layers, (i) and (ii) correspond with Troy I and Protesilaos I, (iii) occupies the interval (2700–2400 B.C.) between Troy I and II; the foundation of Troy II and the spread of Troad culture to Macedon and Greece reduced Thermi (iv) and (v) to provincial importance. Before the fall of Troy II, Boz-eyuk and Protesilaos IV, Thermi was abandoned.

W. A. Heurtley, *Prehistoric Macedonia,* summarized systematic excavation of mound sites of Neolithic, early, middle, and late Bronze Age, and Iron Age, and proved successive replacements of Thessalian culture by black-ware, Anatolian (2500–2000 B.C.), incised Danubian, Helladic (1500 B.C.) and Mycenæan elements. A Lausitz invasion with fluted ware, about 1150 B.C. was succeeded by a proto-geometric style, and conservative revival of black-ware types.

Prof. M. M. Vassits, *Vinča and Hyperborean Myth,* suggested that Greek legend supports the theory that Vinča on the Danube was a Cycladic colony.

R. Vulpe: *Albanian bronze axes and the rule of Cadmus among the Encheleis.* Another comparison of Greek legend with archæological distribution (this time) of Syrian bronze-types.

Oriental Elements in Primitive Europe.

Prof. O. Menghin: *Merimde-Salâme and its significance for Neolithic development of Europe.* On this Nile-delta site a neolithic culture before 4000 B.C. yields pottery resembling fabrics of Michelsberg and Swiss lake dwellings, and a flint halberd which recurs in Spain.

Prof. V. Gordon Childe: *The Significance of certain Metal-types recently found in the East for the chronology of Bronze-Age Europe.* Out of a 'Sumerian' group of 22 types from the plano-convex-brick period in Mesopotamia (dated 3500–2500 by Woolley, 2600–2500 by Christian), 8 recur in Troy, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and round the Black Sea. It is inferred that the Aunjetitz culture was contemporary with the 'plano convex' in Sumeria.

Minoan Culture.

Sir Arthur Evans, *Knossos and Mycenæ,* discussed the cleavage of 'Late Minoan II' and evidences of continued reaction of Minoan Crete on the 'Mycenæan' world after the fall of the Great Palace. The earliest remains at Mycenæ show dominant Minoan influence and Hellado Minyan survivals. But from the middle sixteenth century Minoanization was complete, L.M.I.*b.* culture prevailing on both Ægean shores. In L.M.II. this unitary civilization was cleft in twain: Knossos and its domain developing the 'Palace Style' while L.M.I.*b* on the mainland degenerated into a distinct L.M.I.*c.* From 1400 B.C. the first 'Mycenæan' style displays many reactions from L.M.III.*a* in Crete, borrowing forms and motives from L.M.II. The substance of

this paper will appear in *The Palace of Minos at Knossos*, vol. IV.

C. F. A. Schaeffer: *Doors and windows of the Mycenæan tombs of Ras Shamra* in North Syria of XVIII–XIX Dynasty date closely resemble those of masonry tombs of Isopata in Crete: the windows were intended to convey food and drink to the deceased.

S. Marinatos: *The Orientation of Minoan Architecture.* Whereas Babylonian and Assyrian builders laid out temples and dwellings in practical or religious relation to sunlight or winds, Minoan palaces usually lie foursquare with our 'cardinal points,' which may be regarded as inherited from Minoan navigators.

Ivory Carving in the Iron Age of Syria.

M. Dunand: *The ivories of Arslan-tash and their relations with pre-Hellenic art.* Though at Byblos a temple, civilization, and art existed from the early third millennium, it is only in the first millennium that the tombs and sanctuaries of Byblos fully reveal the characteristic Phœnician mixture of Babylonian and Egyptian elements. At Arslan-tash near Carchemish the inscribed bed of Hazael with inlaid ivories—part of the spoil from the Assyrian sack of Damascus in 802 B.C.—shows Egyptian and Assyrian elements blended by a naturalist inspiration ultimately Ægean, strongest in animal scenes, but restrained in human figures by traditional costumes.

J. W. Crowfoot, *Ivories from Samaria*, partially gilded and inlaid with coloured pastes, and dated by stratigraphy and tradition to the 'ivory house' of Ahab and Jezebel, about 850 B.C., illustrate the same composite style, but suggest Syrian rather than Phœnician provenance.

Miscellaneous.

Sir Flinders Petrie: *The Indus Inscriptions*, interpreted by Egyptian ideographic principles, appear to have served to seal goods belonging to different boards for transmission by bullock wagon; their designs illustrate their users' culture.

Sir Flinders Petrie: *The Value of Decoration* lies in its arbitrary nature, not conditioned by necessity as are useful inventions. It is not likely, then, to be repeated in detail independently.

Prof. G. Bendinelli: *The Importance of Vase Forms* to determine the cultural grade of prehistoric peoples is illustrated by the types devised for various drinks, especially for wine, the vase forms for which in the Mediterranean spread with viticulture.

J. L. MYRES.

SECTION III C. CENTRAL AND MEDITERRANEAN EUROPE. *President: Professor J. L. Myres, F.B.A.*

250 Eastern Europe.

The progress of prehistoric research in East Central Europe in recent years has been remarkable and has not only helped to solve the problem of the spread of agricultural peoples at the dawn of the Metal Age but has especially quickened British interest in it. It was therefore with special appreciation that the Congress welcomed contributions from that region.

In V. Dumitrescu's *Excavations at Atmageana-Tatarescu* (*Rumania*), the 'Boian A' pottery with excised spiral mæanders was found, overlaid by the æneolithic Gumelnitsa culture. The relative chronology thus established for the region from north of the Danube to south of the Balkans contributes towards an absolute chronology.

O. Kandyba discussed the affinities of the *Dniestro-Danubian neolithic region* with its spiral decoration, figurines, early painted pottery, pedestalled bowls (found from the Ukraine and Thessaly to Germany), polychrome pottery of Ukrainian origin spreading to the Danube; in fact, one might substitute the term 'Dniestro-Danubian' for 'Band-Keramik.'

N. Makarenko announced a *Neolithic Cemetery on the Sea of Azov*, with unusual ritual and unfamiliar types of flint and bone.

D. A. J. Buxton gave an account of his *Excavations at Koszylowce in Galicia*, in a bend of the Dzwirn tributary of the Dniester about 300 miles from the Black Sea, in black earth overlying loess. There were found wattle and daub houses, figurines, pottery, flint flakes and arrowheads, a few stone axes, but very little metal. The pottery includes thumb-marked ware as well as painted pottery with debased spirals. The affinities are with Cucuteni 'B' and Tripolje. Thessalian affinities have been suggested, but are exaggerated.

I. Borkovskyj: *The Origin of the Culture with Corded Ware in Central Europe*, dissented from the Germanic theory of Kossinna and agreed with Childe that it reached Central Europe in a mature stage about 2000–1800 B.C.

L. Horakova-Jansova: *Funeral Rites* in the culture of Bohemian stroke-ornamented pottery. The burials include slightly contracted, cremated, and burials in dwelling pits, with stroke-ware.

J. Eisner: *On the Painted Spiral-ware of Slovakia*, showed that there is no true incised ware here, but that spiral-mæander pottery spread in from Lower Austria and Moravia. In the south the spiral-mæander people encountered Lengyel culture, and along the Theiss arose a derivative style with deeply incised and complicated zig-zag ornament. At Zeliezovče, and on æneolithic sites elsewhere, incised and painted ornament occur together with arrowheads, triangular and heart-shaped, but rarely trapezoid, as on early Polish sites.

M. Vassits pleaded for *International Organization of Prehistoric Research in the Danube Valley*, and intensive study of other sites to amplify and check results obtained at Vinča. He thought that Cerna Voda in Roumania, or Vedbol near Vedin, would prove useful.

Accordingly a strong Research Committee was nominated, with Prof. F. Tompa, of Buda Pesth, as convener, to co-ordinate research in all countries concerned, and arrange for an international study-tour to the principal sites.

Central Europe.

H. O. Hencken, at *Homolka, near Prague*, has examined a fortress with hut-circles and post-holes of rectangular houses and of two palisades. The culture has many affinities with the pre-metal culture of the regions farther north. At a later

stage grooved-ware and Laibach pottery indicate continuous intercourse with the south-east.

J. Boehm confirmed the occurrence of *The Fibula in the Aunjetitz culture* (an association heretofore known only at Gemeinlebarn, near Vienna), by new evidence from Polepy (Bohemia) and Nemciče (Moravia). The fibulæ were simple and large with a straight bow and a large spiral. Correlations with Ægean phases proposed by Childe and Reineke left priority to Aunjetitz, though its known derivations were later. Prof. Myres defended Ægean priority, and R. Vulpe described primitive Rumanian fibulæ.

P. Vouga explained that in *Excavations in an Æneolithic Pile-dwelling*, the drag and similar instruments disturb submerged strata and confuse finds. Caissons are costly and speculative. A cylinder of sheet iron thrust through the deposit conserves relative positions but risks breakages and is obstructed by large beams or boulders. Even when composed of telescopic sections it requires many hands, and risks waste of trouble on barren spots. Better results are hoped from portable wooden frames. He also discussed a point of method in regard to the *Formation of archæological layers around Pile-dwellings*. The deposits around lake-dwellings are so uneven that it is not enough to determine vertical sequence. Sand and humus lie in false bedding as in all shore deposits, and their instructive lateral transitions over considerable distances are no less significant for the reconstruction of the settlement.

Italy.

A series of communications from Italy was much valued.

Prof. U. Rellini announced *Palæolithic exploration on the Gargano promontory* and also *New Stone Age sites with painted pottery from Gargano to Otranto.* Macchia has an æneolithic layer; there are burials in stratified deposits of the Bronze and Early Iron Ages, and three early villages have been found, one with a walled citadel and cisterns and a number of features made by rock-cutting. At Putta near Altamura, in hut-circles and surface graves, is much pottery like that of Matera and Pulo-di-Molfetta, both incised (either before or after firing) and painted. The name 'Apulian protogeometric' is suggested for the æneolithic (Matera) painted ware to distinguish it from Early Iron Age 'Italogeometric.'

Miss E. Baumgärtel described excavations on Monte Gargano. In the cave at Monaccora painted Corinthian vases overlay local Apulian, beneath which, again, a Bronze Age layer has numerous skeletons and undecorated pottery related to types east of the Adriatic. These strata are separated by layers of marine sand.

R. Battaglia described *Rock-engravings at Valcamonica* which represent men fighting, ploughing, etc., animals, huts or sheds, weapons, circles, cup markings and other symbols. A horse in archaic Greek style gives a lower date, but there is nothing to identify the artists.

Prof. U. Rellini, on *Bronze Age Culture and the Problem of the Italici*, described researches in Marche province which show an upper Alpine and a lower Alpine lake-dwelling culture, a terremare culture, and an Apennine culture without terremare.

E. Galli described *Survivals of the Prehistoric Iron Age in the Hellenistic epoch in Lucania*, where the population persisted without great change from late palæolithic to historic times. Outside influences rarely involved invasions, and there were Greek colonists only along the coasts. Though these influenced native styles here and there, the persistence of autochthonous peoples in their old ways was most remarkable.

Miss Anna Roes illustrated *Sun-symbols in Geometrical and Villanovan Art.* These are frequent, but their wide distribution makes it difficult to trace them back to their origins. The wheel is associated in Greece, South Italy and Hallstatt with symbols of birds and horses, which, as they do not persist, must be importations. An origin in Iran should be considered, as sun-symbols are of extreme antiquity there.

Prof. P. Ducati said that the *Villanovan Culture* of Bologna and Etruria begins in the late tenth century B.C., ending in maritime Etruria in the early eighth century, and at Volterra and inland in the seventh. The Villanovans were of transalpine origin and identified with the Umbrians. At the beginning of the tenth century they were the representatives of the first Iron Age culture in northern and central Italy. Etruscan colonization came from oversea into the Villanovan and Umbrian territory south of the Apennines; from the end of the eighth century it spread north, with a focus at Bologna, and also from Etruria itself from the end of the sixth century.

Western Mediterranean and Iberian Sites.

Dr. E. M. Guest described a *Recently excavated Naveta in Minorca*, of the Bronze Age, with finds like those at the *temenoi* and *taulas* at Trapucó and Torreta.

Mlle. E. de Manneville compared the *Early Monuments of Malta*, and after discussion an international Research Committee was nominated to co-ordinate study of the early monuments and cultures of the Western Mediterranean.

L. Siret illustrated the *Æneolithic Age in Spain* from the site at Almizaraque (Almeria). The æneolithic of Almeria is not the beginning of the Bronze Age of El Argar; but lack of tin gives this later culture an archaic look and has led to errors in interpretation. Crushed iron ore from which the silver has been removed is found in thin layers in some house sites. Copper ores were crushed and reduced in furnaces to obtain a product which contained small pockets of metallic copper. The copper objects showed on analysis little or no trace of silver.

R. de Serpa Pinto discussed the mapping of *Occurrences of Copper and Tin in Portugal*, as well as the remains of pre-Roman mining operations and the finds of objects of the Bronze Age in that country.

Indo-Germanic Origins.

H. Kuhn, on the *Origin and Home of the Indo-Germans*, argued that the distribution of neolithic culture groups in Europe made it difficult to see, in any one of them, the original 'Indogermans,' nor in the distribution of those languages the result of a spread from any one of them. Magdalenian culture, however, offers an ancestral association for the whole group. The Bandkeramik, Megalithic, Schnurkeramik and Lacustrine cultures, all derived from Magdalenian, each developed regionally, and within these regional cultures were specialized the principal groups of Indo-German languages.

D. M. VAUGHAN.

SECTION IV. THE NEOLITHIC, BRONZE, AND EARLY IRON AGES OUTSIDE THE ANCIENT WORLD. *Presidents : Prof. C. G. Seligman, F.R.S., and Dr. H. S. Harrison.*

251 **Pacific.**

Dr. H. S. Harrison described *Flint tranchets and chipped-stone celts from the Solomon Islands*, of which the typical form comes from Mala Island, and also a development in which part of the implement is finished by battering. The latter types are larger than ordinary tranchets and adapted for use as adze-blades, and the most familiar adze-blade of the Solomon Isles, though ground all over, has one face bevelled, suggesting tranchet influence. An implement of tranchet type is reported from British Honduras, associated, as in the Solomons, with chipped celts of European neolithic type. Since in Europe the tranchet is a shell-mound type, did it reach the Solomon Isles and America in mesolithic times, or survive in the East till it was later carried into and beyond the Pacific with other Neolithic elements? Or did it originate independently? Menghin includes the shell-mound culture in his Miolithic hand-axe culture, which he regards as responsible for the spread of plant-cultivation.

Dr. Ivens, answering Prof. Seligman as to the effect of extraction of sago pith on tools used by natives of the South Solomons, said that the only places where sago extraction was carried on by the natives were the islands of Bougainville Straits. He considered that the natives of the South Solomons had not long ceased to use worked flint adzes; the polished stone celt, made on islands other than those from which the tranchets came, was of fairly recent introduction.

Eastern Asia.

H. C. Beck and Prof. C. G. Seligman exhibited *Early Chinese beads of foreign type*. 'Eye' beads collected in China and attributed to Han period closely resemble Mediterranean beads and suggest identical origin. The Chinese 'eye' beads are, however, differently made and are therefore not imported from the Romanized Orient, but purposeful copies made at some site still unknown, presumably in China. But on pottery or porcelain no earlier turquoise glaze than Ming is known and these beads do not look so recent.

W. F. Collins gave the results of chemical examination of the mirror-black and 'quicksilver' patinas of certain Chinese bronzes. A T'ang mirror was also examined metallurgically. From the chemical and metallographic standpoints this mirror is of metal alloy, probably produced by a process similar to that in use at the present day, namely melting the constituents in metallic form in the desired proportions. The mirror metal is, however, unusual in containing plentiful droplets of lead, and corrosion-pits filled with cuprite (cuprous oxide, Cu_2O) distributed throughout the metal. The patina on the surface was then rubbed down until the silvery colour of the metal began to show through.

J. L. Shellshear announced an *Undescribed Type of Pottery from Southern China.*

Dr. N. Gordon Munro : *Ainu Remains in Southern Japan*, emphasized that the Hokkaido Ainu made pottery of great variety of form and richness of moulded decoration. Excavation of a site, Ishigu in Kyushiu, a small plateau 1,000 feet above the shore of Kagoshima Bay, revealed underground passages and shelters. A stone hearth, a stone mill, numerous flakes, pumice stone adapted for polishing, and pottery of Ainu type were found. These underground passages and shelters seem to identify the Ainu with the *Tsuchi-gumo* or earth-hiders of the ancient Ko-ji'-ki.

India.

Dr. G. R. Hunter described *Rock paintings from Indian cave shelters* in the Mahadeo Hills, Central Provinces. The earliest are of animals, in red silhouette; a second series is white with red outlines; the latest, in inferior yellow ochre, include an inscription in a *nagari* character. Some earlier paintings of human figures with bow and arrow are reminiscent of S.E. Spain and of S. Africa. Others hold swords and round shields, others are horsemen and there is an attempt to represent a horse-drawn chariot.

Dr. E. H. Hunt has studied *Megalithic burials in the Deccan* (Hyderabad State). The cist of stone slabs set together is buried deep underground. Stone circles, menhirs, cromlechs and dolmens are associated, and iron is found throughout the whole series. The surface remains recall those of Brittany. Analogies with Egypt include the 'house-of-cards' cist construction, polished black and red pots, lapis-lazuli, and the *ka* mark. With Mesopotamia there are racial type affinities, lapis-lazuli, and nickel as impurity in copper.

H. Balfour reported *On some pottery from Raigir* (Hyderabad) discovered by Dr. E. H. Hunt, previously associated almost exclusively with pre-Dynastic and Badarian Egypt. There is apparent identity of technique between this S. Indian pottery, found also in N. Arcot (Odugattur, etc.). Research is needed into this similarity of technique in cultures so remote.

H. C. Beck described *Beads from Indian Megalithic Burials* and the Egyptian ware, though shapes are very different.

Tasmania.

H. Balfour gave it as his considered opinion, formed 40 years ago, and confirmed by a recent examination of some 12,000 specimens of *Tasmanian stone implements*, that the Tasmanians had reached

a high level of craftsmanship. Typologically these flake implements fall into two groups, one exhibiting a pronounced Mousterian facies and the other, even more abundant, having Aurignacian affinities. The latter include keeled scrapers, tarté scrapers, concave scrapers, lames étranglées and grattoirs à museau; many of the nozzle scrapers exhibit 'la rétouche aurignacienne' in its most specialized form. However, duck-bill scrapers and burin types are rare, though the coup-de-burin is not lacking. 'Gravette' and 'chatelperron' points do not seem to have been made and bone implements are rare and poor.

America.

Dr. D. Chaves reported the discovery and significance of a *Sculptured Stone from Nicaragua.*

Africa.

M. Reygasse described some *Neolithic Statues of the Central Sahara.*

R. M. FLEMING.

SECTION V. THE TRANSITION FROM PRE-HISTORY TO HISTORY. *President: E. T. Leeds, F.S.A.* 252

The subject included all questions falling within the period of the post-Roman migrations together with those aspects of the La Tène period on which light could be thrown by a combination of literary and archæological evidence.

Crannogs.

Dr. Adolph Mahr, on the *Origin of Crannogs in Britain and Ireland*, suggested that the tradition of such lake and swamp settlements was not, as the later distribution would suggest, a western one but that it arose probably in Central Europe in the Neolithic period and was brought to this country with the late Bronze Age invasions. A series of distribution maps showed that in proportion as this type of settlement took root in Britain and Ireland, so it disappeared in its original home, until in the final period of the mediæval Crannogs the distribution, of which a remarkable map was shown, is thickest in Western and Northern Ireland and in Scotland, with continental groups almost exclusively in Eastern Germany and Poland.

Celtic Questions.

More controversial topics were broached in papers dealing with racial questions.

J. M. de Navarro asked "*Were the Peoples of the Rhone-Culture Celts?*" and relied mainly on linguistic and place-name evidence to assault Prof. Bosch Gimpera's and Dr. Kraft's suggestion that the 'Celtic cradle' lay in the Urn-field culture of the Rhone Valley in the late Bronze Age. He maintained that this region was rather Ligurian than Celtic. Prof. Bosch Gimpera re-stated his views in a later paper and an interesting discussion followed in which Dr. Kraft and Mr. de Navarro took part, and the questions in dispute were considerably narrowed.

I. C. Peate, meanwhile, dealing with a different aspect of the problem, *The Celts, a linguistic contribution*, deprecated the correlation by archæologists of the linguistic differences among the Celtic-speaking peoples with invasions vouched for only by archæological evidence. Mr. Leeds in the discussion agreed that archæologists ought to steer clear of the linguistic question at least until agreement was reached by the philologists on the distribution and the significance of the different groups.

Prof. E. McNeil introduced a discussion on *The Picts* in which he emphasized the equation of *Picti* and *Pretanni* in ancient authors, and the traces of Pictish social custom among certain clans in Ireland. He suggested that the word was a general term for the Pre-Celtic population of the 'Pretannic' islands, and in the discussion which followed Prof. R. A. S. Macalister supported this view and also Prof. McNeil's application of the principle of maternal descent to the distinction of Pictish elements in Ireland, which he connected with the reports of Pictish polyandry in ancient authors.

Dr. C. Nicolaescu-Plopsor, in quite another direction, described the historical associations of a striking exhibit of *Celtic metalwork in Oltenia.*

Anglo-Saxons.

A very important series of papers dealt with the Anglo-Saxons in Britain and on the Continent.

Prof. F. Roeder, describing *Recent Finds in continental Saxon cemeteries*, drew attention to the new and important discoveries of inhumation in cemeteries of which Galgenberg near Cuxhaven is an example. Here burial-grounds of several periods surround a Neolithic passage-grave and associated fibulæ and pottery show that inhumation was introduced in the last quarter of the fourth century, well before the migration to Britain. He suggested that the impulse came from the Roman provinces of North-eastern Gaul and that the absorption of such foreign influences first by the aristocracy would account for the comparative richness of the inhumation burials compared with the poorer cremations which continued alongside them. The appearance of inhumation as well as cremation among the earliest Saxon material in England thus becomes far less of a problem than it has been hitherto.

Miss O'Reilly read T. C. Lethbridge's paper *Some problems of the Anglo-Saxon Conquest.* In excavation on the Bran Ditch (*Proc. Camb. Ant. Soc.* XXXI & XXXII) a large group of skeletons accompanied by sub-Roman pottery, suggested a massacre and makes it probable that these frontier earthworks were constructed not against the Mercians but against the Britons, and that the victories of Cynric, Ceawlin, and Cuthwulf between 552 and 571 A.D. in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* indicates the expansion of an early mixed population (Gewissae) from the upper Thames valley, until foiled by the Anglian penetration of Gloucestershire at the end of the sixth century (expulsion of Ceawlin 591). The few early objects from cemeteries between Bedfordshire (Kempston) and the upper Thames were due in his opinion to the survival of heirlooms in later graves.

E. T. Leeds, on the *Saxon Penetration of the Upper Thames Region*, reaffirmed his belief in the

early Saxon occupation of this district from the N.E. in opposition both to the route from Southampton Water as given by the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and to the Thames Valley route which he had at one time preferred. He emphasized the distribution of cremation as an indication of the earliest settlements, and the comparative lateness of the connection between Kent and the Upper Thames as evidenced by the decoration of saucer-brooches.

In discussion, Prof. Roeder deprecated the revival of the 'heirloom theory' by Lethbridge to account for the early material at Luton and Hitchin, and thought that Mr. Leeds had established a case for Saxon penetration of this region from the Wash.

T. D. Kendrick, on the other hand, supported the 'heirloom theory' and urged that for that reason more attention should be paid to the typology of pottery and glass vessels on the lines laid down by Prof. Roeder in dealing with the Galgenberg cemetery. The typology of breakables was more likely to provide accurate dating than that of metal objects whose durability made serious margins of chronological error possible.

The main points at issue thus lay in the extent to which early Saxon penetration of the upper Thames valley from the north-east can be deduced with certainty from the archæological material, and the relation of such a movement, if it took place, to the literary evidence. It is clear that Mr. Leeds' argument would make nonsense of practically the whole of the story in the *Chronicle* down to and including the campaign of Bedcanford in 571, while Mr. Lethbridge is prepared to accept the story from 552 onwards at any rate correlating the Harnham Hill cemetery with the Battle of Searobyrig in that year, the Guildown burials with Wibbandun in 568, and the Icknield Way settlements with Bedcanford in 571. All speakers seemed tacitly to agree that the earlier part of the West Saxon narrative in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* describing the advance from Southampton Water in the first half of the sixth century is incompatible with the archæological evidence, except in so far as it may preserve traditions of a Jutish rather than of a Saxon occupation of that region and of the Isle of Wight.

W. P. D. Stebbing, on *Recent Evidence bearing on the Fifth and Sixth Centuries*, discussed the numismatic material afforded by the sub-Roman coin-hoards from Lydney and Richborough and pointed out the possibility of establishing connections between these barbarized Roman types and some designs on the early Saxon *sceattas*.

It was unfortunate that Dr. A. Tode and Dr. F. Zeiss were not able to add to this discussion their advertised papers on the *Mainland Homes of the Angles, Saxons and Jutes*, and on the *Continental Types in Anglo-Saxon material of the Sixth and Seventh Centuries* respectively.

Norsemen and Normans.

Prof. A. W. Brogger surveyed the *History of the Settlement of Northern Norway*. Inhabitation was continuous through the stone and bronze ages to the Norse settlement in the older iron age, with steady progress of the existing population but no fresh Germanic immigration. Archæological material shows that the outermost Norse posts in the older iron age lay no further north than Lofoten and Vesteaalen. Farming, with subsidiary whaling, supplied livelihood as in other Norse coast-districts. Antiquities of Viking age from Finmark, usually regarded as proving fixed Norse settlements, indicate only isolated colonists trading with the Finns.

Dr. H. Shetelig, to explain the *Norman Invasions of the Eighth Century*, took account of earlier maritime communications with northern lands. The Romans, and then the Franks, occupied Friesland to secure harbours for northern trade. Between Denmark and Norway, on one hand, and Great Britain and France, on the other, there was intercourse, archæologically attested, from the sixth century, and the Norse knew the crossing to the Shetlands and Ireland, and thence to the Loire and Spain. The first raids, Lindisfarne 793, Ireland 800, Aquitaine (unsuccessfully) 799, were an unforeseen danger to the West. Norse colonization of Shetlands and Hebrides foreshadowed the great invasion of Ireland in 820. Flanders and Friesland were raided before 834, when the Frankish Empire was first reached: in 879 three-quarters of Anglo-Saxondom was conquered, Flanders was ceded to Godfred 882, and the Norman duchy founded 911. Colonizing voyages to the Irish Sea must be distinguished from piratical descents on the Channel and Atlantic coasts, often ending in conquest. But sometimes Norsemen raided the continent, or Danes attacked Irish colonies.

Miscellaneous.

Freiherr von Richthofen traced the *Distribution and Attribution of Proto-historic Pottery with Wavy-line Decoration* which has been regarded as a specifically Slav feature. But in Finland, where Scandinavian influence is strong in Viking times, the wavy-line is found from Roman times onward.

Dr. Arne and Prof. Antoniewicz agreed that more critical study is required.

Dr. H. O. Hencken developed his views on the history of the *Early Tin Trade of Cornwall*. His emphasis on the trade-route from St. Michael's Mount to the Mediterranean *via* the Garonne, the pass of Carcassonne and Narbonne, led Mr. Leeds to point out another route which, on the evidence of hoards, was in more common use after the Middle Bronze Age, namely, from the Breton ports to the Loire at Tours, and thence through the Gap of Poitou and across the central massif *via* Clermont Ferrand to Vienne and down the Rhone.

C. F. C. Hawkes on *The Life of Britain in the Early Iron Age*, summarized his views recently published in *Archæology in England and Wales*, 1914–1931.

Dr. J. Brøndsted described the very interesting *Megalithic tombs of the Roman Iron Age* with corbelled roofs in northern Jutland, to which Prof. T. J. Arne mentioned possible parallels in Sweden.

Mlle. F. Henry explained the technique and discussed the traditions of the *Millefiori Enamels in*

Irish Metal-work, whereon Mr. Kendrick exhibited slides of two puzzling circular brooches, showing cloisonné enamel work, from Colchester and London, to which Roman, mediæval and intermediate dates had been assigned. Mlle. Henry, while unwilling to commit herself to a date, quoted another from Macon.

Excavations.

Several papers dealt with the excavation of individual sites. G. C. Dunning described *Salmondsbury Camp* and a *Saxon Hut at Bourton-on-the-Water*. J. H. Craw discussed the *Age of the Scottish Brochs* in the light of recent work on the Broch of Aikerness. General Nagovicius gave a detailed account of the timber defences of the *Migration Period Hill-fort Apuole*, in Lithuania. Prof. V. Gordon Childe had examined a *Small Fort with Secondary Souterrain at Castlelaw, Midlothian*, which opened up important questions on the activities of the population 'between 'the walls' in the early days of the Roman occupation of Scotland. Prof. A. E. van Giffen's excavation of a 'Terp' at Ezinge in Holland, revealing houses of so-called 'basilican' type in the Early Iron Age levels, suggested the survival of pre-Teutonic building traditions. Dr. H. Kjaer, *House and Village in Denmark in pre-Roman and Roman times*, traced the development of various types of settlement, in the light of recent research in Jutland. Prof. G. Schwantes gave a remarkable exposition of the *Excavation of Timber Structures* at Haithabu, in Schleswig, on methods which rival (if they do not surpass) those employed in recent years in detecting wooden buildings at such English sites as Richborough and Colchester.

Dr. W. Hansen demonstrated the *Use of Air-photography for Archæological Purposes* in the Hamburg region. From his illustrations, however, it would appear to have been employed rather for the survey and description of sites already known, than for the discovery and identification of new ones.

The Section had certainly a most interesting programme laid before it. One may perhaps regret the dropping out of so many promised papers—9 out of 35—particularly the disappearance of three important contributions on the Eastern activities of the Vikings. But regret is tempered by the reflection that the time was all too short for the proper discussion even of the papers which were delivered. What would have happened, had the programme been followed in full, one hesitates to think.

J. N. L. MYRES.

REVIEWS: ARCHÆOLOGICAL.

Britain: Archæology.

Christian Art in Ancient Ireland. *Vol. I. Edited by Dr. Adolf Mahr, Keeper of Irish Antiquities, National Museum, Dublin. Dublin*, 1932. **253** *Cr. folio. xxvii pp.* 80 pl.

This important folio volume, edited by Dr. Mahr on behalf of the Government of Saorstát Éireann, and issued by the Stationery Office, Dublin, represents the first part of a work to be completed in two volumes. This volume contains a twelve-page Introduction and 80 plates of illustrations prepared by the Ordnance Survey Office, Dublin.

The Introduction presents, with admirable brevity, competence and lucidity, the setting in which Irish Christian art flourished, the problems of its complex origin, of its amazing excellence, of its decline; and defines the successive styles which mark its evolution. One expected that a study such as this by a scholar with a continental training would provide novelties of treatment and outlook and this is realized. An important and valuable feature of the book is the inclusion of material from continental—particularly Scandinavian—museums, much of which is new to most of us; another is the stress laid on the study of all surviving techniques in various media—metal, parchment, leather, stone, for a just appraisement of the culture they represent; there is also a warning as to the imperfection of the record, due to the lost techniques in organic substances such as basketry and wood carving.

Dr. Mahr discusses the survival of La Tène art through the "dark centuries," a subject on which attention has been focused as a result of Mr. Kendrick's recent work on hanging bowls, but though he throws out suggestive remarks, he has no definite theory to present.

The classification of Irish art adopted in the introduction is as follows :—

I. The Vernacular Keltic Style: 7th–8th century.
II. The Hiberno-Viking: 850–1000.
III. The "Last Animal Style": 1000–1125.
IV. The Hiberno-Romanesque Style: 1125–Anglo-Norman Conquest.

Each period is summarily related to the historical background.

This review is a brief statement rather than a critical survey, for which the materials are not available. The analysis and dating of the objects illustrated on the Plates is reserved for the next volume; and a reviewer, invited to appraise part only of an organic whole, may be pardoned for postponing such appraisement.

It can at least be said that the book presents a wonderful series of large scale reproductions of photographs of outstanding, characteristic or exceptional examples of the marvellous Early Christian art of Ireland, and we warmly congratulate the Government of Saorstát Éireann on this new evidence of their appreciation of the "vital function which art has in the life of a nation." But we fail to appreciate why, when a work of such magnitude and of such archæological, historical and artistic importance is planned, the Editor should be so rushed by his official superiors as to be unable, as he himself notes, to ensure the highest excellence in all the plates, or to correct errors in the captions. It is not fair to a scholar of Dr. Mahr's competence

and reputation. We can only hope that the second volume, which will be eagerly awaited, will be produced in a more leisurely fashion, and that the world-wide demands of scholars and lovers of Irish art will soon render necessary a new edition of the volume under review, in which the minor faults will be corrected. CYRIL FOX.

254 **Roman Britain.** *By R. G. Collingwood. Clarendon Press.* 1932. *Cr. 8vo, 160 pp. New enlarged edition.* 6*s.*

This revised edition of Mr. Collingwood's Roman Britain is the outcome of his desire to place his argument in the newer perspective created by Romano-British archæological research in the last nine years. It is short, clear, vivid, and may be read with interest and understanding by those whose knowledge of history is slight. For this reason I commend it to ethnologists whose impressions of the material and the methods of history and archæology so often seem a dull, grotesque reflection of ethnological theories. Since the archæologist has to rely mainly on what has been preserved in the ground through many centuries, his data are necessarily concrete and objective, and contrast in these characteristics with much of the loose data of ethnology that are so often a product of introspection followed by projection into savage behaviour.

Some anthropologists speak about 'culture contacts' as though the only way in which they can be studied is by investigations among primitive peoples. To these people Mr. Collingwood's book may be recommended, for it deals almost entirely with questions of diffusion. The diffusion of Roman culture traits into Celtic culture is mainly in the form of indirect diffusion, it exemplifies diffusion by contiguity as well as by conquest, and it illustrates diffusion of process as against mechanical diffusion of objects. By indirect diffusion I mean that the Romans did not just come from Rome and dump down their culture on the Britons. Nothing so crude happened. The Roman armies in Britain were composed of Romans only in the sense that they were men who had accepted many of the more prominent behaviour-forms of Roman citizens. The very medium through which Roman culture was to be diffused to the Celts was something different from Roman channels, for it had undergone innumerable cultural modifications and fusions. Not only was the medium of diffusion, the Roman legions, a product of cultural fusion, but most of the objects of Roman culture which they brought to Britain had been deeply influenced by foreign techniques. Thus Samian pottery was being produced in South Gaul about the time when Britain was conquered, and it is from there, rather than from Italy, that this type of pottery was imported into Britain. Romano-British style in sculpture also probably came from Roman Gaul.

By diffusion by contiguity as well as diffusion by conquest, I mean that before the conquest of Britain in the reign of Claudius, the Celts of south-east England appear to have already borrowed widely from their semi-Romanized neighbours, the Gauls. By diffusion of process as against mechanical diffusion of objects, I mean the importation of objects which the Celts themselves could manufacture and transform through their indigenous technique. Hence, one can tell those objects which were directly imported from Italy from the same type of object made in Britain.

Diffusion is never a simple mechanical process, a wholesale taking over of foreign products without changing them. It is not a thrusting of culture traits on a submissive and unresponsive people. It is a dual rather than a unilateral process; the people who take over a trait assimilate it to their own modes of behaviour. A craftsman who has always worked in the technique of his culture does not reproduce with complete faith the artifacts of a superior culture. It is not necessarily a deficiency in craftsmanship which makes him change foreign traits when reproducing them, but rather it is due to the fact that he is conditioned by the training of his own culture. Hence we find imported types and forms of artifacts which nevertheless display the dominant traits of indigenous technique. The history of Roman Britain well illustrates these processes of culture fusion, and it has been excellently brought out by Mr. Collingwood that diffusion spells fusion. The Roman armies first used imported pottery, but early in the second century we find a hybrid Romano-Celtic pottery displaying Celtic traits in type of fabric, shape of vessels, and ornamentation (pp. 95–103). The same fusion took place, but apparently to a far lesser degree, in metal-working (pp. 104–108). Even where we would least expect it we find subtle 'indigenization' of foreign culture traits. The Celt had no sculpture before the Romans came, and we might have expected a mute imitation of imported forms. But even here we find the same process at work. For if the Celt had no sculpture, he was trained in pottery and metal-working, and this training compelled him to express in his new art of sculpture some of the dominant characteristics of his own indigenous art. Mr. Collingwood makes this point quite clear when he asks where the sculptor of the Bath Gorgon learnt his principles of sculpture, and answers his question by inviting us to turn back to the photograph of the Desborough mirror. In both, the serpentine curved lines are unmistakably the dominant artistic expression. But in this case we cannot say that a Romano-British style was established, for specimens are few and far between, and the first promise of fruit was early frosted (pp. 114–121). The author gives the impression that least of all did Celtic culture stamp the written Latin tongue. "Britain contributed little or nothing to *belles-lettres*" (pp. 122–124).

An important feature, admirably brought out by the author, is revealed by his analysis of the fusion of Roman and Celtic cultures. Those things which were already in use in the indigenous culture and which we may suppose were in consequence best adapted to its social processes, undergo the greatest 'indigenization.' Around common pots, which were the ordinary household

utensils of everybody, was developed the stablest native technique. After the first retreat before Roman types of pottery in the second half of the first century, Celtic technique revived early in the second century, and a hybrid Romano-Celtic pottery comes on the scene. By the fourth century Celtic elements in this mixture are increasingly preponderant (pp. 100–101). The common Celtic brooch also maintained its own against Roman forms, and there sprang up a thriving industry in Romano-Celtic brooches in the northern parts of Britain which were less subject than the south to Roman influence. Intensity of contact is here shown to be an important factor in the vitality of native industries. Towards the end of the second century the Northumbrian school of Romano-British metal-work died out, but the continued vitality of the common Celtic brooch compares, as Mr. Collingwood aptly notes (p. 106), with the fate of less widely-used metal ornaments. "The "Britons clung to their native brooch-forms far "more tenaciously than to the more ambitious "and expensive objects—mirrors and so forth— "which were especially used by the upper classes; "for the upper classes were most susceptible to "Romanizing influences. . . ." In speaking of pottery and metal-work, we are dealing with productions not only used by the Celts themselves before the Roman conquest but used widely in villages as well as in towns, but when we come to speak of sculpture, we are dealing with material not used by the Celts at all and without use or purpose for the common people. We find that their craftsmen made a slight and occasional effort to utilize it as a medium for their habitual decorative forms, a failure which contrasts with their success at incorporating Roman pottery and metal-working into their culture. Neither did the Celts have a written language, and it is difficult to see to what cultural use they could have put it outside the sophisticated urban areas. Here, again, failure to absorb a foreign trait is evident.

In this context of diffusion, Mr. Collingwood's conclusion may be mentioned that "on the whole "(it is) probable that the villa-system is a Romanized "version of something which existed in Britain "before the Romans came" (pp. 79–80). Owing to the nature of the data upon which the history of Roman Britain is founded, it is difficult to discover what effect Roman culture had on less tangible traits of Celtic culture. It is comparatively easy to trace what happened in the diffusion of technological traits, because there exists concrete evidence, whereas spiritual things do not leave such obvious traces behind them. Nevertheless, it is evident from concrete remains that fusion of native and imported elements took place in the sphere of religion. A great part of Romano-British theology centred around gods and goddesses with Celtic as well as Roman names, e.g. Sul at Bath was identical with Minerva. It is doubtful, however, whether the native cults of the peasants were influenced by Roman theology, but such cults leave no archæological evidences behind them.

Roman Gaul survived the Barbarian invasions, whereas in Haverfield's words "between Roman "Britain and Anglo-Saxon England there is a "great gulf fixed." Mr. Collingwood suggests the reason for this gulf. It was only the British aristocracy which were deeply affected by Roman modes of life. The village areas were probably little affected by Roman culture. The comparison, quoted above, made by Mr. Collingwood between the fate of Celtic metal-work in brooch forms and its fate in more elaborate and luxurious objects, suggests this. Excavation of British villages also suggests that they were little subject to Romanizing influences. Indeed, the author says that "the "inhabitants of these villages were almost entirely "untouched by the influence of Roman civilization" (pp. 86–93), though native arts and crafts were destroyed by imported Roman goods. He compares the process which took place to the way in which a native African village is affected by the importation of foreign cloth, and tools, which, though they have driven out native industries, have left no deep and lasting influence on manners and customs. The Britons had to use portable objects of Roman fashion, and that is all.

Roman culture, or rather the culture of Roman Gaul, was strong only in the villas and towns, and it is due to this fact that little of it survived the Saxon invasions. The Saxons had only to destroy these material evidences of Roman culture, and they had swept away Roman culture altogether since it had not penetrated deep into the tribal life of the Britons. Only the leaders of society were Romanized, not society itself.

E. E. EVANS-PRITCHARD.

Archæology in England and Wales. 1914–1931. *By T. D. Kendrick and C. F. C. Hawkes. London,* 1932. *8vo. Pp. xix,* 371; 20 *plates,* 123 *illustrations. Price* 18*s. net.* **255**

The general interest in antiquity has grown very rapidly in the last twenty years, and a book of this kind was becoming necessary to several classes of readers. The *County Archæologies* which Mr. Kendrick is editing, valuable as they are, need some kind of background and general book of reference. Current facilities for visiting sites of all sorts make the common tourist's ignorance of what he is seeing more conspicuous, as his occasions multiply; and there is a growing number of persons genuinely interested, and grateful for help to appreciate what their really extensive travels put within their reach. Only the newspapers still think it amuses people to be told that archæologists can talk sense and be interesting.

This useful book is therefore opportune as well as excellently planned and written out. Recent finds stand out clearly, as they should, against a background of the 'common knowledge' so difficult to convey without becoming either slipshod or dull. The things-to-be-done-next emerge among the things-well-done, in a stimulating and provocative way. The subject as a whole is presented as a campaign, with a strategy, as well as a drill, of its own; 'methods and aims'—to borrow a classic title-page—are illustrated by achievements, faith

by works: problems are solved *ambulando*, by cross country field-work and a geographical outlook, no less than *excavando*, by what should always be a 'crucial experiment.' So it is the spirit, no less than the substance, of such a book as this, that is welcome; and doubly welcome, illustrated in members of the British Museum's staff. J. L. M.

256 A Handbook of the Prehistoric Archæology of Britain. *By several authors. Oxford: Printed for the International Prehistoric Congress.* 1932. 8*vo*. *Pp. viii, 75: illustrated.*

This admirable summary of the main features of British Archæology was designed for the members of the First International Congress of Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences, but it deserves a wider and more lasting circulation. The seven contributors, Messrs. Burkitt, Childe, Fox, Hawkes, Kendrick, Leeds, and Ralegh Radford, are well known in their respective studies, and have observed a just sense of proportion. They have rightly avoided controversies, and told a plain story of what a foreign visitor should try to see; what he may expect to hear British colleagues discussing or quoting; and why. Each chapter has a serviceable list of books and principal articles in journals: and there are enough illustrations to aid the memory without distracting from the text. The Roman Period is so easily accessible in other popular books, and takes (after all) so narrow a space in the long story, that the six pages assigned to it here are not unreasonably few: the Roman withdrawal was "the end, not indeed of all that Rome had meant "for Britain, but rather of what Britain had meant for "Rome" (*p.* 59). How the topics included in this *Handbook* lend themselves to expansion, members of the Congress by this time know well enough, and the three *Discourses*, given at its evening sessions, illustrate (MAN, 1932, 242, 244–5). Before long we may hope to have them, too, in print; but this useful *Handbook* will not be easily superseded. J. L. M.

257 Catalogue of an Exhibition of Recent Archæological Discoveries (Prehistoric and Saxon Epochs) in Great Britain. *Fifth Temporary Exhibition of the London Museum. August,* 1932. 8*vo*. *Pp.* 46. *Published by the Museum. London, S.W.*1. *Price* 6*d. net.*

This exhibition was arranged to give to the members of the Prehistoric Congress "a concrete illustration of "the materials" available for British archæologists, and to show the public, too, the extent and variety of current archæological work. Seeing that it was only about 1880 that General Pitt-Rivers turned from comparative technology to lay the scientific foundations of excavation as an instrument of the study of the past, and only about 1890 that Haverfield began to introduce young workers in Roman Britain to the system and team-work of the German explorers on the *Limes*, here is indeed something which we may be proud to show to foreign guests. A previous exhibition at University College in 1929 attracted some public attention. This one should be very popular; for there is a real and growing interest in antiquity, and clearer appreciation of what the past—even the archæological past—holds for the present.

All periods of British archæology are represented here, and the Director, Dr. R. E. M. Wheeler, acknowledges the help of experts in every field. A special note of thanks is due to the Colchester and Essex Museum and its curator, Mr. M. R. Hull, for liberal loans; and to the Ipswich Corporation Museum, and Mr. Guy Maynard, for a fine palæolithic series. The special exhibits should, of course, be compared with the London Museum's own rich store of material.

Besides originals of all sorts, a helpful background is provided by the fine models of excavated sites, sections, plans, and photographs: and by the Ordnance Survey's exhibit of air-photographs, of which a separate catalogue is published. J. L. M.

Air-Photography.

258 Catalogue of Air-Photographs Exhibited by the Ordnance Survey. *London. August,* 1932. 8*vo*. *Pp.* 13. *The London Museum. Price* 6*d. net.*

Air-photography is now so well recognized an aid to archæological research, and our own Royal Air Force has taken such a leading part in this work, that it was a gracious compliment to the International Congress of Prehistoric Archæology, that the Ordnance Survey should authorize its archæological officer, Mr. O. G. S. Crawford, to arrange a display of archæological air-photographs as part of the temporary exhibit in the London Museum [MAN, 1932, 240.] Of the 41 views here described, the majority depict neolithic camps, sacred circles, barrows, fortified villages, and 'Celtic' field systems: then comes Porchester Castle, and Caistor, for Roman sites: then Wansdyke, some strip lynchets and ridge-and-furrow systems: a wonderful group of monuments and tracks around Figsbury Rings: and, finally, the White Horse at Uffington, the 'deserted village' of Grimsthorpe, and a sunken sea-wall in the Scilly Islands showing submergence within human times. The descriptions are supplemented by references to the literature: and, for purchase, each photograph may be ordered by its negative number. J. L. M.

Forgeries.

259 Les Fraudes en Archéologie Préhistorique avec quelques exemples de comparaison en archéologie générale et sciences naturelles. *By A. Vayson de Pradenne. Pp.* 676, 46 *plates and* 40 *figures. Paris. Nourry,* 1932.

In this volume, M. Vayson de Pradenne, a former President of the Société Préhistorique Française, has dealt with a problem in archæological research which has often been neglected but which has always been envisaged by those who have desired to introduce scientific methods into the field-work of the active members of archæological expeditions.

The author is to be heartily congratulated upon his work. He begins by dealing with a selection of the well-known frauds in archæology and shows with what emotional fervour each was supported at the time. Commencing with the iconoliths of Würzburg he takes us to view the forgeries of the Swiss lake dwellings, the engraved bones of the Chaffaud Grottos, the 'tertiary' man of Calaveras, the Mnikow Cave frauds, the Breonio flints, the Clyde finds, the 'planted' flints of the island of Riou and the inscriptions of La Chapelle. Further he illustrates his thesis, and throws light on the psychology of the learned dupe, by an account of other frauds such as the amazing manuscripts of Vrain-Lucas; the Curium Treasure; Professor Berg's mummy; and the world famous tiara from South Russia, which, resting in the Louvre, excited the whole of the learned world for weeks.

Finally he deals in admirable fashion with the underlying causes of these frauds and the methods by which their success is achieved. With a clear insight he points out the amazing similarities between the credulous archæologist and the psychical researcher. Indeed his

analysis of the fraud and the dupe might equally well be applied to the medium and the psychical researcher. The arguments which are adduced in support of the archæological fraud are identical with those generally used to buttress the claims of the fraudulent medium. The dupe is swayed by precisely the same kind of emotional factors and resists any methods likely to clarify the situation and reveal the truth. His passion for 'finds' is as his brother's passion for 'phenomena.' Both offer themselves as victims and soon become so. Just as the price of antiquities and mediums tends to rise, so does the incentive to produce fraudulent products grow. Scepticism is treated with disdain and is often put down to jealously or ignorance. Thus is the field for fraud extended and the methods of the forger made easier by the very persons who are destined to be the victims.

How far such frauds are active in archæology few know. The fact that leading experts have almost always been found to support the reality of what has afterwards been proved to be fraudulent is not a hopeful sign. And indeed M. Vayson de Pradenne is not reassuring. Neither has he any significant proposals to offer in order to avoid future scandals. The ordinary archæologist knows little, if anything, of the psychology of fraud and misdirection: of malobservation and transposed memory. Indeed, in this matter, he is worse equipped than the more sober psychical researcher. Fortunately, unlike those of his odd brother, his results are mainly material and permanent. They can be examined, analysed and compared, and do not vanish away in the darkness of the séance room. It is here that the solution of our problem lies. Through the progress of comparative study and the development of analytical technique will fraudulent objects be exposed, and the theories reared upon faulty observations will gradually be corrected. In the meantime the archæologist ought to be grateful for the warning that M. Vayson de Pradenne has given him, and, being grateful, may be led to take heed.

E. J. DINGWALL.

Europe: Prehistoric.

L'Homme des Cités lacustres. *By Georges Goury. Paris: Picard.* 1932. (2 *Vols*). 8*vo*. *Pp*. 778, *with* 40 *plates and* 940 *illustrations*. *Price* 60 *frs*. **260**

This is the second instalment of M. Goury's *Précis d'archéologie préhistorique*, of which the first part, *Origine et évolution de l'homme*, appeared in 1927. The title does not quite fully describe its scope, for it includes land settlements as well as lake-dwellings, and the whole sequence of 'mesolithic' industries. But it is only in the lake-dwellings that we have a comprehensive and continuous view of the conditions of life between the close of the last 'cave-period' and the stratified 'tells' of the chalcolithic and bronze cultures; and for purposes of popular reconstruction, at all events, one must 'begin with the known.' M. Goury's archæological competence is attested by his memoirs on excavated sites, *La cimetière de la Justice de Hans* and *L'Enceinte d'Haulzy et sa nécropole*, issued by the same publisher. He writes clearly and easily, and M. Bouillon's original drawings are supplemented by others from current works. Naturally, the antiquities of France and Belgium furnish most of the examples, but justice is done to work in other countries. In the second volume, the difficult question of racial distributions and sequences is discussed; and there is a convenient summary of the Glozel controversy in the introduction.

J. L. M.

REVIEWS: MISCELLANEOUS.

Tales told in Togoland. *By A. W. Cardinall. Pp*. 290. 7½ *in*. × 5 *in*. *Oxford University Press*. 1931. 16*s*. *net*. **261**

Mr. Cardinall in his leisure hours during his duties as District Commissioner of the Gold Coast has well employed his time in making the extensive and interesting collection of native folk-tales presented in this volume. He has arrayed the stories without any comments or exegetical notes, but a good index is provided. The stories are grouped mainly according to their themes—creation myths, fairies, hunters, etc., but one cannot help regretting that no notes have been added, which would greatly have enhanced the value of the collection. One is grateful, however, that so good an example has been set to officials similarly placed elsewhere, for on the present generation devolves the duty of recording what is left of native lore and custom. The influence of rail and air communication, of broadcasting and cinematographs, will render the task well-nigh impossible for those that come after us.

The volume has been published under the auspices of the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures, but it is regrettable that it has been necessary to charge so high a price as 16s. for a small volume that contains no illustrations, nor any footnotes, special types, or other features that add materially to the cost of production. This comment does not imply that the volume is not worth its price, but unless books on folklore are issued at really popular prices, one cannot expect an extended interest in the subject amongst general readers, who must perforce seriously consider all 'luxury' spending.

WARREN R. DAWSON.

Göttingen Studies in Ethnology (Vorarbeiten zur Geschichte der Göttinger Universität und Bibliothek 1931). No. 4. Die Besiedlung der alten Neuseeland. (*Dr. R. W. Buchmann*). 1931. **No. 5. Die Gruppen-ehe.** (*Dr. R. Grau*). 1931. **No. 9. Cristoph Meiners und die Volkerkunde.** (*A. Ihle*). 1931. **No. 10. Die Ethnographische Sammlung der Universität Göttingen.** (*Hans Plischke*). *Pp*. 48. *with* 24 *photographic plates*. **262**

Göttingen's contribution to ethnology is sufficiently indicated by its principal dates. Buttner's private collection, acquired in 1759, included 'foreign costumes' and masks, a Lappland boat with rudder, a magic 'drum, a Turkish ornament set with stones,' and the like. In 1776, J. F. Blumenbach became 'sub-inspector' of the academic cabinet' before taking his doctor's degree, and things began to move, with the help (among other foreign friends) of Sir Joseph Banks and the British African Association. Expeditions were organized, and doubtless through Banks valuable material was acquired from Cook's voyages, and especially from Cook's naturalist, J. R. Forster. Certainly, to judge from this catalogue and its illustrations, Gottingen was very fortunate in its opportunities.

If Christopher Meiners is not so well known or generally appreciated as some of his contemporaries in early ethnology, it is rather because he wrote too much than too little. For an eighteenth-century professor a bibliography of 105 items is unusual, even taking into account Göttingen's early adoption of periodical publication for its output of learning, and Meiners' forty years'

activity. This well-constructed and usefully documented study is a real contribution to the history of ethnology, and puts Meiners' work into the high place it deserves among that of his contemporaries and successors. Dr. Ihle deserves well of English colleagues for his generous recognition of the fruitful collaboration of German and English thinkers as well as explorers, in the early days of Göttingen.

Dr. Buchmann's anthropogeographical study of the Maori settlement of New Zealand is valuable both for its review of a difficult subject, and for its exemplifications of ethnological method. In little more than a hundred pages it offers therefore a substantial contribution to the student's equipment.

Dr. Grau describes his essay on group marriage as a "modest contribution to the study of an important racial "institution"; but it deals also thoughtfully with the numerous questions with which the subject is 'en-'wreathed,' in the course of a careful review of the distribution of various types of such systems, including Cæsar's famous account of the Britons, and Andrew Lang's 'Pirauru in Scotland' (MAN, 1908), both of which he finds good reason to exclude from his geographical survey. J. L. M.

263 **Romane Gilia John Sampsoneste.** *Poems in Romani with English Renderings. By John Sampson. Oxford*, 1931. *Pp.* 28, *with frontispiece by Augustus John. Price* 7*s.* 6*d. net.*

In this choice collection one of the finest English students and lovers of gypsy lore has illustrated the poetic range and power of gypsy speech. A few of these pieces are translated or adapted from well-known metrical originals; the rest "composed for the pleasure "of myself and my friends" in familiar accentual rhymes, with "no claim to be specifically gypsy in "thought and feeling," are nevertheless eloquent testimony to the "charm and magic" of an ancient language "unfettered by any literary tradition"; and no less to intimate appreciation of its excellences by a poet of rare distinction. While only a few details of gypsy folklore occur, the wedding "over a branch of the "yellow broom" (pp. 19, 25), and the cutting of the couple's names "on the beechen book beside us" (p. 19), there are glimpses of a world of old lore in *The Moon* (No. 13), the *Good Tidings* of a new deity (No. 15), and the *Romani Gaudeamus* (No. 23). J. L. M.

264 **Social Organization and Ceremonial Institutions of the Bomvana.** *By P. A. W. Cook, M.A., B.Ed. Cape Town (Juta & Co.). Nd. Pp. xi* + 171. 16 *photographs.*

Mr. Cook has not been fortunate in his publishers. The book is meanly produced. The proofs were read carelessly, if read at all. The author's composition is infantile, his grammar not above reproach. This sort of stopless sentence disfigures his pages: "These women "are said *ayana* they are giving presents (or they are "difoecating as the delicate Bomvana idiom has it)." (*Sic.*) How much of the vernacular he knows, he does not say, but his reproduction of native terms is erratic, and on page 105 he writes *amatlanu*, 'five,' for *amatatu*, 'three.' The unattractiveness of this little volume must not, however, blind us to its value. Europeans have been in contact with the Xosa-speaking tribes of South Africa for some centuries, but have written singularly little about them that is of scientific importance. As a pioneer attempt to study one of these tribes, Mr. Cook's effort is worthy of praise. The people he selects live near the coast in the Transkei, whither they were driven from what is now Natal. His description lacks completeness. We would draw attention particularly to his account of the *izduko* (the patrilineal exogamous groups), the *inkabi* (names given to a chief's followers and the area over which he rules), the initiation rites, and the sacred herds. E. W. S.

CORRESPONDENCE.

265 **The Age of the Skeleton from Oldoway, Tanganyika.** [*The Editor of* NATURE *has kindly permitted the republication of the following letter dated* 29 *July*, 1932. NATURE, **130**, 237; 13 *Aug.*, 1932.]

SIR,—Dr. L. S. B. Leakey's claim that the Oldoway man of *Homo sapiens* type was buried in Bed 2 of his succession, before the formation of the overlying Beds 3 and 5, rests on his statement that no material from Beds 3 and 5 was found in intimate association with the skeleton in the burial, although such material is found lying in the present surface-slopes of the gorge at and near the site. (*Nature*, **129**, 721, 14 May, 1932.)

On discussing the matter with Professor D. M. S. Watson and Mr. A. T. Hopwood, I came to the conclusion that more thorough investigation of this critical evidence was desirable, especially as subsequent alteration of rock-material in the neighbourhood of the skeleton might have rendered it less easily recognizable than in its unaltered condition. I therefore suggested that the deposits of Beds 2, 3, 4 and 5, as well as the material found within the ribs of the skeleton, should be carefully re-examined. Mr. Hopwood kindly supplied typical samples of Beds 2, 3, 4 and 5 collected by him at Oldoway. The petrological investigation of the deposits was undertaken at the Imperial College by Dr. J. D. Solomon, who had formerly worked with Dr. Leakey in East Africa and was familiar with the occurrence of similar beds in the field. Dr. Solomon found that each of the deposits possessed distinctive lithological and mineralogical characters. The way now being clear for a useful examination of the grave-contents, Professor Reck, at Mr. Hopwood's request, persuaded Professor Th. Mollison of Munich to send us a sample of material which, he assures us, was part "of the material in which the Oldoway skeleton had "been embedded." Dr. Solomon, Mr. Hopwood and I together examined this material. It contains (*a*) pea-sized bright red pebbles like those of Bed 3, and (*b*) chips of concretionary limestone indistinguishable from that of Bed 5 and enclosing at least one mineral (an amphibole), in relative abundance, not found in Beds 2 and 3, but present in Bed 4.

Assuming, therefore, that the provenance of the materials supplied to us is as stated (and we have no reason to doubt it), the Oldoway interment is not contemporaneous with Bed 2 containing Chellean-Acheulean implements, but was made after the formation of the surface concretionary limestone ('steppe-lime') of Bed 5, that is post-Aurignacian.

The samples are being kept for reference in the British Museum (Natural History), South Kensington.

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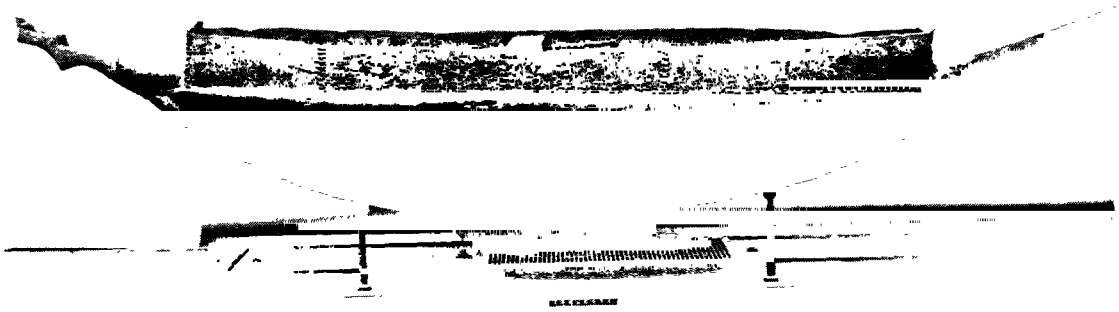


FIG. 1.—STARBOARD VIEW.

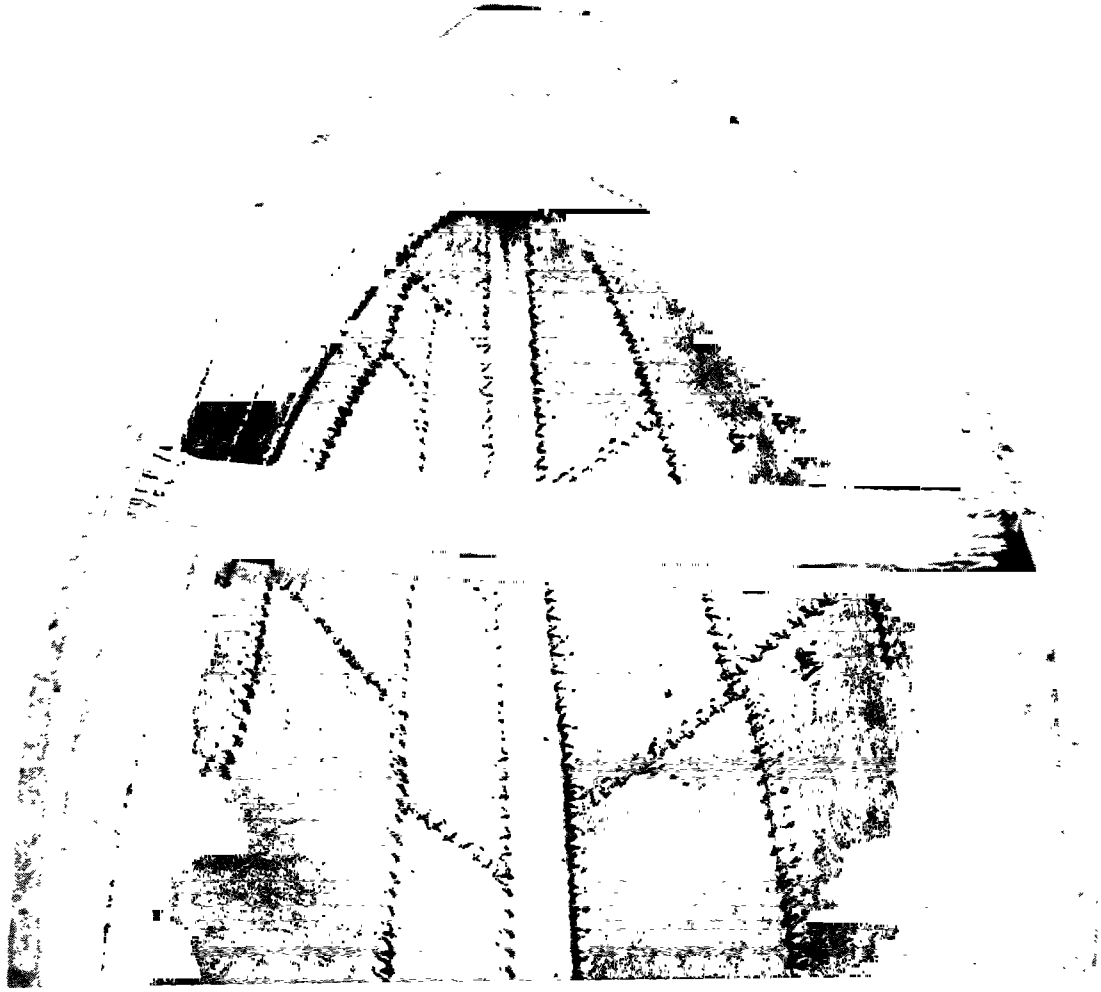


FIG. 2.—INTERIOR OF THE CANOE.

THE OLDEST COMPLETE POLYNESIAN CANOE HULL.

MAN

A MONTHLY RECORD OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL SCIENCE

PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE
ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

XXXII, 266-296 OCTOBER, 1932.

ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

With Plate K.

Polynesia: Technology. **Hornell.**

The oldest complete Polynesian Canoe Hull in existence.* *By James Hornell.*

When Captain Wallis in H.M.S. ' Dolphin ' was exploring among the South Sea Islands in 1767, he obtained and subsequently brought home a small canoe from an atoll in the eastern section of the Tuamotu Archipelago. This canoe, now one of the prized possessions of the British Museum, is fortunately still in perfect condition, except for the loss of its outrigger. 266

To-day such an authentic relic of ancient canoe design is of very great value, for, unfortunately, much of the data available for a comparative study of the old sea-craft of Polynesia too often is either meagre, suspect or obviously inaccurate. Even in regard to models, time and again I have been impressed with the need to exercise great caution in accepting their evidence on structural details. It is exceptional to find them made to anything approaching a correct scale: their small size and the primitive tools used in their construction usually precluded accurate detail: generally there is a simplification of design and the suppression of what are often features of importance to the ethnologist. Seldom were they made specifically as diminutive replicas of the actual workaday canoes; more often they were originally toy canoes used by the island lads and men in their water games; these in particular are characterized by a reduction of parts, most marked in regard to the number of the outrigger booms; others, more carefully fashioned with a view to please the eye of the white visitor, are frequently less accurate than the toy canoes.

Actual canoes in the absence of photographs are therefore invaluable as affording authentic information of structural design and detail in former days and as checks upon the modifications which their types have undergone since European contact was established. The canoe brought home by Captain Wallis is an instance in point, for it enables us to certify that a few remote islands in the eastern section of the Tuamotu Archipelago retain to-day many archaic features lost in part or entirely by the islands to the north-west.

Strangely enough this canoe has never been described, and the only figure of it that has appeared is a poor and inaccurate drawing in Edge-Partington's ' Album ' (Series I, pl. 4, fig. 1). Like most of the inshore and lagoon canoes of the Tuamotus it is quite small, barely 12 feet 9 inches in length overall. For its length, the beam and height amidships are notably great, being 27 inches and 25 inches respectively. It is double-ended and carvel built, all parts sewn together with sennit braid. The bottom is moderately rounded but sharp along the middle line owing to the presence of a prominent keel, narrow and deep. On this keel rounding sides are raised, built up of four main series of short lengths of planking sewn end to end to form more or less regular strakes. A short transverse break-

* This canoe would actually be the oldest existing Polynesian canoe were it not that a primitive dug-out, in fragmentary condition, found in a swamp in South Island, New Zealand, is now in the Dominion Museum, Wellington, N.Z.

water at each end connects the top strake of the opposite sides, while an elongated, tapered end-piece at each extremity keys together the ends of the keel, breakwater and sides.

Lengthwise the three-piece keel is strongly crescentic, curving up rapidly toward each end, where it joins the elongated end-piece which continues the crescentic curve at a slightly reduced angle. The middle section, 64 inches in length, is the longest. The shorter end sections are each 24 inches long. The three sections are butted end to end and sewn together with sennit braid passed through holes bored at various angles through the opposed vertical ends; on the upper side of the keel a narrow batten is inserted over the seam and beneath the lashing, its function being to make the joint watertight.

The upper surface of the keel, averaging three inches in width, is flat and without any sign of the channelling characteristic of the keels of the ancient voyaging canoes (*pahi*) of these islands according to reliable descriptions. Below the side planking sewn to the bevelled edges of its upper surface. the keel projects about two inches.

The four strakes forming the sides, taken in order from the keel upwards, may be termed respectively the garboard strake, the bilge strake, the rubbing strake and the washstrake. The first two are formed of broad pieces of plank of unequal size, and are sheered upward toward the ends, thereby being roughly parallel with the sheer of the keel. The ' patches,' as we may term the short lengths of plank in each strake, are mostly rectangular and oblong in shape except the terminal ones which are triangular, in order to conform with the diminishing width and depth of the hull at each end. The garboard strake, on what I consider to be the starboard side, is made up of seven patches, while the shorter bilge strake has only four. On the port side the individual patches in each strake, four in number, are longer than those on the starboard side.

The two upper strakes both run horizontally: as the two lower ones are sheered, a horizontal line is obtained for the upper strakes by filling in the concavity above the bilge strake with a narrow adjusting half-strake, curved along its lower edge, horizontal along the upper.

The rubbing strake is a very peculiar feature, found, so far as I am aware, only in Tuamotuan canoes. Its form closely resembles that of the keel; in the large double canoe described by Admiral Paris* the similarity is emphasized as it is stated that both are channelled on the inner side, and that the outer side of the rubbing strake is prominent and rounded like the keel but in lesser degree. Here, in this small canoe, the rubbing strake is flat on the inner side and only slightly rounded and prominent externally, except toward the ends, where the rounding and slight projection are more pronounced. Each extremity of this strake is cut off obliquely on the lower side to allow it to fit into the acute angle formed by the junction of the upturned end of the keel with the base of the end-piece, to both of which it is sewn. For about a couple of inches from each end, the outer side is carved into a sharp horizontal ridge or ledge, apparently to reinforce its strength and compensate for reduction in depth at this point. Three pieces butted together form this strake on the port side, four on the starboard.

A deep washstrake completes the structure of the sides. The lower margin is horizontal, the upper is sheered slightly toward each end, so, while its depth is five inches amidships, the sheer increases it at each end to seven inches. On the starboard side the washstrake is made up of four pieces of broad board, sewn end to end: for the port side a sufficient supply of broad boards must have been lacking, for while the two forward ones are of the full depth, the after boards are in two tiers, each of three narrow strips.

The various strakes are sewn together edge to edge, and the individual ' patches ' end to end, with sennit braid passed through paired holes in the opposed edges; the lower edge of each garboard strake is similarly sewn to a bevelled edge of the upper part of the keel.

The fore breakwater, filling the gap between the converging ends of the two washstrakes, is lipped at the fore side of the upper margin; that across the after ends of the washstrakes is without a lip.

The end-pieces. The fore end-piece is hewn from the solid into a long and gracefully tapered blunt-ended projection, flat on the upper surface, rounded below. On the upper side, at the truncate distal end, is a low transverse terminal ridge. The wide butt end is hollowed out and arched, the

* *Essai sur la Construction Navale des Peuples extra-Européens ;* Paris, 1841. Pp. 135–136.

basal part being cut away in order that the sides may be seated directly upon the forward extremities of the keel and rubbing strakes, to which they are attached by through sewing as in the other parts. The hinder end of each side of the arch is similarly attached to the lower part of the fore end of the washstrake of the same side, whilst the bottom of the breakwater is sewn upon the crown of the arch. This arrangement of the parts leaves a small recess at the base of the end-piece, opening into the cavity of the hull.

The after end-piece is slightly shorter than the forward one. Unlike the latter it consists of two distinct sections. The proximal is a hollow tapered butt similar in form and attachments to that of the fore end-piece. The distal section, fourteen inches long, is divided by a vertical slot into two limbs which reunite at the extreme end. Both are carved into the peculiar jointed form seen in Fig. 1 of Plate K, with an angular spur or heel alternate on the upper and the lower side. At the distal end where the limbs reconnect, two inconspicuous transverse ridges, slightly damaged, are present.

Fittings.—The only fitting is a stout, squared thwart, nearly amidships, sewn to the washstrakes rather above mid-height, the upper surface a clear inch below the gunwale. No supporting cleats are provided, neither are there any ribs as in the large voyaging canoes of which we have descriptions.

The outrigger is missing, but the presence of a hole in the port washstrake three to four inches from each end, directly opposite similarly bored holes in the starboard washstrake, indicates that a two-boom outrigger had been used, a number common in small canoes of this archipelago at the present day. A slight concavity in the gunwale is present above the after lashing hole on the port side: in this the boom would rest when in position. The proximity of the booms to the ends of the canoe is an ordinary and characteristic feature of small Tuamotuan canoes: it is a practical convenience in one-man canoes as the man, seated amidships, can wield his paddle on either side without being cramped in action by nearness to a boom.

Another pair of opposed holes is also present in the washstrakes, nine inches abaft the foreboom holes: what use they subserved is doubtful: it may be that, like other planks in this canoe, the ones in which these holes occur were taken from some older canoe in which the holes were functional, or it is possible that the canoe had a third outrigger boom attached at this place, though it is most unusual for two to be fitted so close together.

Technique of sewing, etc.—The sewing together of the various parts is very carefully done by through turns of beautifully made three-ply sennit braid, still in perfect condition though more than a century and a half old. The sewing is continuous, carried along obliquely from one pair of holes to another. This gives a sharply zig-zag pattern on the inner side, while on the outer, straight bands of the sennit are alone seen, connecting the units of each pair of holes. The seams between the different strakes show two turns of sennit on the outside, with a single one on the inner, connecting by a single obliquely running braid with the next pair. On the vertical joints where play is most liable to occasion a leak, an extra turn of sennit is added to afford additional strength.

Apart from the employment of many pieces of plank of irregular size and shape, the presence of inserted repair patches even on these small pieces is emphatic of the scarcity of large timber suitable for canoe construction on the island. Two of these repairs occur in adjoining boards of the bilge strake: they are little more than plugged holes, the small inserted squares of wood sewn in place by two and by three stitches respectively. Two others are oval patches, each about three inches and a half in length, inserted in the same section of the starboard washstrake. In one, the broader of the two, ten separate stitches are used to hold it in place, the sennit being passed through ten pairs of circumferential holes. In the case of the other patch, although the number of stitches is increased to twelve, three holes only are made in the inserted patch owing to its narrowness—barely one inch and a half wide. Through these three holes, six, two and four stitches pass respectively from twelve holes bored at intervals around the margin of the hole thus repaired.

Further evidence of need for economy in the use of the available timber is afforded by the presence of at least one piece of plank showing positive signs of prior use in an older canoe. This particular piece, part of the starboard washstrake, has a row of holes, some intact and others broken down, along its free edge, now become a section of the gunwale of the canoe.

Every seam whether horizontal or vertical is closed on the interior side of the hull by means of a narrow batten of coconut-leaf midrib inserted under the stitches. On the exterior, only the seam on either side of the keel and that between the rubbing strake and the washstrake are similarly protected.

All holes used in the sewing together of the various parts are tightly plugged with coconut fibre driven in from the inner aspect except those along the lower side of the keel and garboard strake seam and the lower side of the washstrake seam; in these places the plugs have been inserted from the exterior.

Only on the end-pieces which have been hewn out of the solid are adze marks visible. Everywhere else the surface has been carefully rubbed down and made smooth.

A considerable number of slight grooves in the outer edge of the port gunwale extend for some fifteen inches both forward and aft of the thwart fitted amidships. These are friction grooves made by hand lines used in fishing and show to what use this canoe was put while in the hands of its island owner 165 years ago.

The great value of this old canoe consists in the evidence it affords that the small outrigger canoes still in use in a number of the remoter atolls of the Tuamotu archipelago, from Napuka in the north to Reao and Nukutavake in the south-east, continue to be built on the same fundamental design. Any differences there be are either minor local variations or are due to the ability the islanders now have of procuring timber of larger dimensions from trading schooners from Tahiti which call from time to time to collect copra. A detail of great interest is that the slight setting back or inwards of the washstrake in the old canoe under notice is emphasized even more strongly in the canoes of the south-east area at the present day.

Identification of the island whence the canoe came.—Although this canoe has been labelled for many years past as having been brought from Vanitahi, which presumably is a misrendering of Vahitahi, it is certain that it came either from Pinaki or, more probably, from Nukutavake. The entire population of both islands, named Whitsun Island and Queen Charlotte Island respectively by Wallis, are recorded to have manned their largest canoes and to have sailed away hurriedly to the westward when the ship's landing parties approached the shore. On both islands canoes were seen in course of construction, and on Queen Charlotte Island (Nukutavake) 'nothing had been left behind except four or five canoes.' Probably it was one of these abandoned canoes which Wallis brought away. The precise identification is, however, of little importance, as the three islands, Vahitahi, Pinaki and Nukutavake, together with Vairaatea, form together a distinct local culture area, termed the Vahitahi area by K. P. Emory, wherein the canoes are all of similar type.

Wallis never visited or even sighted Vahitahi, which lies thirty-six sea-miles north of the route he traversed. The discovery of the island was reserved for Bougainville, who passed through the Tuamotu Archipelago in 1768, a year later than Wallis.

Here it is useful to point out that Brigham in his 'Index to the Islands of the Pacific' (*B. P. Bishop Mus. Mem. No.* 1, 1900) is incorrect in the latitude, 18° 43′ 19″ S. which he assigns to Nukutavake. It should be 19° 18′ S. The latitudes given by Wallis for Whitsun Island (19° 26′ S.) and for Queen Charlotte Island (19° 18′ S.), agree perfectly with those shown for Pinaki and Nukutavaki upon the Admiralty chart of the Tuamotus; the descriptions left by him of the conformation of the two islands also agree with what we know concerning their physical characteristics.

For the privilege of being allowed to describe this oldest example of Polynesian canoe and for the fine photographs illustrating its structure, I am indebted to the kindness of Captain T. A. Joyce, O.B.E., and Mr. H. J. Braunholtz, of the Ethnological Department of the British Museum, to whom I am glad of this opportunity of expressing my thanks.

JAMES HORNELL.

EXPLANATION OF PLATE K.

FIG. 1.—Starboard view of the canoe brought from the Vahitahi area in 1767. Note the prominent keel-like form of the rubbing strake, the slight setting back of the washstrake and the two large repair patches in one of the sections thereof. The small holes for the attachment of the booms are seen close to the transverse breakwater at each end.

FIG. 2.—Interior of the canoe looking forward and from above. The narrow, flat-topped keel, the batten covered seams, the stout thwart and the recess at the bows in the butt end of the fore end-piece are well shown; also two small wood-plugged holes on the right side; one is seen just in front of the thwart, and the other just abaft it.

(*By kind permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.*)

Africa, East. **Cullen Young.**

Three Medicine-Men in Northern Nyasaland. *By the Rev. T. Cullen Young.*

About eighteen months before I had to leave Nyasaland in 1931, I had put at my disposal information regarding the professions and actual practice of two men belonging to the rather heterogeneous people whom we know as the Tumbuka-Kamanga. By a fortunate chance, there also came into my hands, quite shortly before my departure, two small books manufactured out of the loose leaves of copybooks and sewn together with thread, which contained, in almost undecipherable writing, the *materia medica* of a third practitioner, member of the Tonga tribe of the West Nyasa administrative area. All of my material is written, and two-thirds of it beautifully written, by men of some education: that is to say, by the 'changing' African, to whom we now are paying such particular attention. **267**

This material is not put together by dictation from some man of the older generation, but comes direct from practising doctors of the present generation. The first, whom I will call 'A,' is a man now about 30 or 31 years of age. The second, 'B,' died recently at an age approximating to 55, and was, therefore, born just after the arrival of Europeans in the territory. The third, 'C,' I do not know personally. The books in which he has recorded his prescriptions were handed to me by a European colleague who was aware that I was at work on the customs and folk-lore of the people. My friend assures me that 'C' is a 'mere youngster.'

Any remarks that I may make here are limited by the fact that I am neither a medical man nor a botanist. Had I had the good fortune to remain a few years longer in Nyasaland, I had intended to secure expert co-operation in order to tabulate botanically the lists of trees, shrubs, leaves and roots provided by these three men. I would also have been able to identify many other ingredients which do not seem to fall within the scope of botany. Should anyone reading these notes, who is resident in the northern province of Nyasaland or the contiguous area in Northern Rhodesia, and who is qualified for this form of research, care to carry the matter further, I need hardly say that the whole of my material is at his or her disposal. The botanical list alone (which for obvious reasons would be useless here) will provide an exceedingly attractive, and probably highly useful, line of study.

I can only try here to give some idea of the scope of native medical practice which the documents reveal and probably the most satisfactory way will be to give an exact (translated) equivalent of the lists as I have them. It will be seen that A and B have at first sight much shorter lists than their younger fellow-practitioner, with 20 and 21 entries against C's 97, plus 9 that have defeated me completely to decipher. But both A and B have in a number of cases grouped several remedies under a single 'disease' heading, whereas C has given each remedy a separate place and number. Figures in brackets opposite disease headings in A's and B's lists will, however, indicate the number of trees, shrubs or other ingredient-producing substances from which medicine for that particular trouble may be taken.

Here are the lists :—

DOCTOR A.

1 To avoid evil from corpse-contact.
2 To remove sterility or impotence.
3 To restore virility.
4 For pneumonia. (4)
5 For headache.
6 For success in litigation. (2)
7 For venereal disease. (3)
8 To avoid harm after intercourse with a menstruating woman.
9 For 'water.' (?)
10 For abortion. (5)
11 To restore women to youthful state. (3)

DOCTOR B.

1 To possess the evil eye. (29)
2 To remove sterility or impotence.
3 To counteract bewitchment (spells).
4 For epilepsy. (12)
5 Do. (6)
6 To remove spell on foodstuffs.
7 For quick childbirth.
8 Do. and afterbirth.
9 For snake bite. (2)
10 For safeguarding the community.
11 For abortion. (5)
12 Do.

DOCTOR A.

12 For contraception. (3)
13 To avoid domestic strife.
14 To protect when going to law.
15 To secure easy childbirth.
16 For safety at night from 'ghouls.'
17 For success at law.
18 To conceal intimacy—
(*a*) with girl:
(*b*) with woman.
19 For venereal disease.
20 To restore woman to youthful state.

DOCTOR B.

13 "That men may not die," *i.e.*, in consequence of infidelity.
14 To secure love. (14)
15 Do.
16 For safety from 'ghouls' at night.
17 For 'closing' a grave.
18 For 'mbatawata.' (?)
19 For contraception.
20 Women's love charm.
21 To secure conception.

DOCTOR C.

1 To avoid evil from intercourse with menstruating woman.
2 To restore virility.
3 For normal development in male organs.
4 For venereal disease.
5 Do.
6 To get rid of enemy.
7 To purge.
8 For venereal disease.
9 "Of Great Things." (?)
10 To secure love.
11 For success at law.
12 For all snake bites.
13 To secure love.
14 Do.
15 To coerce a woman.
16 'To buy a house.' (?)
17 For abortion.
18 For easy childbirth.
19 To conceal intimacy.
20 To secure love.
21 For colic; diarrhœa.
22 For backache.
23 Do.
24 To check vomiting.
25 For dysentery.
26 To avert death of child if nursing mother becomes pregnant.
27 For sore eyes.
28 For success at law.
29 To conceal adultery.
30 For popularity.
31 To secure love.
32 To ensure coming of desired woman.
33 To prevent woman making accusation.
34 For chest ailments.
35 Do.
36 For rheumatism in the arm.
37 For general fortune.
38 For the illness due to drinking strange water.
39 For indigestion.
40 For headache.
41 and eight others To secure love.
43 To keep the wife loyal.
44 For general good fortune.
45 To avert the evil eye.
46 For introducing disharmony between man and wife.
47 For middle-ear disease.
48 For securing knowledge of wife's unfaithfulness.
49 To prevent woman's accusation.
51 To secure compliance.
52 To conceal adultery.
53 For popularity.
55 For advanced syphilis.
56 To prevent woman giving birth.
57 and 58 For gonorrhœa.
62 To acquire wisdom.
63 and two others Abortion.
64 Dysentery.
65 To end affection of woman wronged.
66 That a woman wronged may forget your name.
67 For trapped animals.
68 and two others For success at law.
69 That girls may come about your house.
70 For malaria.
71 For backache.
72 For toothache.
75 For one who has interfered with one's wife.
76 To conceal adultery.
78 To secure divorce.
79 For good fortune in ventures.
80 To restore menstruation.
84 To cause miscarriage.

DOCTOR C.—*continued.*

85 To persuade a girl who refuses.
86 For popularity with girls.
87 To secure silence in a woman you have wronged.
88 To ease birth pains.
89 To appease your wife.
95 For proper fermentation in tobacco.
96 That a woman may not forget you.
97 That the woman may forget and say only what suits you.

The first thing noticeable is the preponderance of items in the sex category, particularly in the case of C, the ' mere youngster ' or modern village youth, able to write his own notes of what he sees or has been told, and to manufacture from sheets of paper the necessary books for his record. He has just under 50 per cent. of his remedies in this sex category.

It will also be noted that medicine of the charm or spell category has hardly, if at all, been ousted from its leading place by education. And I may, I think, use the word education more correctly of Nyasaland than of any other territory known to me. We find here this category including items of a sort that one might easily, but wrongly, imagine as having been banished as knowledge grew.

It will further be seen that these doctors recognize and treat quite ordinary diseases side by side with what to us are extraordinary. Pneumonia, epilepsy, syphilis, snake bite, colic and dysentery, rheumatism, indigestion, middle-ear trouble and malaria are all within their scope. And I may mention here that the ordinary people are in possession of ' cures ' for other maladies, and, apparently, need no doctor for such as come within the scope of what one might call the ' household remedies.' I shall give one example of this before closing these notes.

It will also not escape notice that in the case of venereal disease—introduced to the country within living memory—these men differentiate not only between syphilis and gonorrhœa, but also between the former in its early and in its later stages.

As regards the prescriptions themselves—which would be useless here, since they are largely made up of the names of trees in the vernacular—I have compared the lists with some care and find only five that could be said to occur in all three. But the ingredients are in no two cases completely identical, nor is there a single case in which the method of one man (where method is detailed) can be said to be the same as that of either of the other two. There must, therefore, be an immense quantity of varying medical advice available in Nyasaland, where the number of professing medicine-men is so large.

Method varies widely in these prescriptions. Medicines may be taken internally or externally; worn inside the clothing or round neck, wrist, waist, knee or ankle; smeared on some inanimate object or concealed in the ground. They may be held beneath the tongue, or spat out as certain words are uttered. I notice, however, that sunrise and sunset are the favourable periods in the day, and this is in agreement with the statement made by a Nyasaland native whose article on ' The Religion of my Fathers ' appeared two years ago in the *International Review of Missions*. He there stated that the proper time to approach the Powers was the early morning, " since at that " time the heart is clean."

In only one of the 140 prescriptions before me do I find any reference to invocation, and that, naturally enough, is in connection with the ceremony of ' closing the grave.' But there is one most interesting point that I have culled from my material, and it is in connection with the cure for the person lying under ' bewitchment.' The medicine is not only applied to the body by rubbing, but its ingredients are bound up in the cloth worn, and when no longer required " must be thrown away " into running water *along with a piece of iron.*"

The material provides many other points of interest, but much remains beyond me, lacking the knowledge of the botanist, and also, here and there, that intimate knowledge of a specialized form of the vernacular used by these doctors. Perhaps it may be of interest, however, to close with a translation of one of the ' household remedies,' which require no professional aid. It is the Cure for Mumps.

" If a lad or man is taken with mumps, the medicine for healing the malady is that the man

" should gather small sticks and tie them in a bundle and place them on his head. Let him sing " this song as he walks, the sticks being on his head :—

" ' Oh, mumps; take the girls and let the boys be scathless.'

" Let him sing as he walks until he puts the bundle of sticks down in the middle of the path. " When he has put it down let him not look back until he enters the village. He has now put down " the disease on the path, and anyone stepping over the sticks will get the mumps."

A girl or woman does the same, changing only the wording of the song in order that the mumps may leave the females and attack the males.

It is interesting to note in the original that the same word is used here for ' cure ' as is used in all other prescriptions requiring definite ingredients. Simply ' medicine,' *munkwala*, which is the local equivalent of *wanga* or *dawa* or the other names that we have had to translate as ' medicine ' in one or other of the Bantu dialects. There is no distinction between a manufactured article as medicine and some action or song; both are equally a ' cure ' for their appropriate trouble.

Finally, I may say that the number of trees or shrubs used in the prescriptions amounts, as far as I am able to identify names, to 90.

Ingredients used.

I have separated into four lists the ingredients that I find in the prescriptions of ' Doctors ' A and B, but these lists are given here with no guarantee whatever of complete accuracy. It may be found that an entry here appearing under ' Trees ' should be listed under ' Shrubs,' and *vice versa*, while there are one or two entries under ' Grasses ' which I have placed there without anything to guide me beyond the form of the word. It will be seen at a glance, for instance, that the vast majority of the trees that supply some or other form of ingredient—root, bark, leaf—have names using the *mu-* prefix and that a majority of the grasses have the prefix *chi-*. At least two names appear among the grasses on the strength of this *chi-* prefix alone, and I need not say that I realize how precarious is such a method.

I have not attempted to list the ingredients of the Tonga youth, ' Doctor ' C, because his manuscript is almost indecipherable in most places, his spelling where decipherable is frequently baffling, and in the few cases where the names are clear and reading is easy he seems to be dealing with materials already listed under A and B. There is, however, one mark of distinction about C, namely, that in many prescriptions he mentions the point at which a necessary formula or incantation must be pronounced. Neither A nor B do this at all, though one would suppose it to be a necessary factor in success. These formulæ appear only (so far as I can speak with any certainty about C's prescriptions) in connection with spells, as opposed to cures belonging to what one might call straightforward medical practice, never where preparations, liquid or otherwise, are exhibited in cases where the patient is dealt with personally, but only—and this is natural enough—in cases where a wish has to be ' wished ' in order that something desired may take place in regard to some individual at a distance.

It must also be pointed out that a name may appear as ' Tree ' or ' Grass ' or ' Shrub,' but that the actual ingredient used may be some particle taken therefrom to form some amulet or charm. Where I have any ideas regarding a name, such as might aid identification by anyone using these notes in Northern Nyasaland, I give it along with the name, but as regards much the greater part of this material I have to confess complete ignorance.

No description of the prescriptions themselves is attempted here.

LIST A. TREES.

Mparavidwawa : lit., " it scrapes hides," possibly supplies juice to soften hides for braying. *Vidwawa* is an Ngoni word.
Mphangala :
Mtundu :
Mlengwe :
Mlimbo : prob. the tree from which is taken the sticky ' bird-lime ' and the vehicle used for smearing poison on arrows, etc., *ulimbo*.
Kapesa : possibly a shrub.
Mlama :
Chigula : possibly a grass.

LIST A. TREES—*continued.*

Kamemenambuzi : lit., "it makes the goats bleat."
Muswaya : lit., "the rustler."
Msolo : the well-known tree connected with worship, which "only sheds its leaves at night," under which the lion buries the tail of his kill. Tabu for building or firewood.
Mphuzamaji : lit., "it drinks water." *Mphuza* is an Ngoni word.
Nyauhango : lit., "lady of the Hango clan." Tabu for firewood.
Chithonto : the long green-thorn tree that roots through its bark if a branch is cut and left lying in the rains.
Muwanga : the iron-wood tree.
Nyamabimba :
Musimbwe :
Mpalapala :
Kundikundi : possibly a grass.
Mthopa : used in furniture making, I think.
Msindilachulu : lit., "it polishes the ant-hill." *Chulu* is a Chewa word.
Mkorankanga : lit., "it snares the guinea-fowl"; possibly a grass.
Mkarakatu :
Mozga :
Mporyaminga : one of the thorn trees?
Chipombola : possibly a grass.
Munyongoloka : lit., "it is twisted round."
Kachere :
Fuku :
Mumbwanga :
Mzakaka : one of the woods used in fire-making?
Muwuluka : one of the woods used in fire-making? lit., "it flies away."
Mtetya :
Mziwiziwi :
Chaufila : possibly a root or tuber.
Vinjekenjeke :
Mnyekamaso : produces a bitter smoke and tabu for fires; lit., "it irritates eyes."
Mkuyu : the fig.
Kandubwe :
Phombwe :
Mutowo :
Mtumbati :
Msongolo :
Khwalala : this produces bark-cloth, I think.
Khulumwe :
Chinthundu : possibly a grass.
Mtula :
Chimpufwa :
Ng'wena :
Kayakayako :
Khwewa :
Lubano :
Mbangula :
Chinjere : this may mean nothing more than "a big seed."
Kafulufulu :
Mukwaju :
Mntukutu : lit., "it has leaves like a man's ears."
Mchinka :

NOTE.—Of the above, most are used by both A and B; those following are used by A alone.

Kabumbu :
Ngwanda :
Muwuskankuzi : lit., "it rouses the bull."
Mlaza :
Mululuzga :
Lwinya :
Chikombwe cha Harare : lit., "the banana tree of Mashonaland."
Nganyeganye :
Mukurunkuru :
Muwali : used, I think, for furniture, etc.
Katubwe : but compare *Kandubwe* in previous column; probably local variation. This literally means "the otter."
Mwengamono :
Chapampa :
Mulunganya : lit., "it straightens things out"; used in a prescription for restoring domestic peace.
Chiwowo : possibly a grass.
Tirawayemba :
Mbangi : I think this is a local form of *bhang*, hemp.
Muwula : A forest fruit tree.
Muwaya :
Mkowo : these two last found in another prescription as *muwayavikowo.*
Lukorozi lwakupingama mu ntowa : lit., "a root that lies across the path."

LIST B. SHRUBS.

Kawingawazimu : lit., " it keeps off ghosts "; used in averting spells.

Kachere wa lumono : possibly connected with the castor-oil plant.

Chinyolonyolo : a tall, straight plant from which a frothy substitute for soap can be taken.

Ulimbo kanjeza : cf. *Mlimbo* above; evidently a species of ' bird-lime.'

Cheyu : this is the fibrous rock plant from which brushes are made.

Mkwakwazi : a tree bearing, I think, short, white thorns.

Ulambwe :

Masimbi gha kusi : possibly tubers.

Swinya : an underground product, possibly.

Mbalala : possibly the ground-nut.

Chopwa : the inner bark of certain shrubs or young trees from which is made native string.

LIST C. GRASSES.

Chivumulo :

Chithembwe :

Chinusi : this grows on ant-hills and may be a shrub.

Chintiwa : a reed.

Msongola : a reed.

Utheka wa pa chiduli pachanya : that is, " grass plucked on the top of an ant-hill."

Utheka wa pa libwe la jarawe : that is, " grass plucked on top of flat rock out-crop."

Chintyowa cha tete : this is some part of reed; stem or flower.

LIST D. NON-VEGETABLE AND ' DOUBTFUL.'

Mbumbu : these are described in the prescription as ' black or red,' and may be a species of berry or seed, but may equally be some non-vegetable ingredient.

Bwenkha ea mu lukuni : bwenkha is a word applied to a sticky relish eaten with porridge, but I do not know its source.

Matwatwa :

Kasulu : lit., " a little piece of iron."

Mphene : lit., ' knives,' but the context suggests that this must be wrong, as the patient has to chew them. *Mpene,* a knife, is usually spelt unaspirated.

Mvili :

Matongo gha kalulu : the testicles of a hare.

Malikhu gha kusi : malikhu is the body stickiness that one gets when unwashed. This can be washed from the body and ' used.'

Malikhu gha kuni : here the *malikhu* refers to the soiled state of a tree that has been handled by people.

Usyalo : a variant of *uskalo,* beads.

Thope la kuni pasi : lit., " the earth at the bottom of a tree."

Ngaka : a species of fish from the Indian Ocean.

Kanyoli kakwenda pa maji : lit., " the *kanyoli* that travels on the water "; probably a water insect.

Vintu vikutonya pa kuni : lit., " the things that drop water from a tree." A case where no name is known; the insects that exude water.

Nkhorokola : a species of fish.

Sumbi : an egg.

Sumbi lakuvivya :

Water from a standing pool :

Mbatawata : another species of water-surface insect.

Ubani :

Thenthe la zovu : some part of elephant; possibly the inner nerve from the tusk, which is tabu for women to see and which might be described as *thenthe,* which means ' fear.'

Mtima wa zovu : elephant heart.

Vyoto vya pa chizara : ashes from the village midden.

Shuga : i.e., sugar; from the youth C only.

There is one final point that may be worth mentioning. I have noticed that where a tree-root has been exposed for the purpose of scraping off, or cutting away a section, the earth is never replaced. I have been told that it is not the correct thing to take a medicine furtively. This does not apply, of course, to ingredients required by the ' death-dealer ' or ghoul; only by the straightforward medicine-man, and the witch-doctor who protects the community from the ghouls.

T. CULLEN YOUNG.

China : Lolo Scripts. **Liu.**

On a Newly-Discovered Lolo MS. from Szechuan, China. *By Chungshee Hsien Liu, B.Sc. (Oxon), F.R.A.I.*

In 1929, when carrying out a biological survey in the borderland of Szechuan, Mr. Ping-wen Fang, B.Sc., zoologist to the Metropolitan Museum of Natural History, Academia Sinica, Nanking, collected, besides a number of other ethnographical specimens, a valuable Lolo MS. from the district of Ma-pien, near Taliang-shan, the home of the Lolo tribe. Very kindly he sent it to me for a further study as it has hitherto been undescribed, and it has thus been at my disposal for some time. I am deeply indebted to his generosity. **268**

The MS. under discussion is said to be a piece of classical work of the Lolo of unknown date. It is bound in book form with blue linen thread having a bamboo stick as a roller. No covers have been preserved though they might not have been lacking when it was new. Obviously some paper leaves have been torn off, traces of them being left. All the pages are of the same size, which is 38 cm. wide and 20 cm. long, so its form is rectangular. The paper used for this writing is evidently a thin paper made of bamboo. Owing to its antiquity the paper has now become soiled and brown in colour: the edges of some pages have been worn out. It looks rather fragile.

The MS. contains 35 full pages altogether, but with one page, namely, page 31, blank, thus making 34 written pages actually. Each page consists of from 11 to 17 vertical columns and each column again is composed of from 13 to 22 words with the exception of those columns where words are missing. Since the words were not written in a uniform size, the number of words and of columns varies considerably. I have calculated that the whole MS. has a total number of 472 columns and of 8,066 words. Taking the average, I have obtained a result of approximately 14 columns in a page and of 17 words in each column. Out of the total number of 8,066 words there are 625 different characters each of which is a new word. Moreover, among these 625 new words I have tried to record how many times each character is used. On the one hand there is a number of characters which have been employed once only, twice, thrice and so forth: on the other hand there are two or three characters which have been used hundreds of times. Those characters which have been used so frequently must be the commonest words or words used as particles.

It is no exaggeration to say that so far as the number of words and that of the new characters are concerned, this MS. contains the longest series of words and the largest number of new characters, and thus exceeds all the other Lolo MSS. known to the philological world, since this writing was first discovered in 1873 by Père Crabouillet.

As for the technique of the writing, this MS. like some other Lolo MSS. was not done by a Chinese brush. It was, however, produced xylographically with China black. If the characters are not so picturesquely done as those of the ancient Egyptian writing, they are undoubtedly as striking as those of the Chinese ideographic inscription. On the whole, the Lolo writing is not so complicated as that of the Chinese, although the words are also built up of strokes. So far as I can make out the average number of strokes for each word is not more than three or four, very rarely seven or eight. Analysing these strokes, they consist, very much like the Chinese, of a *dot*, a *horizontal line*, a *vertical line*, an *oblique line*, *curved lines*, a *circle* and so on. Following the *radical*-system of making up the Chinese dictionary and sorting out the different strokes, I have been able to distinguish 54 radicals or elements under which all the words can be classified in one way or another. Being simple in structure, they are, therefore, easily recognized. The penmanship is very artistically done, so artistically that some characters are practically symbolic markings with the elements of symmetry, curving, squaring, and circling, and that not a few of them show geometric designs.

Through the whole MS. there is no punctuation whatever (*see* Fig. 1). The beginning and ending of sentences and paragraphs are unknown. However, there are certain marks and serrated lines employed for the purpose of division, but whether they separate a paragraph or chapter I cannot tell. For a new subject a lined enclosure, usually square, is used, but even so no space between words or columns has been left blank. At any rate it gives us an idea that a new subject is introduced. The style of the MS. suggests that it is of a high standard and must have been produced patiently by an experienced native scholar or tribal priest.

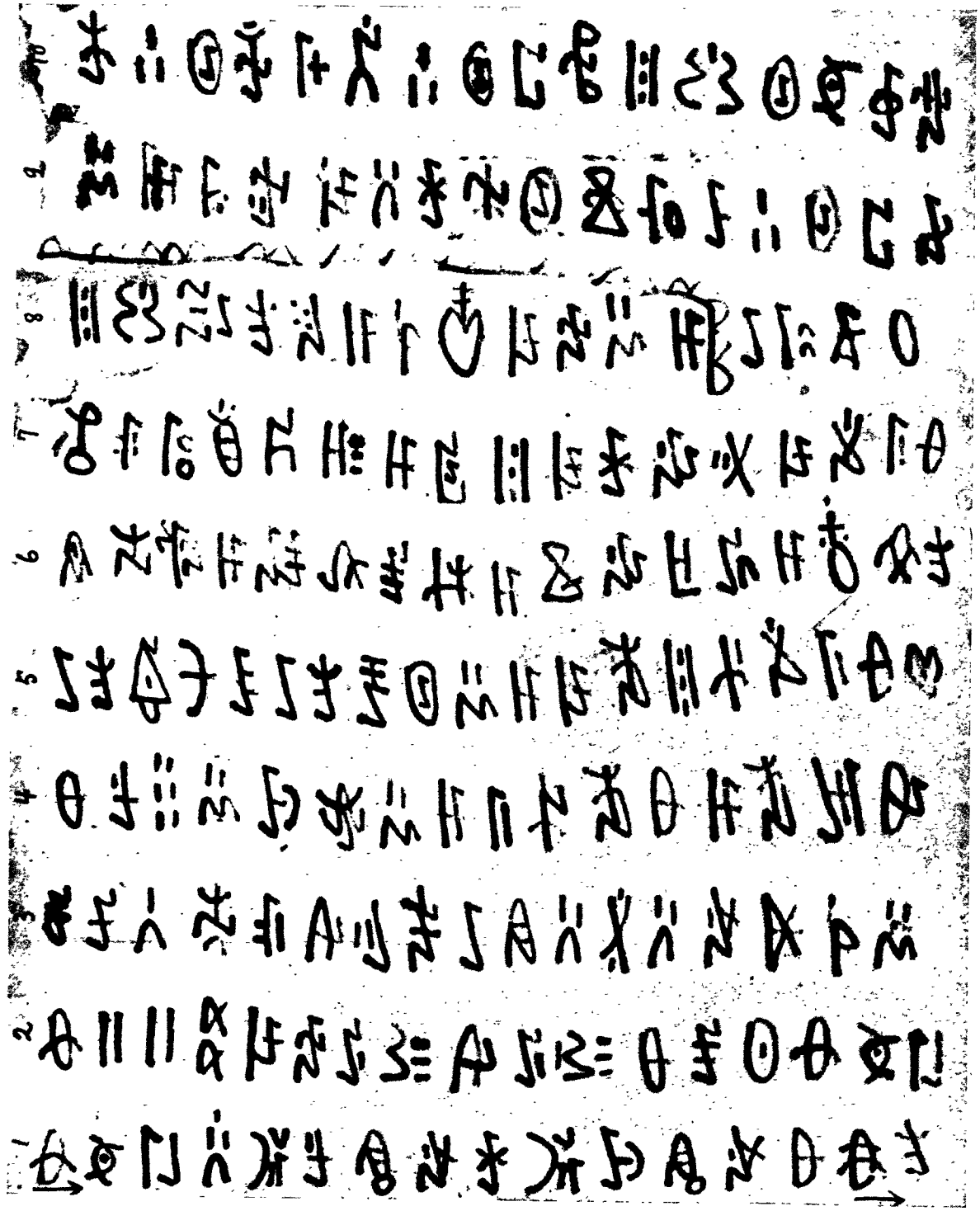


FIG. 1. LOLO MS. FROM SZECHUAN.
The top of the columns is to the left.

With regard to their method of writing, different opinions have been held by the few authorities. Each of them insists firmly on his own view from the study of the MS. he obtained. First of all Terrien de Lacouperie describing *a Lolo MS. written on satin* says: "The writing runs in lines from "top to bottom and from right to left like the Chinese . . ." Père Vial, a greater authority on the Lolo writing in Yunnan, states on the contrary that the Lolo writing runs from left to right of the page. Other writers like Commandant d'Ollone, Sylvia Charria and Fang Wen-pei, for instance, all express opinions differing from one another, the details of which need not concern us here.

As I have had the opportunity of consulting many Lolo MSS., published and unpublished, I have come to a conclusion regarding their method of writing. The Lolo, like the Chinese, start their writing definitely from top to bottom, but unlike the Chinese, their writing runs from left to right. This is the fundamental difference between the two writings. It should be noticed, however, that owing to the constant intercourse with the Chinese and consequent influence of Chinese culture, the Lolo have sometines adopted the Chinese way in their method of writing, that is to say, from right to left, for convenience sake. That is probably why we have seen some of the Lolo MSS. written exactly like those of the Chinese, for instance, the Lou-küan tablet MS. described by Charria. In other words, it may be safely assumed that the ancient Lolo works were mostly written from left to right, while the more recent inscriptions are arranged sometimes after the Chinese style in order to obtain corresponding paragraphs, as it is so easy to change with symbolic writings such as the Lolo.

Following the limited vocabulary compiled by Commandant d'Ollone, I have been trying to read the MS. and transcribe the meaning of it, but in order to complete such a difficult task some time would be needed.

With regard to the affinity and origin of this writing, it is very difficult to say, although some inferences have already been made. Terrien de Lacouperie, for example, suggested a theory that the Lolo writing is a missing link among a number of other Indonesian writings. He insisted that it links most of the primitive writings in the Malay Archipelago with the Japanese and Korean in the north, and is also akin to the Pali of India. This theory, however, being without facts to support it, is purely imaginative.

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CHUNGSHEE HSIEN LIU.

PROCEEDINGS OF SOCIETIES.

FOLK-LORE SOCIETY.

The Horned God. *Summary of a Communication by Dr. M. A. Murray:* 18 *May*, 1932.

The Horned God appears in the palæolithic period in the painting in the Caverne des Trois Frères. He is wrapped in a deer-skin and wears antlers on his head, and is represented as performing a ceremony in the midst of animals. Smaller figures of the same period (Aurignacian-Magdalenian) are clothed in goat-skins and wear goats' horns. Neolithic figures of the god are unknown, but a horned deity of the early Copper-age occurs in Egypt; the Minotaur—the bull-man—of Crete is clearly early; and the two-horned godlings of Mesopotamia are more primitive than the great seven-horned deities of late historic times. The

Romans record Cernunnos throughout Gaul, especially in that part where the palæolithic horned god existed. When Christianity was introduced the old gods had either to become saints or the enemies of salvation; and the horned god, being the chief deity, was branded with the name of the 'Devil' and his worshippers were called 'witches.' Though the Church made little progress among the common people for many centuries, she concentrated on the rulers, and it was not until the fifteenth century that she was strong enough to give battle. The fight lasted for three centuries, till finally the Church was victorious.

Notes on the Folk Lore of Upper Calderdale.

270 *Summary of a Communication by F. H. Marsden: 15 June*, 1932.

Upper Calderdale is a district in the extreme west of Yorkshire, closely akin in speech and customs to the neighbouring county of Lancashire. Although many old customs, such as stang-riding and telling the bees, are now extinct, a good deal still remains for the collector in the shape of belief in omens and mascots, old children's games, taunting and weather rhymes, and funeral usages. The most interesting calendar custom is the performance of the Easter Mummers' Play, known as the Pace Egg, which has twice been broadcast by the B.B.C. The version is a particularly full one. Its special features are a quaint old traditional song which ends the play, and a curious character, known as the Old Tosspot, who may be related to certain characters in modern Greek folk-plays. A study of the Calderdale version suggests a close connection between the text of the Pace Egg play, the Gunpowder Plot 'nominy,' and the words of the Soul Caking Play which is still performed in other districts.

The paper was read by Mr. G. R. Carline, Keeper of Bankfield Museum, Halifax.

INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF AFRICAN LANGUAGES AND CULTURES.

Eleventh Meeting of Executive Council.

271 The eleventh meeting of the Executive Council of the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures was held in London on 8 and 9 July, 1932, in the Conference Room at the Colonial Office, which had been kindly placed at the disposal of the Institute by the Secretary of State for the Colonies. The session was presided over by the chairman, the Rt. Hon. Lord Lugard, and the following members attended: Colonel Derendinger, Rev. Father Dubois, Professor G. Hardy, Professor de Jonghe, Professor B. Malinowski, Sir E. Denison Ross, Professor Ryckmans, Rev. Father Schmidt, Professor C. G. Seligman, Rev. E. W. Smith, Sir Humphrey Leggett (hon. treasurer), Professor H. Labouret (director), Professor D. Westermann (director), Dr. J. H. Oldham (administrative director), Mr. H. Vischer (secretary-general), Miss D. G. Brackett (secretary). Dr. A. L. Warnshuis and Professor F. Krause, members of the governing body, Dr. Anson Phelps-Stokes, Mr. L. Outhwaite, of the Rockefeller Foundation, and Professor Lloyd Warner, of Harvard University, who were in London at the time of the meeting, took part in the proceedings by special invitation.

The members of the Council were entertained by H.M. Government to luncheon at Grosvenor House on 8 July, when Sir Robert Hamilton, M.P., Parliamentary Secretary for the Colonies, deputized for the Secretary of State. In welcoming the guests on behalf of H.M. Government, Sir Robert Hamilton paid a tribute to the work of the Institute, referring in particular to the programme of research directed towards bringing about a better understanding of the factors of social cohesion in African society, the ways in which these are being affected by the alien civilizations which are penetrating the Continent, and the tendencies towards new social grouping and the formation of new social bonds. The approach to the carrying out of this programme has been made possible by the wide vision and the generosity of the trustees of the Rockefeller Foundation.

Sir Ransford Slater, outgoing Governor of the Gold Coast, speaking as the representative of one of the twenty-two governments in Africa which contributed towards the Institute, emphasized the importance of research into sociological problems and the practical assistance which the Institute could render. Colonel Derendinger on behalf of the Council expressed its appreciation for the hospitality shown by H.M. Government and for the welcome which the members had received in London.

The main subject for consideration at the meeting of the Council was the programme of research, and a number of grants for field work were made.

Seventy-seven new members of the Institute were elected, and it was announced that the London School of Economics and the Museum für Völkerkunde in Leipzig had accepted an invitation to become members of the governing body.

The director, Professor Labouret, informed the Council that the Institute had been awarded a Grand Prix for its exhibit in the section 'Native Policy and Colonization' at the International Colonial Exhibition held in Paris last year.

IMPERIAL INSTITUTE.

Vanishing India. *One hundred and fifty paintings by Stowitts. Imperial Institute, South Kensington.* 17 *June* — 16 *July*, 1932.

272 It is strange that Indian Government Departments, which are often accused of a mania for accumulating statistics, have never produced anything like a general pictorial survey of Indian arts and crafts. It is stranger still that English painters have not recorded more of the vast variety of racial types which are to be found in the Provinces and Indian States. A certain amount of work, some of it of the highest quality, has, it is true, been done by artists as diverse in their methods as Lockwood Kipling and Raven Hill, but it has remained for an American to make the first comprehensive collection of pictures combining ethnographical and anthropological interest. That

Mr. Stowitts is a gifted artist detracts nothing from the value of these 150 tempera paintings as a record —that is their primary purpose—for he has deliberately subordinated decoration to delineation; though, as often happens, the decorative value of his art is probably not diminished from the fact that this was not the primary aim.

Most of the paintings too are alive, notably those of musicians, where the rapt expressions are caught with uncanny skill. Other notable examples of Mr. Stowitts's penetrating gift are Nos. 94, where Rām Nāth's drug-sodden gaze is wonderfully conveyed, and 141, a typical city dame. But it is impossible, here, to indicate the great range and variety of the subjects. The whole length and breadth of India is represented, from Baluchistan to Ceylon. There are a few full-dress portraits of notabilities, but most of the pictures are of handworkers of every conceivable race and occupation, cotton-spinners, workers in wood, stone and metal, jewellery, pottery, and fabrics; mailed warriors and soldiers, gipsies, ascetics, jugglers, mummers and musicians. Perhaps the collection would have gained if more purely rural occupations could have been depicted, for those, after all, employ most of India's population, and they are of fascinating interest.

Perhaps, too, Mr. Stowitts makes his types too muscular for truth—the plainsman is usually a rather scraggy creature, unlike the hill-dwellers; and he has made a bad error in including a naked Muhammadan. The Indian Muhammadans, unlike some of the Central Asiatic tribes and the fellahin of Egypt, have a horror of nakedness. The Exhibition has manifold value, the more so as many of the crafts will probably die out long before the year 2000.

J. V. S. WILKINSON.

BRITISH ASSOCIATION.

Proceedings of Section H (Anthropology).

President: D. Randall-MacIver, M.A., D.Sc. The Presidential Address dealt with *The place of Archæology as a Science, and some practical problems in its development.* Archæology is a young science, dating from the mid-nineteenth century; among its pioneers were Layard, Boucher de Perthes, Keller, Lartet and Christy, Pigorini and Schliemann. Archæology and anthropology are complementary; the former deals with the material products which remain as evidence of the skill of ancient man; anthropology, unlimited by time, studies not only the products of man's brain and hand, but also his mental, moral and sociological development. Thus archæology derives its theoretical structure from anthropological studies of man's religious, sociological and cultural relations. The organization of the science is threefold: (i) the collecting and recording of material in the field; (ii) the housing, conservation and exhibition of such material in museums; (iii) the comparative study of such collected data and its synthesis for publication. Technique continually improves and therefore a portion of every site should be left untouched so that future generations may study it from new angles; the work at Pompeii in the last ten years is evidence of the value of this suggestion. Museum collections of the Italian type, where the results of any given excavation are kept together in a single room, and each tomb and deposit is placed in a separate division of a case, are ideal from the poin of view of the archæologist. A most serious loss to archæology is the frequent failure of individuals and institutions to publish the results of excavations; material unpublished by the archæologist concerned is in great part irretrievably lost. Notes, drawings, photographs and plans can be interpreted fully by no one but the man who made them. In the discussion which followed, Mr. R. U. Sayce pled for a wider cultural and literary education of the student of archæology so that he would not be "seized with "paralysis at any mention of publication," a phrase used by Dr. Randall-MacIver in suggesting reasons for non-publication of results. Mr. H. D. Acland referred to the pioneer work of Sir William Boyd Dawkins in making museum arrangement a scientific study. Mr. M. C. Burkitt pled for better systems of exchanges between museums so that knowledge might be more widely disseminated. He also pointed out the necessity for the would-be archæologist actually to handle museum specimens, and suggested that surplus specimens, now uselessly stored, might be placed at the disposal of such students; even if this meant occasional damage or loss it was of small consequence compared with the gain in skill. The President suggested that the organized sale by museum authorities of duplicate and surplus specimens would provide funds for further excavations and lessen the strain on museum storage.

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It was appropriate that a discussion on 'Who were the Romans?' should be held in York. Professor H. J. Rose opened with a brilliant exposition of the wider horizon as regards religions of ancient Rome which has resulted from recent work. Mommsen's conjecture that in the calendars we know was embedded an older calendar still holds true. But no longer can the supposed oldest deities be regarded as *indigetes*, for they include the Etruscan sounding Furrina; Saturnus, with his Greek cult and Greek-looking festival; Liber, with his Greek associations. The work of Taubler, Patroni and Weinstock has modified ideas of resemblances between the plan of the *terramara* and various parcels of ground used for farming, camping and laying out a town. The 'big letter' festivals are a monument of very early times, long antecedent to the Rome of the early Republic. Analysis of them shows a people with the simple rites and wants of villagers: food, drink, warmth, protection against fire, protection of their women in childbirth. It suggests, though it does not prove, a mixed people, a peasant stock joined to herdsmen by some process of migration or conquest. They were a metal-using people in a fairly developed Iron Age as far back as we can trace them, though there are hints of a previous Bronze Age. Prof. P. S. Noble gave detailed accounts of diverse origins hinted at by linguistic evidence. Prof. J. L. Myres

compared the origin of Rome in a fortuitous coalition of exiled and broken men with the *synoekismos* or 'agreement to keep house together' which gave rise to many Greek city states in the migration period of the Ægean. A first element in the plebs were original corporation-clans which had lapsed from free and equal enjoyment of the fullest rights of citizenship. The *clientes*, alien-born, but received as inalienable members of a privileged family group, were another important element, though they were probably not, as Mommsen thought, coextensive with it. In the absence of literary or archæological evidence, the philological evidence which might suggest the superimposition of Sabellian invaders on the survivors of previous occupants of this part of Latium demands from the philologists further suggestions as to the date of this supposed conquest. Comparison with a similar experience in Athens suggests that the expulsion of a tyrant might lead to the selection of 'patrons' from amongst the plebeians themselves, though they were always distinguished from true officers of state; these *tribuni* habitually 'intervened' between the plebs and the consuls when the former needed protection. During his year of office the tribune was 'tabu'; his person was sacred; the assailant of a tribune was accursed and every member of the plebs was under a vow to kill him. The evidence thus adduced from many sources points to the very mixed origin of the Romans when they first appear in history. The President, in summing up, gave further evidence, this time from skeletal remains, of the diverse types of early Romans. He considered that the Etruscan element in the population had been greatly exaggerated.

Several papers dealt with local archæology. The Rev. A. Raine stated that there was no proof that there had ever been a British settlement on the site of York. There was, however, a tribal crossing-place and a British trackway led to the river. Mr. I. A. Richmond described excavations at Birdoswald, Hadrian's Wall, carried out by himself and Mr. F. G. Simpson since 1927. Complicated, but distinct, stratification has revealed three occupations below the Stone Wall fort. Accurate dating from epigraphic and numismatic data was possible, and the stratified pottery related to these periods now forms a firm basis for dating elsewhere. Mr. Philip Corder gave an account of the history of the Roman fort at Malton as revealed by excavation. He further described two pairs of pottery kilns at Crambeck, five miles from Malton, and an extensive villa site at Langton, four miles to the south-east. In the absence of Mr. Elgee through ill-health, Mrs. Elgee described his excavations at the Bronze Age camp on Eston Hills. The finds resemble those of the Late Bronze Age site in Heathery Burn Cave, co. Durham. Dr. A. Raistrick and Miss Kitson Clark showed how the geography of the region had influenced history and prehistory. Distribution maps at different periods showed striking similarities.

Dr. Axel Boethius, director of the Swedish Archæological Institute at Rome, lectured on Domestic Architecture under the Roman Empire. He stressed the important influence, right down to the nineteenth century, of tenement house structure as we know it from Rome and Ostia for the development of European town-building. Pompeii, Herculaneum and pre-Augustan Rome, with their unsafe, irregular and shapeless plans, were contrasted with the carefully planned and sturdily built brick buildings of the Imperial Age. Before A.D. 79 architects in Rome and probably in other towns had begun to remodel on Imperial lines. Beneath Nero's wide, straight, rectangular streets were buried the old narrow and crooked *Via Sacra* and *Via Palatina*.

In a joint discussion which followed the Presidential Address to Section C, on *The Contacts of Geology : the Ice Age and Early Man in Britain*, by Professor P. G. H. Boswell, Mr. H. J. E. Peake asked geologists to include periods of deposition of peat in their investigations. Pointing out the dangers of basing chronological successions on purely archæological evidence, he stressed the need for geological work on terraces. Mr. M. C. Burkitt referred to the finding of upper palæolithic remains beneath the lateral moraines of the last glaciation in Nidderdale and pointed out the danger of assuming widespread uniformity of cultures from evidence obtained in a limited area. Professor Boswell, in summing up, urged the need for help from archæologists in determining the age of implements.

A morning was devoted to the study of the Mesolithic Age. Mr. J. G. D. Clark gave a résumé of recent work which has made possible finer distinctions of typology and chronology. He referred to mesolithic finds in Britain and suggested that the late Tardenois geometric microlithic culture of Britain and the asymmetric hollow-based points of Surrey and Sussex have no counterpart on the Continent. Mr. A. L. Armstrong described his researches in North Lincolnshire and claimed that Risby Warren is the type station for the Tardenois culture in England. The Rev. H. G. Williams exhibited pygmy flints found in the Cleveland Hills. Mr. F. Buckley discussed mesolithic artifacts from the Pennine Chain and emphasized the need for further search for traces of mesolithic occupation.

An important paper by Mr. I. C. Peate dealt with the continuity and vitality of craftsmanship and folk culture in Wales. The survival of crafts in rural Wales is still accompanied by belief in old folk superstitions which have counterparts in Brittany and Hungary. The National Museum of Wales has collected exhibits illustrating material culture in Wales, but there is need of a folk museum, and of folk schools where crafts can be fostered. The Rev. Dr. E. O. James discussed *Folk Lore and Archæology in North-west Spain and Portugal*; his paper appears in 'Folk Lore,' September, 1932. Canon J. A. MacCulloch, on the question as to whether fairies were an actual race of men, suggested that there has been an interaction between animistic beliefs in imaginary beings and traditions of earlier races regarded more and more from an animistic point of view. Dr. A. H. Smith showed how the study of place names helps in elucidating the history

of settlement in Yorkshire. The Danish element is strong in the fertile parts of the Vale of York and the Valley of the Derwent, the Norwegian in Whitby, Cleveland, and the Western Dales. He pointed out that in judging place endings by numerical count, geography must be remembered, *e.g.*, the North Riding would rather favour the development of small isolated farms or 'bys,' whereas the East Riding would encourage the formation of larger estates or the nucleating of two or three farmsteads to form a thorp.

Mr. J. P. Williams-Freeman showed a map of the Chichester earthworks, and a keen discussion on their origin followed, the consensus of opinion favouring the Saxons, rather than the Romans, as the builders.

Mr. O. Davies gave an account of his discoveries on Greek soil of data relating to mining in pre-classical times and discussed the methods of testing the sources of ancient copper specimens by means of the impurities which they contain. Mr. M. E. L. Mallowan described the five layers revealed at Nineveh in 1931–2 by the British Museum Expedition. The earliest layer yielded coarse plain and incised ware, which cannot be placed much later than 5,000 B.C.

Dr. Audrey I. Richards gave an account of the Babemba of Northern Rhodesia, one of the tribes on which her remarkable study 'Hunger and Work in a Savage Tribe' was based. Dr. M. A. Murray described the royal tail festival in Ancient Egypt, the initiation of the falcon-totem invading kings into the cattle-totem of the indigenes.

Professor V. Suk, of Brno, as a result of 3,000 precipitation tests, considered that European 'races,' nordic, alpine, dinaric, etc., are only types in process of making, not fully established races. Only distinct and geographically separate groups, *e.g.*, Eskimos compared with Kalmucks, or Eskimos compared with Europeans *as a whole* gave well-marked differences. Evidence from 4,000 blood-groupings hints that blood-groups are constitutional rather than racial. In a further paper he discussed form and colour in human eyelashes and eyebrows.

The custom of evening sectional lectures was continued and proved a great attraction. Sir Flinders Petrie, F.R.S., described the excavation of Ancient Gaza in 1932 on the palace site and the cemeteries, and thence discussed the Copper and Bronze Ages in Palestine. Miss G. Caton-Thompson gave an account of *Recent Discoveries in the Kharga Oasis* (see MAN, 1932, 158). R. M. FLEMING.

REVIEWS.

Pacific.

Best.

Tuhoe, The Children of the Mist. *Elsdon Best. Published by the Board of Maori Ethnological Research for and on behalf of the Polynesian Society. Two Vols. New Plymouth, N.Z.*, 1925. **274**

Mr. Elsdon Best states that he lived for 30 years amongst, and in close contact with, the Tuhoe or Urewera people of New Zealand, whose history, genealogies of chiefs, wars, customs, religion, magic, myths, folk-lore, cosmogonic beliefs, together with their philosophizings upon nature he chronicles in 1,143 pages in Vol. I. Vol. II contains native genealogies, and a map of the Urewera country is included in a folio. There is a good general Index. The author [see obituary, MAN, 1932, 56] was a competent Maori scholar with a first-class knowledge both of the language and also of the references to historical and legendary persons and their doings, as well as of the proverbs and proverbial sayings of the people, all of which things, as Sir George Grey showed, form an integral part of the speech of the Maori people. Mr. Best had, as his informants, men of the tribe who were steeped in all that belonged to its life, and who were possessed of the traditional knowledge handed down with such scrupulous care by their forbears. Some of these informants were able to write. The records of the Native Land Courts with the lists of ancestors of claimants to a particular block of land, and the accounts of fights, and the names of chiefs killed in the wresting of a particular territory from its former owners furnish valuable evidence.

The particular people under consideration were mountaineers of a peculiarly truculent disposition. They resolutely abstained from intercourse with Europeans in later days, and were suspicious and sullen in their behaviour, and the elders among them ascribed all their ills to the abandonment under Christian and civilized influences of their old-time customs. They were followers of the 'prophet' Te Kooti, and Hauhauism found a ready home amongst them. Of late they have pinned their faith to Rua, the new Maori 'Messiah.' Their subjugation during the years of the Maori wars was a long and arduous business, owing both to the mountainous country in which they lived (Mr. Best himself tramped all over it), and also to their fighting propensities. They actually broke through the British troops in one engagement. During the siege of a *pa* by troops one of the defenders was reduced to firing peach stones for bullets. The change that has come over the district is shown by the occurrence of such words as these in the text, "Where now is the butter factory," or "Just by "the cheese factory," used in the description of places where once deeds of violence were done and where Maori forts once stood.

The author produces evidence showing that the Urewera peoples have a large admixture of aboriginal blood in them, instancing the curly hair, darkish skin, flat and wide-open noses of individuals amongst them. Others have the *uru kehu*, fair or reddish hair, and very light skin associated with legendary peoples in so many parts of the Pacific. Mr. Best speaks of three elements mingled in the

Urewera people: (1) Melanesian; (2) Polynesian of the earlier migrations; (3) Polynesian derived from the migrants who came in the Mātātua canoe from 'Hawaiki.'

It is interesting to note that fighting with weapons is said to have been introduced by the immigrants of the later migrations. The story of the pursuit of greenstone, p. 843, of which the most valued weapons were made, seems to confirm this statement. The causes of war and fighting amongst the Ureweras were: (1) the seizing of a people's land by others; (2) quarrels about women; (3) avenging the death of a clansman; (4) insults offered to chiefs or women; (5) witchcraft. A husband whose wife had left him for another man, fastened her and her children in their house and then burned them. Another killed and cooked his wife's paramour in her sight, and compelled her to eat of the body. One chief used the liver of his enemy as bait for a bird trap. Mr. Best regarded the making of fortified villages, with their rows of palisades, earthworks, ditches and walls, as an aboriginal device adopted by the later comers in order to cover their own numerical weakness.

This book is the work of a lifetime, the intensive study of a people done by one who loved them. Mr. Best was one of the last of those men in New Zealand who, standing in the Grey or Williams tradition, knew the Maori people from within, and being thoroughly conversant with every detail of his subject, he has left an imperishable record of one New Zealand tribe. WALTER IVENS.

Fiji and the Fijians. *By G. C. Henderson. Sydney,* 1931. *Pp.* 333. *Price 25s.*

275 The work, the author tells us, was undertaken "chiefly, but not exclusively, in the interests of "anthropological science." Really it sets out as an apology for the Mission against Sir Basil Thomson, and develops as an apology for the Fijians, and much just criticism of the missionaries based upon their own evidence. It is readable, sensible, and fair-minded; perhaps a little inclined to neutrality, which is a different thing from impartiality, for it makes no mention of certain things for which we have to turn to the less kindly Sir Basil. Those who have learnt to like the Fijians will be grateful for this defence, though that people scarcely needs it, having found favour with all those who can recognize essential worth at the back of strange customs. The author is typical, however, of the vast majority of Europeans in never calling the Fijian himself to give evidence on his own behalf. His case is based entirely on the records of Europeans whose knowledge was very superficial and whose bias, as he admits, was strong. The Fijian has a great deal to say for himself. The author has visited Fiji and could have got their views. He could have run through the correspondence of the vernacular gazette, 'Na Mata.' But it is the fashion to treat the Black Man as a dead body at a coroner's inquest, not as a living witness in a court of inquiry.

When all is said and done is this book anthropology? Is anthropology concerned with the fact that "there "was not a single mission station in any part of Fiji "where the way had not been prepared for a white "missionary by a native teacher"; that, Baker had only himself to thank for getting eaten; that, on one occasion, Williams was wrong and Tuikilakila right; that Roman Catholics and Wesleyans fought one another, and who was to blame? All that is narrative history, the history of individuals and events. Whatever anthropology may be, it is not concerned with particulars: not with *quod semel et ab uno*, but with *quod frequenter et a multis*. It deals in the habitual actions of groups, in plain English with customs. It may seem hard to say that so much good work contributes little to anthropology: but the same may be said of Macaulay without disparagement. Science is not everything. Narrative history gives us something which science cannot give, precisely because it is not science, not even anthropological science. In short our author's wares may be good, but he has brought them to the wrong shop. A. M. HOCART.

America: North.

The Indians of Pecos Pueblo. *By E. A. Hooton* **276** *and Assistants; with Appendices by H. J. Rihan and E. Reynolds.* 11 × 8½ *in.; pp.* 391, *with numerous tables and photographs. London,* 1931: *Price* 56*s.*

This work is the magnificent result of team-work between Dr. Hooton, his "statistical and laboratory "assistants" R. O. Sawtell, E. C. Yates, and P. B. Hurwitz; and the Phillips Academy of Andover, Massachusetts, under whose auspices it appears, may well be proud of the result. The work begins by "an abridgment and paraphrase" of Dr. Kidder's archæological account of the Pecos Pueblo, in New Mexico, first visited by Alvarado, a captain in Coronado's expedition of 1540. The history and archæology of the site, so far as known, are given. This is followed by an extremely detailed account, both by measurement and observation, of all the skeletal material sufficiently well preserved for examination. The pathology, dentition, and demography are all carefully considered, and there is a special appendix by Dr. Reynolds on the pelves. The observations were based on 973 skeletons, but rather less than half of these were either immature or fragmentary, and so not capable of what the author calls the "routine of graded morphological "observations." Still, what remains was sufficient to try anyone's patience, and the statistical summaries must have been of stupendous labour. Considering the magnitude of the task it is a pity that the workers did not stop a little more to consider exactly what is the purpose of statistics and to use them in a little more restrained manner. The very essence of statistics implies that the number of cases is sufficient for such treatment. The present work, however, includes standard deviations, errors, and so on, for groups down to 10. The experience of the Biometric Laboratory in London takes 20 as the minimum and it is doubtful whether any real useful purpose is to be gained unless a larger number than this is employed. If you have smaller numbers, and that is unfortunately often the case, then different methods, more suited to the material, must be used. Then Dr. Hooton, as he has every right to do, selects his material into certain types; no one can quarrel with him there; but when, having so selected his material, he proceeds apparently to attempt to

support his contentions by an appeal to statistics of very inadequate numbers, one becomes more suspicious, more especially when he takes the differences between the various types and, regardless of the fact that some measurements are much more variable than others, he takes a mean difference. With the perfectly straightforward and scientific coefficient of racial likeness at his disposal he could have dealt with his material perfectly simply, and he might have been able to judge the exact relationships of his types, if such they be. But, in point of numbers, the weakest series of the book appear to be those often under twenty in number, which are divided into elaborate tables with percentages, so that though, no doubt, 14·29 per cent. looks impressive, one discovers it only refers to 2 out of a total of 14. But against these deficiencies which, except in the case of the differences, are rather acts of commission than omission—and one could well wish that other authors had committed as many—we have in the book a magnificent series of careful and exact observations on a long skeletal series, and the observations on the long bones are particularly welcome because so few exist. When the book, we gather, was in its last stages the observations on absolute dates, as calculated by Dr. Douglass on tree rings, came to hand. It seems to have given both Dr. Hooton and Dr. Kidder a nasty jar because it allows a much shorter time gap than they suggested, but they had the courage to print what they had written, and doubtless the comparative worth of the two methods of dating will be evaluated by competent authorities. Whatever the verdict may be, it cannot take away from the value of the data set out in the book, though one might have wished that a little more emphasis could have been laid on the long series and that the inevitably short ones could have been put where they might be exhumed to add to longer series should they become available. Lastly, in a book of this size, so carefully edited and proof read, why not an index? L. H. D. B.

The Kamia of Imperial Valley. *By E. W. Gifford.* [*Bureau of American Ethnology. Bulletin* 97.] *Smithsonian Institution. Washington,* 1931. *Pp.* vii + 94; *2 plates; 4 text-figures.* **277**

The data presented in the monograph were obtained from field work undertaken jointly by the Bureau of American Ethnology and the University of California during 1928–1929.

The Kamia, a people of Diegueño origin, inhabited the Imperial Valley in south-eastern California. Linguistically they are an offshoot of the Diegueños, but culturally they are intermediate between the Diegueño and the Yuma. According to their mythology they originally came from the vicinity of the sacred mountain Wikami in the north; but evidences are produced to show that this could not have been so. Their lineage organization shows remarkable resemblance with that of either the Eastern or the Western Diegueño. Some of the Kamia lineages are, in part, totemic; and they are strictly patrilineal and exogamous—the exogamy including the father's as well as the mother's lineage.

The Kamia had no settled villages. Whenever a person died, the house and furnishings were burned and the family moved to another place; but it was not ascertained if they left the settlement altogether. Painting of the face was practised quite extensively, but it had no religious significance. On the other hand they practised tattooing as a puberty rite. Traces of couvade are recorded among them, but it seems doubtful if couvade in its strictest sense ever existed. After the birth of a child the father had to observe certain taboos, and if he broke them no harm came to the baby but he himself was the sufferer. Some of their bodily deformations seem to be totemic in nature. Nose piercing, for instance, is said "to have been in imitation of the "nostrils of various species of large birds" (p. 55). They believed in external souls; these souls could wander about at will, be lost or stolen. And a person could also be the possessor of a multiplicity of souls; in fact, some persons had as many as four souls, all called *matahaau*. Death, they said, was caused by the theft of the soul, but in the case of persons possessing multiple souls, the theft caused only illness. The soul was visible when a person was dying, and could be seen leaving the body in the form of an apparition. There is one peculiarity, however, about the Kamia conception of the soul. Instead of its being an exact replica of the body it inhabits, it was thought that a baby "had a "soul and a spirit like an adult" (p. 71). The heart was probably regarded as the seat of the soul (*cf.* p. 72). In summing up, Gifford comes to the conclusion that "the entry of the Kamia into Imperial Valley and their "acculturation to the Yuma type may all have "occurred within the nineteenth century" (p. 86).

In spite of its smallness, which made it necessary to treat some of the subjects in a rather sketchy manner, the book is full of valuable matter well arranged, and is quite up to the standard of the former publications of the Bureau. An index enhances the value of the work. The price, about one shilling, is merely nominal.

B. BONNERJEA.

Religion of the Kwakiutl Indians. *Boas. Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology, Vol X. Part I. Texts; 67s. net. Part II. Translations; n.p. New York (Columbia University Press. Oxford University Press):* 1930. **278**

These texts, collected by Professor Boas' Kwakiutl collaborator, Mr. George Hunt, transcribed and translated by Professor Boas, contain exceedingly important material for the study of some aspects of the Kwakiutl religious life. Under the heading Shamanism we have a very candid relation of the professional initiation of a shaman. The new shaman comes to know the fraudulent technique of the established shamans, their sleight of hand, their sucking tricks, their use of the local 'dreamer' as a spy and tout for themselves; he invents an improved technique for his own use, but refuses to disclose it to his older rivals. Another sceptic, however, converted by a dream of curing wolves, becomes a convinced shaman. We note the presence of much popular scepticism as well as popular credulity, but credulity gets the upper hand with people who are actually sick, and with their relatives.

Practical medicine is represented by a number of recipes for treatments which can be carried out by non-professionals for their wives or near relatives. A skilled person—not a shaman—is called in to operate on boils and carbuncles; but, as among ourselves, patients will submit to tedious and painful treatments in the hope of avoiding the needed operation. Prayers are combined with medicinal treatment: "I have come to "ask you to take pity, Supernatural Power of the "River Bank (*i.e.*, the alder tree), that you may make "well my poor wife who is spitting blood." Among

devices for maintaining confidence, we note that prayers are completed by an answer, spoken on behalf of the being prayed to. "Then the man himself replies to his "words on behalf of the birds. He says, 'Ha, I will do "'this.'"

The Kwakiutl Winter Ceremonial is described in detail. Under Mythological Concepts we have recorded an interesting example of free discussion on mythological subjects by members of various tribes assembled at a feast, "trying to find out who is the creator" (p. 178).

BARBARA AITKEN.

Greenland, its Nature, Inhabitants and History. *By Th. N. Krabbe. Copenhagen and Oxford,* 1930.

279 *Pp.* 129, *pls.* 170, 50 *portraits and map.*

This is a general account of Greenland by a physician who lived there for twenty years. The Danish original and English translation are given in parallel columns. The large quarto pages furnish a suitable setting for the fine series of photographs taken by the author in many parts of Greenland, which are accompanied by an additional descriptive text.

The twenty chapters contain, in summary form, a great deal of what is known regarding the country, presented in a semi-popular style, with a map containing the results of the most recent explorations. We learn that only in recent years has the exploration of the northern coast-line been completed, and that the central desert of ice has now been crossed by explorers several times. Naturally and administratively the inhabited coastal fringe of this island-continent is divided into three parts, North, South and East Greenland, the latter including Angmagssalik and Scoresby Sound where the Eskimo population is apparently purest, contact with the Danes having been established there most recently.

Chapters are devoted not only to the glaciers which cover the whole interior of the island several thousand feet deep, but also to the fiords, currents, climate, geology, vegetation, and animal life, as well as the history, administration, schools, language and trade of the country. The aboriginal as well as the present culture of the Greenlanders is described, this name being applied to those of Eskimo ancestry with more or less Danish blood, who make up the bulk of the population of the Western and Southern coasts.

From the time when Eric the Red landed at Julianehaab in 983 and found traces of previous human habitations, skin boats and stone implements, until about 1500, a small Norse population existed in southern Greenland; but it remains uncertain whether they (having lost contact with Norway in 1410) were exterminated by the Eskimos coming down from the north, or whether the remnants lost their civilization through mingling with the intruders. After this lapse there is a hiatus of three centuries, and when Hans Egede landed in 1721 he found only a pagan Eskimo population. It is also uncertain whether the natives of the East coast arrived there *via* Southern Greenland or whether they spread down the East coast from the north. In any case there is no doubt that Greenland was populated from the west *via* Ellesmere Land, possibly only a few centuries before Eric the Red. The total population in 1926 numbered about 15,600.

While students will turn to the originals for further information, yet they will find in this work a useful general account of Greenland and its history. An interesting point regarding the native population, as indicated in the photographs, is that although the skin colour of the face and hands is dark where exposed, yet the normally covered portions of the body appear to be as free from pigment as in the white race.

R. RUGGLES GATES.

Africa.

Nuer Customs and Folklore. *By Ray Huffman. Pp.* 105. *Oxford University Press.* 1931.

280 As Professor Westermann points out in his introduction to this book, one consequence of the reserve and seclusion in which the Nuer lived, and partly continue to live, is that comparatively little is known about them. The present volume will therefore be welcomed by all interested in the population of the Sudan. It is not, nor does it pretend to be, a complete monograph on the Nuer tribe, but it gives a considerable amount of information, practically all of which is new.

We are given a general description of the characteristics and resources of the Nuer, and of the daily life, social ceremonies and recreations of the people, followed by an account of European Mission work, notes on the Nuer language, and a selection of folk-tales.

The book does not tell us much about the religion or social organization of the Nuers, but it contains a number of scattered clues to these aspects of their life, which it would be interesting to see followed up. Thus it is remarked (p. 73) that on the death of one, Gwek Ngundeng, a number of Nuer "at once assigned that "fact as the cause of the rains." This would appear to imply the existence of professional rainmakers, but we are not told about the qualifications or status of such persons or about the ritual employed.

Again (p. 56) "Every Nuer is sure to have a sacred "animal which he will neither kill nor eat." Which are these animals? And are they totems?

A girl, we are told (p. 27), is taught that "she must "never eat before a boy of her own age or older. Fur-"thermore, she must never see him eat if there is any "possibility that he may some day be a suitor for her "hand in marriage." Do dualistic soul-concepts, connected with spiritual theories of procreation, such as are found among West African Hamito-negroids (*e.g.*, Jukua and Ashanti) and West and South African Bantu (*e.g.*, Bakongo and Ba Venda) underlie these practices?

A man, it is twice pointed out (pp. 4 and 41), must never appear before his mother-in-law without a loin-cloth. Is it to be inferred that this is regarded as a peculiar observance?

In conclusion, there is the folk-story (p. 92) concerning a man who attained resurrection by the aid of a snake and who "always held that snake sacred as a god." It would be interesting to know whether the Nuers still practise a snake cult, associated with the concepts of procreation and fertility, such as exists among the likewise cattle-owning and cattle-loving 'Cow' Fulani of Nigeria.

J. R. WILSON-HAFFENDEN.

Tribes of the Niger Delta. *By P. Amaury Talbot, M.A., D.Sc. London: The Sheldon Press,* 1932.

281 *Pp. xi* + 350. *Map and numerous illustrations. Price* 18*s.*

In this volume Dr. Talbot brings together notes recorded during the years 1914–1916. He has allowed the natives very largely to speak for themselves, the information when given in the vernacular being translated, or when given in English reproduced as spoken or written—and some of it is West Coast English. He has made large use of the records of the courts where they illustrate features of custom and law. The information is supplementary to that contained in the author's volumes on 'The Peoples of Southern Nigeria' (1926). The tribes described are those dwelling in the Degama administrative Division, chiefly Ibo and Ijaw. The former occupy the dry lands in the north, while the latter live in marshy country along the coast. Little has been known hitherto concerning the Ijaw, who are very

distinct from their neighbours. Dr. Talbot calls them "a survival of the dim past"; they have, it appears, been pressed onwards into the swamps by the southward march of the Ibo. One section of the Ijaw is named Kalabari. The men are chiefly fishers and traders. In the latter capacity it is said they could compete on at least equal terms with Jew or Chinaman. As might be expected, water-spirits (*Owu*) play a great part in the life of these dwellers in swamps, and perhaps the most interesting chapter in the book is that in which the 'plays' given in honour of these beings are described. "The underlying root ideas in the celebrations are, no "doubt," says Dr. Talbot, "first, the desire to appease "the powerful water-spirits and entreat their help, "and, secondly, by sympathetic magic to increase their "own offspring on land and the fish in the water, on "which their living almost entirely depended, especially "before the coming of Europeans." The ceremonies follow one another in the order ordained by tradition till the full cycle, lasting, roughly, for a quarter of a century, has been completed. Dr. Talbot gives a list of 36 names of *Owu* in the order in which their respective plays are performed. There is much else of interest in the religious beliefs and practices of these people; the greater part of the book is occupied with them. The drawings and photographs reproduced are excellent. E. W. S.

Essai sur la Grammaire Banda. *R. P. Charles Tisserant. Paris. Institut d'Ethnologie*, 1930. *Pp.* 185.

Dictionnaire Banda-Français. *R. P. Charles Tisserant. Paris. Institut d'Ethnologie*, 1931. *Pp.* 617. **282**

The region covering the Oubangui-Chari district in French Equatorial Africa and the Western Bahr el Ghazal Province in the Southern Sudan presents one of the most complicated language problems in Africa to-day, and we are indebted to Father Tisserant for contributing towards its understanding. The map on p. 17 of the 'Grammaire' takes us to the border of the Sudan, while it is a piece of news to African philologists to learn, once and for all, that the Banda dialects are *not* Bantu.

The setting of the grammar is of the usual kind—the chapters running through Nouns, Adjectives, Pronouns, Verbs, etc., leading to Syntax, without, however, too painstaking an effort on the author's part to stretch the vernacular grammar over the Latin grammar skeleton. The book should be useful, both as a reference grammar and as a primer for those learning to speak the language. If anything, the paradigms are rather too scanty and inclined to be long, so that the learner of Banda would certainly feel the great need of a French–Banda vocabulary when trying to build up sentences of his own—which need we hope will soon be satisfied by Father Tisserant. Also one could do with more 'contes' (the author gives only two), as nothing helps the beginner so much as construing vernacular stories.

The phonetic notation is, on the whole, easy to read, though it is a pity that the author has chosen to add yet one more symbol (presumably of his own invention) to the already formidable array which are used by other writers to signify the 'sh' sound.

The Banda-French Dictionary is a great piece of work for one man to have accomplished, and evidently represents years of patient study. In its 600 pages of closely-printed vocabulary are represented seven dialects and over thirty sub-dialects of the language. Besides the main dictionary there are two short 'lexiques,' one of the names of indigenous plants, and the other of indigenous wild animals. A. N. TUCKER.

Races.

The Mongol in Our Midst. *F. G. Crookshank, M.D., F.R.C.P. London. 3rd edition.* 8vo. *Pp. xii*, 340. *Price* 21*s. net.* **283**

The three faces of mankind are a popular and attractive topic. This much-enlarged edition brings the account up to most recent data on the anthropological and psychiatric sides. From whatever angle the author collects his data, he finds three types or faces emerge, each face in turn borne by a man, an ape, and an idiot. The comparative homologies, set out in his table, are:—

Race type.	Ape type.	'Reversionary' type.
White (Semitic)	Chimpanzee	Microcephalic and juvenile schizoid (Dementia præcox)
Yellow (Mongol)	Orang-utan	Imbecile Mongoloid
Black (Nigerian Negro)	Gorilla	'Ethiopian' idiot

The author sets out physical, physiological and psychical likenesses between the members of the respective groups, and supplements these points to be generally observed by others; posture in sitting, hand-markings, and the like, and more special skeletal and visceral homologies. To explain these he suggests that it must be believed that in the phyletic scheme the ancestors of man and the apes did not separate into two stems, one of which led to man and the other to the apes, but into three divisions each of which later subdivided and produced both a man and an ape.

The novelty in this presentation is the use made of the imbeciles in a scheme of recapitulation. The imbecile, an unfinished product, a fœtal relic, may reveal the past. Of the Mongol imbeciles, from which the book has its title, Dr. Crookshank considers the hospital group that to a large extent die in early life, the mental-hospital group of survivors, with certain traits akin to the Northern (racial) Mongols, to orangs, and to the school group. The latter are not imbeciles and may owe their traits to racial intermixture within the last five thousand years. The two former groups are pathological, though there is much in the author's contention that pathological evidence must not be excluded. Why should pathological action produce Mongol traits unless there is some factor which may have given rise to these traits in normal evolution? The matter is discussed with a wealth of detail not to be found elsewhere, especially from the side of the defectives. Anthropological readers perhaps need to be reminded that a Mongol imbecile is not the same thing as an imbecile Mongol. At least, the few of the latter to be found in London, although undoubtedly racial Mongols, have none of the characteristics of Mongolian idiocy, and it is to be hoped that in his next edition Dr. Crookshank will have photographic evidence to convince the sceptic that Mongolian idiocy is found in racial Mongols. That he has not done so, we may be sure is not his fault, for he has searched literature far and near. Dr. Crookshank's assertion of the rarity of mongolism among the Jews has always surprised those who work in public mental services. In the first two hundred index-cards of patients with mongolism, locked at to check this point by the reviewer, twelve cases were found, a proportion at least as great as that of the Jews in the community as a whole. If Dr. Crookshank replies that these must all be descendants of the Khazars,

this can neither be proven nor disproven, for all were descended from the Eastern branch of Jewry. Whether we agree or no, this new edition should be read for the fresh data on the imbeciles, and the collected data on the orang; perhaps the best general comment would be *si non e vero e ben trovato.* F. C. S.

Ethnos, or the Problem of Race. *By Sir Arthur Keith, F.R.S.* ("*To-day and To-morrow*" *Series.*) **284** *London.* 1931. *Sm 8vo. pp.* 92. *Price* 2*s.* 6*d. net.*

The substance of this provocative essay is contained in the writer's Huxley Lecture, and in his Open Public Lecture published last summer in 'Early Man.' But he has dovetailed them by a continuous argument, which has been taken a stage further in his Rectorial Address at Aberdeen. It is a kind of 'applied anthro-'pology,' an attempt "to induce politically-minded "people to study the problems of race from an "anthropological point of view." When "race meets "race," people "who have everything to gain by "working together, find themselves thrust apart by "some impulse which is stronger than their individual "wills," and trouble results. Does anthropological knowledge indicate any remedy for this? Now "the "further back we go the greater do we find the degree "of racial divergence to have been"; for it was "Nature's way of evolving higher types" competitively. In the new economic situation created by agriculture, "race-production became sacrificed to "economic necessity"—the accumulation of wealth. A third phase of human history would open "if "eugenists have their way" and "obtain the ear of "statesmen." How Sir Arthur Keith approaches the problems of the present, and what his solutions are, readers must discover for themselves. J. L. M.

CORRESPONDENCE.

The Papuan Instrument called Pombo.

285 Sir,—Last year, at the Kikori station in the Gulf of Papua, I came into possession of an instrument resembling that described by Mr. G. Christian in Man, March, 1932, 83. It had been brought in by a patrol officer from the village of Turoha, on the Upper Purari. I had the services of a local constable from the neighbouring village of Vemadu. According to him the instrument was called Pombo, and was used in collecting the sap of the root of a tree called Hamu. The root was beaten up on the board with a stone and the sap collected in a cavity in the centre. The sap was then poured into receptacles made of Goru palm, and was drunk by both old and young men, but not by women. The special virtue of the sap was that "it made their skins clean."

The tree from which the Pombo is made is called Hwaina.

The Pombo when struck with a stone makes a noise like a drum, and I thought at first that it was probably used like a drum at dances. But the constable assured me that this was not so. He was describing the custom of his own village, Vemadu. Turoha also uses the Pombo, possibly in a different way. J. H. V. MURRAY.

The Falmouth Ingot.

286 Sir,—With regard to the origin of the Falmouth ingot to which reference is made in your issue for August, 1932, 227, it may be of interest to mention that the Manchester museum has a set of foundation deposits from the temple of Queen Tausert of the XIX dynasty of Egypt, at Thebes. The deposit includes, as is often the case, miniature models in sheet copper of the tools used in building. Amongst them is a model ingot of the shape of the Falmouth example. The finder, Sir Flinders Petrie, compares it with this (*see* his work 'Six Temples at Thebes,' p. 15 and pl. xvi, 23). Queen Tausert's date is roughly 1200 B.C. On the walls of the tombs of Rekhmara and of Puyemra, nobles of the time of Tahutimes III, are frescoes in which such ingots appear (*see* Newberry, 'Life of Rekhmara,' pl. xviii, and Davis, 'Tomb of Puyemre,' pl. xxxi). These date to about 1447 B.C. Representations of similar objects are shown on the clay tablets of Minoan date at Knossos. An ingot of copper of this size was found at Enkomi in Cyprus, weight 81 lbs. 10 oz., with Mycenæan objects. This is now in the British Museum. It is stamped with a character of the ancient Cypriote script. A similar one was found in Sardinia, and others at Hagia Triada, in Crete. There seems then considerable evidence that the ingot resulted from contact with the Eastern Mediterranean in remote times.

WINIFRED M. CROMPTON.

Natural and Supernatural (*cf.* Man, 1932, 78).

287 Sir,—Dr. F. R. Lehmann writes to me in justification of the views I criticized in No. 78 of your March issue of this year. He authorizes me to send you for publication what extracts I may choose from his letter. I do so with the more pleasure as Dr. Lehmann's work is distinguished by a virtue not too common, loyalty to facts. For instance, the following argument seems to proceed on the right lines, whether we accept the conclusions or not.

"Mariner reports that his watch was much admired "by the people of the island of Wiha because of its "ticking. They held it to the ear and exclaimed, "'*Mo'ui*' (it is alive), and wanted to provoke it by "pinching and by blows to expressions of pain. Finally "they took it away from Mariner and then brought it "back to him in pieces."

"Wilson, on the other hand, tells in 'A Missionary "'Voyage,' p. 131f. of the conception which the natives of "Tongatabu formed of the missionaries' cuckoo clock. "They took the cuckoo for a spirit, and on that account "would not touch it. Indeed, the natives also ascribed "to the Bird-spirit or Spirit-bird the faculty of dis-"covering thieves. One native declared he would not "like to have such a spirit in his house."

"Where lies the difference in the native point of view? "For us Europeans there is nothing supernatural in "either case; for the natives obviously only in the "second case, whereas they took Mariner's watch to be "indeed animate, but not for a supernatural; or they "would not have so much as touched the object, or "even taken it to pieces."

The argument is an honest attempt to reconstruct native beliefs from detailed accounts of native reactions, and certainly contributes to our understanding; but I think it unconsciously introduces something which is not in the evidence. I do not think we are warranted in distinguishing between the two cases. It does not follow that the watch cannot have been regarded as supernatural, or they would not have touched it. Dr. Lehmann is here still writing under the influence of the old

psychological school which attributes our own emotions to natives.

We regard the supernatural with awe.
∴ All natives do.
∴ If there is no awe, there is no supernatural.

As a matter of fact the supernatural is so common in the South Seas that it causes no sensation; miracles are common, and taken as a matter of course. The tidal stone of Lakemba was *mana*; so far from avoiding and fearing it, people would hit it just to test it. See my 'Lau Islands,' p. 214.* I am not at all convinced therefore that the watch was not equally held to be supernatural. The evidence is insufficient. Mariner does not tell us what the people said about it beyond saying, "It " is alive." They were certainly not afraid of it, as the Tongatabuans were of the clock, but they were different people, and South Sea Islanders are not all made to the formulæ of European professors.

They are individuals with varying personalities. There are sceptics (see my 'Lau Islands,' p. 223), and there are superstitious folk, reasoners, and others that take things for granted. They should therefore be allowed to give evidence each for himself. It is seldom they are allowed to in books, and hence Dr. Lehmann suffers under a serious handicap, as he is not able to go and find out for himself, to apply to field work that objectivity and attention to detail which marks his researches at home.

The chief thing is that the argument is on the right lines. It is a very different thing from the old psychological school, and its modern representatives, which set up generalizations about savages or 'primitives,' and deduce from them the character and mentality of particular tribes. Dr. Lehmann's present argument, on the contrary, tries to deduce from the behaviour and sayings of a people what its views are on things in general. That is the obvious procedure, but the obvious is not held in honour. A. M. HOCART.

Couvade.

288

SIR,—From time to time I have read letters in MAN: 1930, 28, 62; 1931, 16, 38, 59, 107, 205, 281, about the Couvade custom with great interest. But obviously some of the cases stated in those letters are not 'the word properly restricted to,' uses which Prof. Myres (MAN, 1931, 90) has already pointed out. May I put one example of this curious custom on record?

In the province of Kweichow, South-western China, among the aboriginal Miao (or Miao-tse), there is a tribal group known as the *Lang-tsŭi* Miao or 'Husband-mothering' Miao who practise the Couvade custom. It is due to this very reason that they owe their present name. They are strictly confined to the district of Wei-ning (105° E. long., 27° N. lat.), very near to the Tsao-hai (lake) in the western corner of the said province. According to their custom, when a wife has given birth to a child the husband must at once assume his duty to look after the new-born baby in his chamber, where he receives ceremonially congratulations from his relatives and friends in bed, as if he were the lying-in mother. He has to stay in, without going out once, for a whole month. The parturient wife, however, does all the work indoors and out as usual. Besides suckling the child, she provides and serves meals and tea for her husband three times a day. It is said that if the husband does not look after the child carefully, and behave himself properly, he will be sick, but the wife would not be affected.

This custom was known to the Chinese writers as early as the Tang Dynasty (618–906 A.D.). For instance, in his '*Yü wu chih*' or 'Treatise of Curious Things,' Hwang Ch'ien-li, a scholar at that time, recorded this interesting custom from the Lao people who are said to be a branch of the Miao in South China.

In addition to the literary description of the rites, there are pictures painted with colour by native Chinese artists to illustrate their actual manner. For instance, in the famous 'Miao Album,' a work of considerable interest, showing the daily life of the Miao, there is one folio dealing with the *Lang-tsŭ* Miao with a man holding his child in his arm, while his wife is doing work outside. So far as I am aware, there are three copies of this 'Album,' more or less of the same nature, in the Oriental Students' Library of the British Museum, London; two copies, formerly belonging to Tylor, in the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford; one in the library of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London; and probably there are copies in other libraries and institutions.

CHUNGSHEE HSIEN LIU.
St. Catherine's Society, Oxford.

Immolation of Widows in New Guinea. *Cf.* MAN, 1932, 74.

289

SIR,—There were in all eight natives accused of the wilful murder of the three widows. In MAN, 1931, 8, however, I gave only the evidence in one case and said: "Similar evidence was given in the other " cases." Six of the accused were sentenced to, and received, five years' imprisonment with hard labour. The natives Pedio and Awipi each received only one year's imprisonment with hard labour.

E. L. GORDON THOMAS.
Buka, New Guinea.

E. Griqua Land: Lightning Stroke.

290

SIR,—When a hut is struck by lightning it is necessary for the people concerned to consult a doctor ('I-Gqira') in order that a recurrence of the calamity may be averted.

When the doctor arrives a black sheep or a black goat or even a black pig is slaughtered. The contents of the paunch and the gall are mixed with roots. These are put in a pot on the fire. As the contents of the pot begin to char, smoke rises to the rafters of the hut and the hut is thereby cleansed.

The people of the kraal inhale the smoke from the pot through reeds as a preliminary act of purification; thereafter incisions in their skin are made usually round the root of the throat and the navel and a portion of the contents of the pot is rubbed in. All the inmates of the kraal dip their fingers in the pot and take out small quantities of the contents, which they swallow.

A portion of the medicine from the pot is put in a horn. This is kept in the hut.

A stick from 'u-Mabope' vine (*Acridocarpus natalitius*), about two feet long, is stuck into the thatch of the hut after medicines from the pot have been rubbed upon it. Wooden pegs are prepared and after medicine has been rubbed on, these four are driven into the ground round each hut.

When a thunderstorm is brewing the doctor takes some of the medicine from the horn and blows it towards the storm. At the same time he points with the Mabope stick at the storm, which then divides and passes by on either side of the kraal.

The doctor, having now completed his acts of purification, the people of the kraal go to a stream and wash

* My article 'Les Pierres magiques au Fiji,' *Anthropos*, 1911, p. 724, contains further details.

themselves with the juice of 'im-Telezi' (*Gasteria*) mixed with water, whereafter the doctor's fee becomes due.

The doctor follows the trace of the lightning stroke and digs for the egg of 'im-Pundulu,' the lightning bird. If the egg is not found the bird will return to hatch it, which will be followed by great calamity.

FRANK BROWNLEE.

Nayar Polyandry.

291 SIR,—In his letter on Nayar Polyandry (MAN, March, 1932, 99), Mr. Aiyappan states that "the "Tali in Malabar has none of its usual significance "as a symbol of marriage except among the Nambudiris." It is interesting that Mr. Aiyappan, a native of the district who has lived among the people, should make such a statement. It only shows what a thick crust of forgetfulness lies over the significance of the ancient customs and usages of a people. No doubt to-day the tying of the Tali is a meaningless observance among the Nayars and is rapidly being given up as such. The report of the Malabar Marriage Commission of 1894 is well worth study in this connection. Giving evidence before the Commission, Mr. K. R. Krishna Menon states that on the fourth day of the Talikattu a cloth is severed into two parts and one part is given to the Manavalan (the man who ties the Tali) and one to the girl in the presence of Enangans and friends. This is supposed symbolically to be divorce, and even in spite of this divorce the girl observes death pollution when her Manavalan dies (Fawcett). It is, of course, unnecessary to state that there cannot be divorce without a marriage. In North Travancore it was a custom to remove the Tali when the Tali tier is dead, thus showing that the Tali tying stood really for a marriage.

In fact, the Tali is a symbol of non-virginity, and at one time was the outward sign that the wearer had been initiated into womanhood. Mr. Aiyappan further states that the Nambudiri, with whom the Talikattu is an essential part of marriage, was responsible for the custom among the Nayars. But lacking, as it does, the other features of Nambudiri marriage, *i.e.*, Saptapati, Homam and Panigrahanam, it is open to doubt whether the Nambudiri is responsible for the custom. It originated more likely in the several raids that were made on Malabar, when every girl wanted a protector and the Tali was a sign to the foreigner that she could not be molested with impunity. K. GOVINDA MENON.

Origin of Cruelty (*cf.* MAN, 1932, 134).

292 SIR,—Cruelty in animals. I have watched a leopard playing with a disabled guinea-fowl in the same way as a cat with a sparrow, and monkeys in Uganda tearing frogs in half, by taking a hind leg in each hand, and then throwing the halves away, apparently from sheer delight. Animals regularly bite each other to impress their desires on their relatives and friends. Lord Raglan suggests that biting ideas are obtained by children from representations on the walls of schoolrooms. But African negro children bite each other, too, especially when fighting. It is a recognized method among them for means of offence and defence. Amongst my captive monkeys (*Cercopithecus pygerythrus*), the 'old-man' of the troop had only one way of showing his displeasure or of maintaining his prestige among the others, and that was by biting them severely, despite their yells of fear and pain. He knew it hurt them, and that by this means he instilled fear into them and was all powerful in their enclosure.

I feel sure that love of power, not mentioned by Lord Raglan, is a cause of much cruelty. By instilling fear into his subjects by cruel means, a savage ruler is able to maintain his position. The old African negro kings of Busoga and Buganda practised atrocious cruelties in order to be able to wield power over their communities.

Another cause of cruelty is love of possession. The history of gold and ivory shows this. Who does not remember the Congo atrocities? I do not see how love of power and love of gain can be attributed to ritual observance.

Cruelty for sheer delight is, I believe, very rare indeed. But to no other cause can be attributed the revolting spectacles staged by the Akikuyu negroes of Kenya Colony in recent years. Semi-educated Akikuyu were found laughing heartily at the sight of two duikers capering about after they had been flayed alive, and on another occasion enjoying the entertainment of skinning a captive baboon alive!

Native Africans are, as a rule, not cruel, but extraordinarily callous. The Akikuyu appear to be exceptions.

H. F. STONEHAM.
Lieut.-Colonel.

The Invention of Doctrines. Is there any Evidence?

293 SIR,—In his 'Children of the Sun' Dr. Perry very properly insists on the necessity for evidence to support anthropological theories. When, therefore, he assures us that the priests of Heliopolis invented the doctrine of divine birth (MAN, 1932, 218), it is permissible to ask him whether there is any evidence that any doctrine has ever been invented by priests?

In the same number Miss Werner (205) assures us that "people would naturally speculate on the results of the "sin," but is there any evidence that savages speculate?

Such assumptions are only too common in anthropological literature, and I will add two which I have come upon in the last few days. Andrew Lang, in 'Custom and Myth,' p. 202, says: "Wounded Knee, a not un-"likely name for a savage." But are savages in fact so named?

In his 'Greek Hero Cults,' p. 7, Dr. Farnell says that "it would be an absurdity to suppose that the primitive "Hellenes could not arrange a race or a wrestling match "as a secular frolic." It would be an absurdity to suppose that Oxford dons could not dine in their pyjamas, but we should require evidence to convince us that they, in fact, do so. RAGLAN.

Oldoway Teeth.

294 SIR,—The photograph of the Oldoway teeth, which Professor Elliot Smith has published (MAN, 1932, August, No. 239) leaves no doubt he is right in maintaining that the lower incisor teeth have been artificially deformed by filing. At a recent meeting of the Anatomical Society I had maintained that the mutilation was the result of disease—believing from photographs I had examined that the erosion was situated not on the crowns but below them. The photographs now published show that I was in error.

ARTHUR KEITH.

CORRIGENDA AND ADDENDA.

295 MAN, 1932, 99 (p. 79), for *Non*-fraternal polyandry read *Fraternal* polyandry.

296 MAN, 1932, 243 (p. 203) for A24 *C. S. Nicolaescu-Plopsor* read *Dr. Babor;* for A48 *Dr. H. Weinert* read *Dr. Cheynier;* for C23 *Prof. N. Puccioni* read *Dr. G. Kraft;* for C24 *T. D. McCown* read *Dr. E. Voyt;* for C49 *Dr. G. Kraft* read *Prof. H. V. Vallois.*

Addenda to MAN, No. 243 (p. 203): A46 Col. Statham; A54 R. Rule; B19 A. Safrastian.

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FIG. 1.



FIG. 2.

ROCK ENGRAVINGS AT ONIB, WADI ALLAKI, NUBIA.

From photographs by Owen F. Parker, 1905.

MAN

A MONTHLY RECORD OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL SCIENCE

PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE
ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

XXXII, 297-323 NOVEMBER, 1932.

ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

With Plate L.

Rock Engravings from Onib, Wadi Allaki, Nubia. *By O. F. Parker and M. C. Burkitt.*

During the past few years frequent mention has been made of rock-drawings found in the desert west of the Nile. The photographs herewith were taken in the course of a mining exploration expedition to Onib in 1905. This centre is approximately midway between the Red Sea and the Nile, its position being S 21° 48′, E 32° 45′. The photographs show the whole of an isolated group of pictures. Some one and a half miles distant is another group situated at the mouth of a rock shelter; the natives, while fully aware of these two groups, were positive that there were no further drawings in the neighbourhood.

The mineral deposit at Onib, which was the cause of the expedition, was interesting in that it had been worked during the Roman occupation of Egypt, as shown by pottery and glass found on the surface and also by a lamp from the underground workings.

O. F. PARKER.



FIG. 3.

The whole problem of North African rock-engravings is still somewhat obscure. There is already a considerable literature on the subject. Among the more important works may be cited *Les Pierres Écrites*, by G. B. M. Flamand (1921), which deals more particularly with Algeria, and *Hadschra Maktuba*, by L. Frobenius and H. Obermaier (1925), which covers a wider range of country but still well to the westward. Hassanein Bey's article, *Geographical Journal*, Nov., 1924, pp. 355–6, on engravings in the oasis of Owenat far to the south is, of course, extremely important, for as at Onib, not only are giraffe figured in an area where no giraffe can now exist, but also the similarities with the Bushman art of South Africa

are remarkable. Some information about rock-engravings can be obtained from de Morgan's *Récherches sur les origines de l'Egypte* (1896 and 1897) and also from Newbold's article in *Antiquity* (Sept. 1928) where rock-carvings from Libya and the western Sudan are discussed: finally, in *L'Anthropologie*, 1916, Vol. XXVII, pp. 27–45, M. Gautier described several sites on the borders of Algeria and Morocco. Unpublished rock-carvings are known eastward from Assuan, between the Nile and the Red Sea, as well as from near the old emerald mines of Northern Etbai, which are mentioned by D. A. MacAlister in the *Standard* newspaper for 2nd or 3rd November, 1900. There are, of course, many similar finds. Elsewhere in Africa rock-engravings occur in Northern Rhodesia near the Congo border, in Southern Rhodesia, in the Union of South Africa, and (associated with painting) in Tanganyika.



FIG. 4.

The problem of the North African rock art is, of course, to determine its date and to say to what culture or cultures it belongs. Many of the engravings, especially the more eastern ones, are probably not older than pre-Dynastic or Early Dynastic times: some indeed are certainly considerably more recent. On the other hand in Algeria the figuring of *Bubalus antiquus* might almost argue for a palæolithic date. The giraffe figured at Owenat mentioned above would be more significant if there had been discovered an exact time scale of the climate changes in those parts of Africa. It used to be suggested that the presence of the camel was a sure indication of a post-Persian date, but this has now been questioned. At the moment little more can be done than to catalogue fresh examples.

Mr. Parker is to be congratulated on the excellence of his photographs and the lucidity of his notes.

M. C. BURKITT.

Africa: East. **Wilson.**

The Ancient Civilization of the Rift Valley. *By Captain G. E. H. Wilson.*

298 Since my original paper was read in Glasgow in 1928* the position with regard to the ancient system of terracing and irrigation in East Africa has materially changed. The existence of the remains of these ancient works, as will be seen from the map (fig. 1) is now established not

* Deductions from the Remains of an old Agricultural System in Uhehe, Tanganyika Territory. *Proc. Brit. Association (Glasgow)* 1928: see also *East Africa*, 1928, Sept. 13 (Vol. iv, No. 208).

LIST OF TRIBES WHOSE LOCATION IS INDICATED BY THE NUMERALS ON THE SKETCH MAP.

1. Masai and Wandarobo.
2. Sonjo.
3. Waruaha.
4. Wameru.
5. Chagga.
6. Wasambara (tribes of).
7. Wambulu (Iraku).
8. Wambugwe (Sarawat).
9. Wafiomi.
10. Baraba-ig.
11. Warangi.
12. Waturu.
13. Wangamwesi.
14. Wagogo.
15. Uluguru (tribes of).
16. Wakutu.
17. Wahehe.
18. ? *Name.*
19. Wakwama.
20. Wazungwa.
20*a*. Wasafagi.
21. ? *Name.*
22. Wasangu.
23. Wasafwa.
24. Wasongwe.
25. Wawungu.
26. Waniyiha.
27. Wanyamwanga.
28. Wamalila.
29. Walambia.
30. Wamparoto.
31. Wakukwe.
32. Bandali.
33. Wanyakyusa.
34. Buanji.
35. Wakinga.
36. Wapanga.
37. Wabena (tribes of).
38. Wangoni.

BUSHMEN.

B1. Watindiga (? *real name*).
B2. ? *Name.*

N.B.—Nos. 18, 21, B2 are distinct tribes whose names the writer has forgotten.

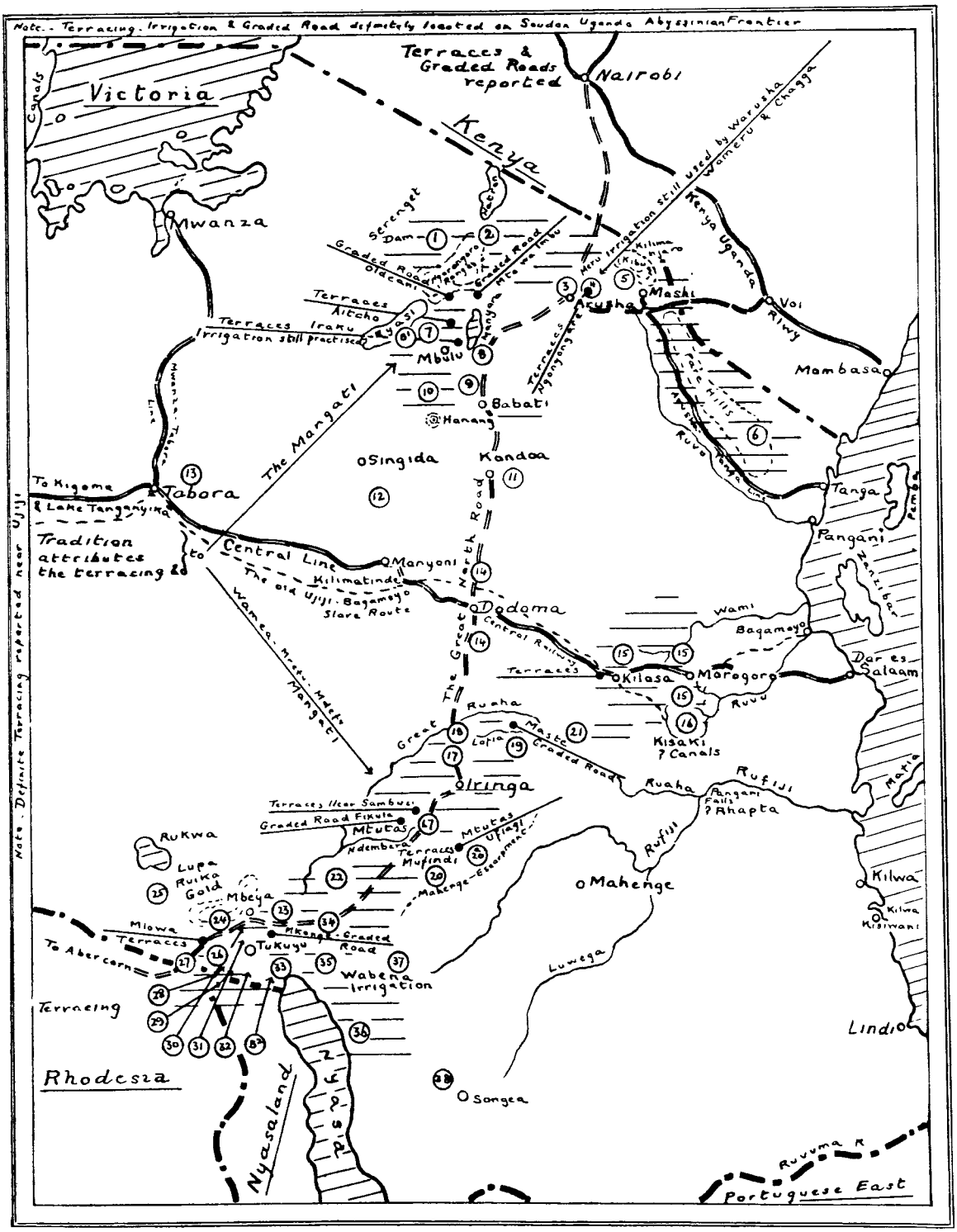


FIG. 1.—SKETCH MAP TO SHOW THE DISTRIBUTION OF TRIBES, AND LOCATION OF TERRACES, IRRIGATION, ETC., IN TANGANYIKA TERRITORY. *Horizontal shading* ≡≡: *areas presumed to have been at one time completely terraced. Oblique shading* ≡≡ : *Sea and lakes. Numerals within circles indicate the location of the tribes in the annexed list.*

only in Tanganyika, but in Abyssinia, Uganda, Kenya and Northern Rhodesia as well, and the question has now become: Who constructed them?

Terracing consists, in all cases, of parallel terraces following the contours of the hills (as in fig. 3) and occurs where either the heavy morning mist or mountain streams aid irrigation.

I have been asked if there are any signs of masonry or retaining walls and the reply is in the negative, but all who know Central Africa are aware that abandoned stone work is immediately removed for use to other places.

Many of these terraces are referred to as 'cattle tracks.' This is, of course, wrong; without doubt cattle, and particularly goats, use them as an easy road and have helped to maintain them, but cattle do not walk in parallel lines round a hill nor can they be driven in that way.

Terracing is still practised in some parts of the country, as far as Tanganyika is concerned, by the tribes in the neighbourhood of Meru and Kilimanjaro and the Wambulu (Iraku) in the North and the Wabena, who are still experts on hillside cultivation, in the South.

The map (fig. 1) clearly shows the located positions, and it will be noted that there is sufficient evidence to assume that the whole of the highlands were terraced at one time.

The average width of the top of the terraces, as they exist to-day, is about a foot. They were probably about three feet originally, and the depth between terraces three feet. The most notable terracings I have seen are:—

Ngongongare near Arusha.—Particularly well defined. Below it is an ancient cemetery. One of the graves was opened by General Boyd Moss, and I understand that the bones showed signs of cremation.

Aicho on the Mbulu-Oldeani Road.—Not as clear as Ngongongare, but distinct.

Iraku—between Mbulu Town and the Manyara Escarpment.—As terracing is still practised here, it is difficult to say how much is or is not ancient.

Kilosa, a few miles West of—near where the railway crosses the Mkondokwa.—Very clear from the main line in the early morning after the grass is burnt.

Usafagi on the old Mahenge-Nganame Rice-road.—I have a note of *mtutas* here, but do not now remember at which place, probably both.

Between Sambusi and Rumuli (Iringa District).—Terraced hill, very clearly defined.

Mufindi.—Throughout the Mufindi area the terracing is very distinct, connecting the Sambusi terraces, mentioned above, with those of the old Rice-road. It is here that the secondary forest is growing upon it.

Uniyiha.—At Mlowa near the junctions of the Mvalezi and Ruanda Rivers—a very distinct specimen.

Runangwa Rua near Ujiji.—Obviously very fine specimens referred to by Commander Cameron on page 297 of his 'Across Africa.'

Graded Roads.—Although fewer traces of these exist than of the terracing, they are of more importance as an indication of a high state of civilization. When Aerial Survey has had an opportunity of extending its operations, it is hoped that these roads will connect up, and there is little doubt that the proof of trunk roads of considerable importance will be established.

Graded roads are much more difficult to locate. As a rule, it is only possible to identify them on ascents or over hill-tops, outside the limits of routes used at the present time, as naturally they have become completely lost over flat country inundated during the rains. They have also in places become a part of roads in use at the present day.

They are, as a rule, about ten to twelve feet wide, and the strata on the hill-side are exposed and have been worked with a tool. On the road at Fikula (Iringa District) boulders have been removed and the road had a made-up surface.

Many of these roads are referred to as 'elephant tracks,' and this is true to the extent that in many cases they are used by the elephant. It is obvious, however, that although elephants may

crash through the hill bamboo and use the same winding path time and again, they will never make a road, as in a herd they never follow one another in a straight line, but walk so (fig. 2) :—

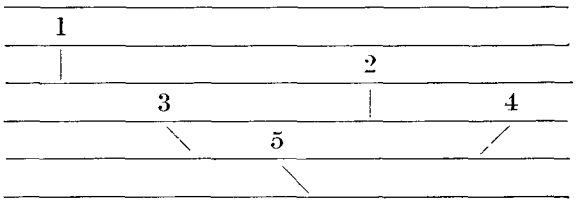


FIG. 2.

and the solitary beast, even when he has a path to go along, meanders from side to side and never by any chance walks straight down it.

Cattle will cut a track through soft ground if driven for long periods over the same route, but these cattle paths invariably lead to a ford or a watering place; but where the remains of ancient graded roads can be located, there are no fords near, and notably on the road between the Lofia and Great Ruaha there is no reason for taking cattle over it in the usual course of a herdsman's daily work.

The points where these roads have been located (as will be seen from the map) would suggest a system of communication running from North to South on the Eastern side of the Great Lakes and in no case does coastal communication appear obvious. This suggests to me that the lost civilization was complete in itself, having but two main outlets, namely, North by way of the Nile, and South by Rhapta. It is remotely possible, however, that there was an intermediate route *via* Mombasa, the origin of which may be very much more ancient than we think.

The graded roads I have myself seen are :—

Oldeani near Kampi Nyoka.—Running from a lost track crossing the Ngorongoro towards the Serenget; a very distinct track about twelve feet wide cut in the hillside.

Giyeda Mog in the Hg'mpai.—This road comes from Mto wa Imbu at the North of Lake Manyara and probably continued through Nalangalangi into the Ngorongoro Crater, and may have joined the above road. It is well known as the 'Old Elephant Track,' but is not used by the natives; its grading, however, is very fine.

Maste, between the Lofia and Great Ruaha.—It comes from the South, out of the Mahenge Province and goes North, probably crossing the Great Ruaha and continuing in the direction of Kilosa. From the hill to the north of the Bingu River the cutting can be very clearly seen where it crosses the hill to the south.

Kwa-Mkonga in Usafwa.—Not very distinct: it probably comes from the Ubena and goes towards Mbeya. If, however, this road could be verified, it would perhaps be found to be the connecting link between the coast and the Lupa Gold Fields.

Irrigation, in which we must include canals and drainage, is also an indication of a high state of civilization; as to carry it out on an extensive and organized system demands a knowledge of hydraulics.

Traces occur in the Uhehe, where an extensive system of drainage was carried out, and in Mbulu and Ubena where it is still practised.

Canals are difficult to verify. I have been told that a part of the Engare Olmotoni near Arusha was deliberately dug, but have seen no actual evidence myself. A large dam is also reported from the Serenget.

In low-lying districts, such as the Mgeta River area near Kisaki, and the Kilombera in North Mahenge, there are river diversions which may have been artificial; that is to say, although in these and similar localities the main river is known to change its course from time to time, there are particular channels that do not seem to be natural, but either have been completely constructed or are 'improved' waterways.

The only distinct irrigation I have seen, apart from that still practised in Mbulu and Ubena, is at the Iringa *mtutas* on the Ndembera River. This extensive system, which first drew attention

to the agricultural remains in the Tanganyika Territory, consists of a series of dykes laid out in identically the same manner as is practised in the West of England at the present day. I have endeavoured to show it in my sketch (fig. 3). This is intended to give a general illustration of the system used, although it is only in the Uhehe that the terraces and *mtutas* occur together. *Mtuta* is a native word meaning banked-up ground upon which foodstuffs are grown, such as potatoes or grain, where it is necessary to protect the roots by drainage. The terracing is in parallel lines following the contours of the hills, like that employed at the present day in South Europe. The *mtutas* were laid out in rectangles with the dividing dykes running towards the rivers. They served both for drainage and for irrigation, but were, I think, primarily intended for drainage, as the land in which they occur is mostly swamp-land in the rains.

In connection with these, the following extract from the Agricultural Report on the Iringa Province dated 29th November, 1927, will be of interest:—"The extent of the old cultivated "ridged fields is astonishing as is the fact that the Natives now occupying the area know nothing "of these old cultivations." I would add that it was not until the spring of 1929, when I met a

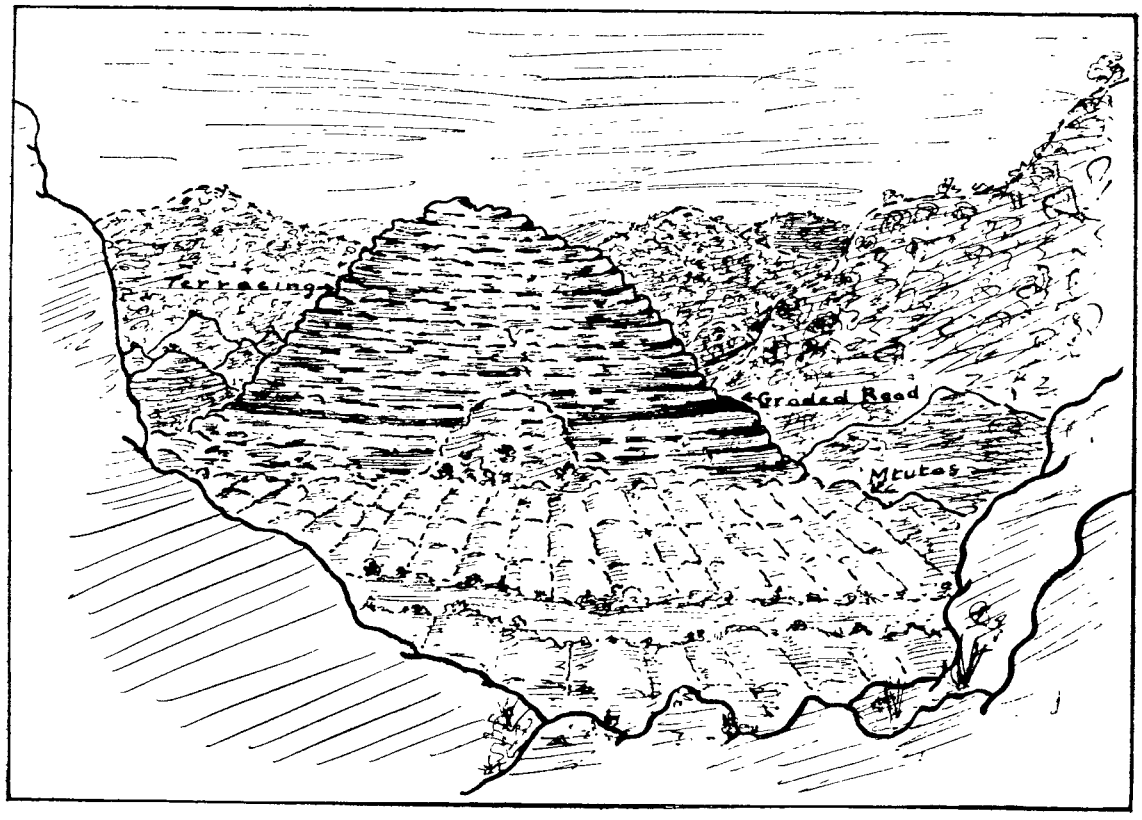


FIG. 3.—TERRACES AND *MTUTAS* AT IRINGA ON THE NDEMBERA RIVER, TANGANYIKA TERRITORY.
In this sketch the details are exaggerated. The average size of a mtuta *is* 50–90 *yards by* 20–30*: the average width of a terrace is* 3 *feet: of a graded road,* 12 *feet.*

very old Wazungwa who told me about the Mdefu and Mangati, and the summer of the same year, when the District Officer found out from an old Wahehe about the Wamea, that there was any evidence that tradition about these *mtutas* existed.

Who constructed these Terraces and other Works?—Legends of an alien race dominating the local peoples occur both in the North and South of Tanganyika where they are referred to as the *Mrefu* (tall), *Mdefu* (bearded) and *Mangati* (enemy or stranger).

Mention is also made of a people called the *Wamea*, the meaning of which is not known, who

are spoken of not only in connection with the ancient agricultural system but also in the traditions affecting the origin of the Rock Paintings of Bahi (A. T. Culwick, MAN, 1931, 69) but in the latter case it may be that the Wagogo only remember this name as that of a mighty tribe of the past.

By the Rift Valley is meant the whole of the region of the Great Lakes and their surrounding highlands, including all the minor 'Rifts' often referred to.

In my original paper I spoke at length not only of a certain coarse grass, since identified as *Hyparrhenia sp.*, but also of the *Ru* people, and of Taro, more correctly *Colocasia*. As, however, these subjects are now likely to obscure the true objective of this paper, beyond a few short remarks, they are omitted.

The earlier people such as the 'Flint Workers,' 'Cave Painters,' etc., also do not enter into this discussion, but there still exist in one or two places the remnants of a very primitive race dwelling in holes in the ground, living on game and honey beer, and possessing neither crops nor herds; a people short of stature, dark in colour and big-buttocked.

From the map (fig. 1) it will be seen that a large number of tribes are distributed over the area where the remains of terracing and irrigation have been found; and when the immense diversity in custom and utter difference of language amongst this mass of people is considered it will be at once realized that anything systematic could only have been carried out by a dominant race.

This raises the question: Are we to assume that there was the same diversity of language and culture at that time? We have no data for such an assumption and it is possible they were more homogeneous. It is probable that the races of the Central Lakes were then much more homogeneous than now, but I submit that, as the origin of all tribes and clans was a single family, their culture could not have developed equally, and moreover the formation of the country indicates that, even if there was a greater similarity between these peoples in those days, there must have been great differences between those inhabiting the mountains around the Nyasa Lake and, for example, the people of Kilimanjaro. Hill tribes, plain tribes and pygmies would have adapted themselves to a suitable life and invented words to meet their peculiar necessities.

Many wars and migrations have so mixed their history, with the exception perhaps of a limited number protected by geographical reasons from outside influence, that to endeavour to trace the people who engineered the ancient workings by an exhaustive search for tribal origins would be *kazi-bure.**

I had at one time an idea that the people of the Great Lakes were independent of the northern civilizations. But tradition and such evidence as exists show consistently that this unidentified race came from the north. It is, however, obvious that, to solve the problem, Abyssinia, Uganda, Kenya and Tanganyika, and possibly Northern Rhodesia, must be considered as a whole; that is to say, it must be assumed for the moment that the Rift country, although populated by many tribes, was under the domination of a single race.

The probable date of this alien immigration is very difficult to fix. It has been suggested that very probably it was prior to 1500 B.C.; that in the time of Solomon (B.C. 970–937) a flourishing trade with the East Coast already existed, and that the Sheban Port of Rhapta had been established.

At Mufindi, in Uzungwa (Iringa Province, Tanganyika Territory), the secondary forest is growing on top of the terracing; some of the trees are over two feet in diameter, and these being of very hard wood, if we estimate their growth at a tenth of an inch in 80 years, they must be from 700 to 800 years old; and as, in addition, we must allow for the time for cultivated ground to revert to its original state, we can assume that the Mufindi terracing was abandoned at least 900 years ago.

It may be argued that the Mufindi Ridge may have been denuded since the original abandoning of the terracing, and this is a point which some expert in forestry may assist in clearing up. Nevertheless the forests on the Mufindi Ridge, which include two Reserves, are very old. They are not quite identical with those on top of the Mporotas, for the altitude and climate is different, but they are very distinct *forest* and could not be described as *bush*. There are patches which have been

* 'Unnecessary labour' is not the exact description of what I mean. The Swahili *kazi-bure* describes it, but cannot be translated. What I mean to express is that an exhaustive search into tribal origins, as far as the question under discussion is concerned, would serve no useful purpose.

old clearings, attributed to the Wazungwa, but these are quite distinct from the heavier growth which occurs on top of the old terracing, notably on the road from Freyer's Farm to Mayer's in Central Mufindi.

The above argument, when so much of the ancient terracing is still exposed, may not appear sound, but it is easily explained by the fact that no native would occupy the Uzungwa Escarpment if denuded of timber, and moreover the present occupiers, the Wazungwa, only migrated into it from the neighbourhood of Irundi and Deteru under the pressure of the Wahehe.

It was the Wazungwa who told me that at one time the whole of this country was densely forested and that a people called the 'Mangati' and other names came and cleared the forest land and instituted a system of agriculture so very long ago that the old men have only heard about it.

Wahehe and Wazungwa.—It may not be out of place here to explain why an exhaustive search for tribal origins, in connection with the present problem, is *kazi-bure*.

We have here an excellent example of two different tribal names:—

(1) The *Wazungwa* are obviously an old people, as they are able to state that before them the Mufindi Escarpment was occupied by a people called the Manga who came from Ulanga and again before that a very great people called the Mademu.

(2) The *Wahehe* is purely the name of a military organization. The father of the Great Mkwava was possibly a Wakamba or Wahumba. He came from the Ulugurus. He found in the Iringa District a small family called the Hehe, and with their help gradually obtained the domination of the surrounding tribes, including the Wabena. At his death the country was divided between his two sons into Uhehe and Ubena, the former under the Great Mkwava eventually enslaving the latter and making them their bondsmen.

This is interesting, as it is the names of the great organizations that remain in history, not the lesser tribes; even at the present day, when speaking of the British, we are liable to forget that they consist of four distinct nations, English, Scotch, Welsh and Irish, all of whom still have their distinct languages, although conversing in a common tongue.

So I suggest that the ancient civilization originated in the north; that it gradually spread its influence along the Rift Valley, and over the highlands surrounding the Great Lakes, until it, perhaps, reached Zimbabwe; and that it eventually developed into a great and separate nation, whose fame, reaching the seafaring peoples of the Red Sea and Persian Gulf, caused them to establish trade routes and build factories, such as Rhapta, in order to open up communication and exploit the East Coast trade. And it is notable that the terracing invariably occurs where there are elephant, ostrich, and other items of commercial value, although the only indications of ancient gold workings are, as far as I know, Ruika in the Lupa near Lake Rukwa, and those of Rhodesia.

But though all the evidence indicates that this civilization originated in the north, I still think that, at the height of its prosperity, it was a distinct nation; that the outside world traded with it, but did not dominate it.

Place-names and the ancient agriculture.—In 1928 (*see* note *) I put much stress upon the fact that, wherever this ancient system of agriculture either exists or has not yet been forgotten, there are place-names beginning with 'Ru' foreign to the present nomenclature, such as the many Ruahas, Ruvus, Ruvumas, amongst rivers; Rutenganio, Ruanda, amongst names of districts; Ruwenzori, a mountain ridge; and the God Ruwa of the Chagga, who has left many traditions.

Most people think Rhapta was near to either Kilwa or Kilwa-Kisiwani, but a study of the map disproves this. I am still of opinion that Rhapta was not the well-known Pangani near Tanga, but was near the Pangani Falls near the junction of the Ruaha and Rufiji Rivers; for between the Lofia and Great Ruaha, near a graded road, the name *Maste* occurs very close to where it ought to be according to the ancient map.

Hyparrhenia and Colocasia as evidence for ancient agriculture.—The *Hyparrhenia* is acknowledged

* Since writing this, I see that Mr. Tudor G. Trevor refers to other 'terraced hills' in Northern Rhodesia: *J.R.A.I.*, lx (1930), p. 391.

to be a sign of former cultivation, but as this plant, and bracken, invariably occur in the terraced areas at about the same altitude, it may only be an accident of climatic conditions. *Colocasia* may also be a coincidence of the same kind, namely, suitable conditions of climate. It certainly always does occur in the foot-hills near the terracing, but that may be simply because they are suitable for its cultivation.

The gaps between the terraced areas are easily explained, as they always consist of country where water is difficult to find in the dry season, or where the rivers are far apart; and it must not be forgotten that thirty miles is a long way where the average native is concerned, who (except for purposes of communication) seldom goes further than five miles from his habitation.

Conclusions.—I have confined myself in this paper to my own particular knowledge; and I hope that it will be the means of encouraging others to supply information, so that eventually all that is known of the past of East Africa may be consolidated on a general map. For the real document in this paper is the map. The facts, shortly, are these :—

(*a*) Throughout Abyssinia, Uganda, Kenya, Tanganyika and part of Northern Rhodesia there are remains of an ancient system of terracing and irrigation.

(*b*) This area is now occupied by a mass of peoples, differing from each other, who have in many cases forgotten not only the originators of this system, but also its use.

(*c*) General tradition points to it having been carried out by an alien race coming from the north.

The problem therefore amounts to this: Who were these people? Whence did they come?

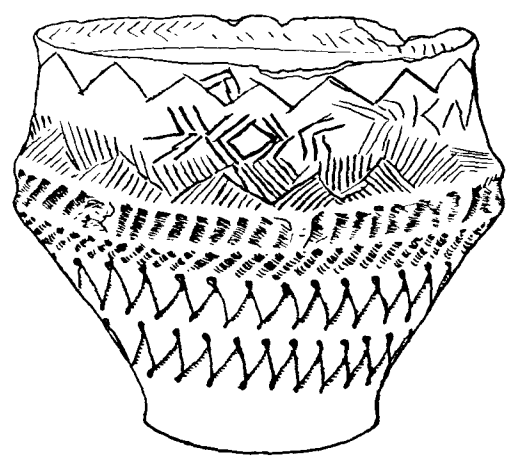
G. E. H. WILSON.

Ireland: Megalithic. **Gógan.**

An Irish Food-Vessel of the Megalithic Period. *By L. S. Gógan, Deputy Keeper of Irish Antiquities, National Museum, Dublin.*

It has long been recognized that corresponding to the beaker or cup pottery of South Britain in the Early Bronze Age the characteristic ware for North Britain and Ireland is the food-vessel or bowl pottery, which, through varying types, seems to have persisted to the end of the era and to have even experienced something like a revival on the approach of the Iron Age.* In contradistinction to the former, which is admittedly derived from Rhenish derivatives of the South European bell-beaker, the latter is very usually regarded as a native evolution from the coarse neolithic ware characteristic of the Long Barrow civilization of Britain and having its counterpart from settlement and burial sites in Ireland. It is supposed that advanced vessels of that class, like the Mortlake bowl, formed the breaking-off point for the new tradition. This view of the evolution of the North British and Irish Bronze Age does not seem to have been ever questioned and in fact has become an axiom of West European archæology. But a comparison of the two series leaves a very strong residuum of doubt in the mind of the unprejudiced observer, and, while it may be readily agreed that certain features of the aforesaid neolithic ware may have left their mark on the Bronze Age ware, that is all that can be said for the alleged affiliation: as much at least can be said for the influence of the English beaker ceramic: for example, a well-known series of food-vessels of compressed globate form with a band or bands of 'windows' certainly owes its decoration to beaker models.

299



* This phenomenon is dealt with in my paper on a vessel of food-vessel type from a cairn-burial in North Cork, *Cork Hist. and Arch. Society*, XXXIV, 1929, p. 58.

The vessel illustrated seems to furnish the true key to the situation. Morphologically it corresponds to the average food-vessel type, but a glance over Abercromby's series will fail to reveal anything quite similar either from the point of view of form or of decoration. In regard to the latter, the domination of incision over every other technique is at once noticeable, a fact which brings us into contact with beaker civilization. The only plastic features are the skeuomorphic lugs (eight in number) formed by pinching the paste and the well-known impressed 'maggot-pattern.'

This horribly-named motif, which is one of the commonest in the decoration of Irish food-vessels, is said to be produced by a stamp made by winding a short length of cord on a twig. Recently, when re-examining the piece of woollen cloth found with the Armoy Hoard, I was struck by the resemblance between the selvage and this so-called 'maggot-pattern.' Perhaps the motif has a textile origin.*

The uneven treatment of the neck also calls for notice: the shaded chevron is characteristic of West European pottery especially at the beginning and towards the close of the Bronze Age. Of special importance, however, is the peculiar figure which occupies part of the neck-zone. There can be no doubt that we have here an example of that other common West European apotropaic figure the paired oculus, although here only one oculus occurs, the second being replaced by a series of strokes arranged in irregular chevron. The rest of the corresponding area is blank. This feature is found on sepulchral pottery of the megalithic phase in Iberia and Scandinavia. In the former the design is incised, the oculi are double circles with shading, usually the eyebrows are indicated and ornamentation is continued round the same zone and sometimes consists of stylized linear animals. The lower part of the vase which is round is left blank. The Scandinavian (chiefly Danish) ware is also round-bottomed but the vases are more definitely bipartite. The oculi are either incised circles with short radiations and indications of the pupil or are plastic (raised rings). In the former case the eyebrows and nose are plastic. Sometimes the brows are missing and alternatively the eyes. The motive therefore follows pretty closely the vagaries of the same members in the statue-menhir and the plaque, cylinder, and drum versions of the same figure, the Mediterranean Mother-Goddess in her capacity as goddess of death.

Some of the suns sculptured on the kerb of the Dowth (Co. Meath) tumulus resemble these; it is unnecessary to recall the figurative association of 'sun' and 'eye'; it is illustrated by Irish *suil*, etymologically related to Latin *sol*.

In this ware also incision plays an important part but impression is freely used. This ware is assigned to period 4 of the passage-grave episode. The pottery of the preceding period is morphologically more advanced and more definitely bipartite and is fitted at the shoulder with lugs, while at a still earlier stage a tripartite vase had been evolved. The relation of all three is postulated to explain the evolution of the North British and Irish food-vessel and in working this out it can hardly be disputed that the vessel figured above will prove an important link in the chain.

The question naturally arises as to whether this vessel can have any relation to the megalithic civilization so distinctively representing Ireland. Unhappily we have no particulars whatever of the character of the tomb from which it issued. On the other hand, an examination of the sculptured decoration of our megalithic monuments will reveal many figures not very dissimilar to that which forms the leading character of the present vase. A notable instance occurs in the ceiling slab of the eastern chamber of the famous New-Grange tumulus amongst a wealth of other patterns. This consists of a double-line rhomb trailing from which is a multilinear chevron scroll. This is pretty much what we have here also. On the other hand, the spiral and other curvilinear patterns so numerous on this slab and so distinctive for New Grange are completely out of relation with the decoration of our vessel which is more in keeping with that of the metal objects (lunulæ and axes) of a somewhat later epoch.

The influence of the serpent-motive, which plays a big part in the phase of Peninsular and derived Peninsular art, is perhaps responsible for the particular character of the Katesbridge and New-Grange figures compared above. Irish figured art of that epoch has practically passed out of the representational phase, and possibly out of the symbolic phase also, before passing into the purely decorative and geometric. This cycle is, of course, normal to art.

The history of the vase is obscure. It was purchased from a Dublin dealer who at first was only

* It is effectively discussed in G. Rosenberg's *Kulturströmungen in Europa zur Steinzeit* (Copenhagen, 1931).

able to say that it came from Ulster and, later, 'Catsbridge.' It was at first thought that this was a case of rising to the occasion as no place of that name could be readily traced. Light was thrown on the matter by Rev. L. M. Hewson who identified it as Katesbridge, in Co. Down, where the name would be pronounced as indicated. This area furnishes an appropriate background for our vase. The measurements are: height, $4\frac{3}{8}$ inches; diameter at mouth, $5\frac{3}{8}$ inches; at base, $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches. The paste is not so firm as the ordinary run of food-vessels and is yellowish in colour with black core.

L. S. GÓGAN.

Sudan: Technology. **Robinson.**

Sudan Drums: Note on the Sketches and Notes of Bazumi Effendi. *By Arthur E. Robinson, Late Sudan Intelligence Dept.*

The attached note and sketches were prepared for me in connection with a history of the Sudan I was writing. The author is a son of Bazumi Bey, a Governor of Khartoum, who was killed by the Mahdists. He does not speak or read English and is a recognized authority on native matters, and was (ten years ago) attached to the Intelligence Dept. **300**

The earthenware drums are used for domestic purposes only and are probably the only ones which may be definitely pre-Moslem in origin.

The nomad Arabs appear to have had (noggara) wooden drums for 'tribal' purposes at the time of the Moslem invasion of Egypt, if not before. The metal kettle-drum is of Eastern origin and was introduced to Abyssinia and the Sudan by the mamelukes. The first recorded copper drum in the Sudan was sent from Abyssinia to the Fung Sultan of Sennar and occasioned a war as it was regarded as a sign of vassalage. The Fung Sultans subsequently bestowed a copper drum as part of the insignia to their feudatory kings. These tribal kings adopted the practice of the Mameluke Drum Emirs in having their drums beaten outside their quarters at sunrise and sunset.

A great many of these tribal drums have disappeared now, but among those who possessed them were:—

The Fung Sultan of Sennar: see my note in 'Sudan Notes and Records,' vol. 4, pp. 211–12.

The Mek of the Jaalin of Shendy. The last Mek was Nimr, who was outlawed and fled to Abyssinia in 1824. No trace of the drum now.

The Mek of the Gamuia.

The Mek of the Juhayna (now absorbed in Shukria).

The Mek of the Kawahla: drum last known to be in the possession of the Mahdist Emir Shah ed Din wad Hamza.

The Diglel of the Beni Amer; a traditional record only, *c.* seventeenth century.

The Mek of the Dabaina: drum last heard of in the possession of Ibrim wad Fadl in 1841.

The Mek of the Gawama; drum last heard of in the possession of Sheikh Adam Hasan of Bara.

The Mek of the Batahin; drum last heard of in the possession of Sheikh Muhammad wad El Zein in 1803.

The Mek of the Shukria; drum last heard of in the possession of Sheikh Awad el Qerim Abu Sin in 1801.

The drums captured from the late Sultan Ali Dinar were taken to Khartoum and seen there by me. Those found at El Fasher or other places during the previous *Egyptian* occupation of Dar Fur or the Sudan were sent to Cairo as trophies and there is no record of them. The ceremony of re-covering the royal drums of Wadai and Dar Fur has been described by Muhammad ibn el Tunisi in great detail, and the Masalit were among those who flayed their enemies and used their skins for this and other purposes.

If further historical references are required they will be found in my articles in the 'Journal of the African Society'; 'The American Anthropologist,' vol. 31 (1929); 'Sudan Notes and Records,' vols. 5, 8, etc.; 'The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,' January, 1931; and the various authorities which I have cited.

ARTHUR E. ROBINSON
Member of the African Society,
Late Intelligence Dept., Sudan.

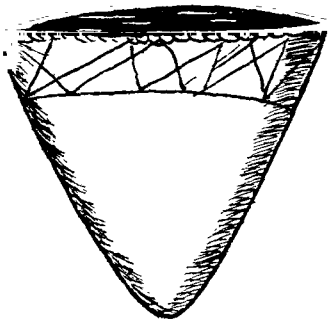


FIG. 1.

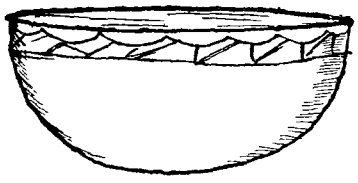


FIG. 2.

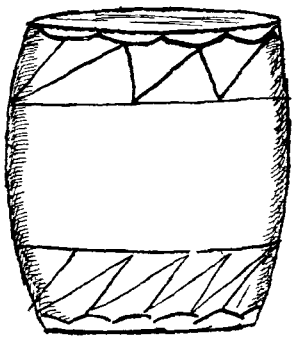


FIG. 3.

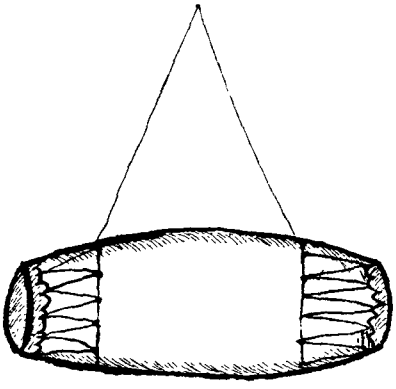


FIG. 4.

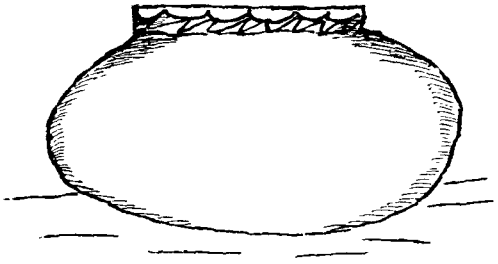


FIG. 6.



FIG. 5.



FIG. 8.

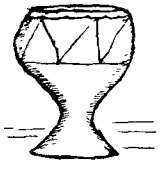


FIG. 7.

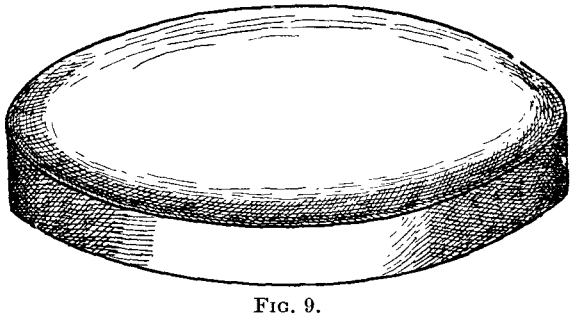


FIG. 9.



FIG. 10.

SUDAN MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.

FIG. 1. 'TABL' (drum)—made of copper and bound with goats' or sheep's skin, untanned. Used in religious zikrs. In the days of the old government was considered as token of the 'Bashbazok' soldiers (Irregulars), being tied to the horses' saddles (in front part).

FIG. 2. 'NAHAS'—made of copper, large in size, bound with untanned hides. To be found in the possession of most of the Sudan tribes. They use it in their battles, on the death of a leading man or a famous notable of the tribe, or in their merry-makings.

FIG. 3. 'NAWBA'—made of 'hiraz' wood or 'zan,' after being hollowed and bound on both sides with hides. A man hangs it to his side. Used in religious 'zikrs.' It is of a recent history in the Sudan; introduced first by the old government. Noted as 'Tablet-'es-Sayyid.'

FIG. 4. 'NAGGARA'—made of 'doleib' wood, hollowed, of longitudinal shape, bound with hides on both sides. Has thongs on both sides for hanging. Used by the majority of Sudan inhabitants in their battles, merry-makings and funerals. Very anciently introduced into the country and still used everywhere, even in the Jebal.

FIG. 5. 'SHATAM'—made of pottery and bound with goats' or sheep's skin, untanned. Used conjointly with the 'delluka' in merry-makings and funerals in the towns.

FIG. 6. 'DELLUKA'—made also of pottery, but larger in size than a 'Shatam'; bound with goats' or sheep's skin. Used always in merry-makings and funerals, and sometimes used as 'daholla.'

FIG. 7. 'SHATAM' also. Of same description as No. 5 precisely.

FIG. 8. 'RABABA'—made of hiraz wood or 'oshar' or 'gofl.' It is a longitudinal radius in shape. A small 'oud' (beam) is tightly set to it from the upper part, having three small holes—in them 3 ouds called 'awtar' (strings), hollowed, bound with untanned goats' or sheep's skin. It is put on the upper oud zeraf hair and its lower part is tied to the rababa from inside, and the upper one is tightly set on the strings. Used in the 'abid' (slaves) country only.

FIG. 9. 'TAR'—an instrument made of fine timber, either zan, hiraz, or gofl in a longitudinal shape; bound with untanned goats' or sheep's skin. Used in religious-makings or zikrs all over the Sudan.

FIG. 10. 'EL-ZINBARA'—a small instrument; looks like a barrel made of cane, 'kana,' 'sidr' or 'salam,' etc. There are three holes from above. Used by the Sudan Arab tribes, especially the shepherds. This is the one described by Irby and Mangles.

Note.—Bruce visited Massowah in 1769 and described the drums of the local negroid Naib (chief) as "nogara made of earthen jars." It would appear that the Naib was not permitted by the Turks to possess a nahas. The Arab Mek or Sheikh of the Arteiga at Suakim replaced the Fung resident who fled from there after the Turkish occupation. The Arteiga sheikh wore the Fung 'Tagia' or horned bonnet and was allowed to possess and use a nahas. See 'The Regalia of the Fung Sultans of Sennar' in the *Journ. Afric. Soc.*, Vol. XXX, No. CXXI, 1931, pp. 361–76 for further details regarding the privileges and insignia of the Fung 'Mangils.' A. E. ROBINSON.

REVIEWS.

Physical Anthropology.

The Development and Growth of the External Dimensions of the Human Body in the Fœtal Period. *By Richard E. Scammon, Professor of Anatomy, University of Minnesota, and Leroy A. Calkins, Professor of Obstetrics and Gynæcology, University of Kansas. Minneapolis. The University of Minnesota Press,* 1929. *Pp.* 367, 180 *tables,* 73 *figs.,* 70 *graphs. Price* $10. **301**

This monograph loses nothing by the fact that this review appears long after anatomists and anthropologists have recognized its value. It is a standard work of reference on the rate at which the various parts of the human body grow during fœtal life—that is from the end of the 3rd to the end of the 9th month of intra-uterine life. Many papers have been published on the growth of the human fœtus—all of which the authors of this monograph summarize—but in none has the whole field of observation and measurement been so completely covered as it has now been by Professors Scammon and Calkins. Their observations were made on the collections of fœtuses assembled in the University of Minnesota under Professor C. M. Jackson. From this collection the authors took 400 of the most perfectly preserved specimens—fœtuses representing all stages of development from the 4th to the 10th months of intra-uterine life. On each fœtus 71 measurements were made—on head, neck, thorax, abdomen, pelvis, upper and lower extremities, their results being treated graphically as well as statistically. It will be some time before another pair of anatomists will find themselves with material, skill, courage and patience to produce a work which will supplement or replace the monograph by Scammon and Calkins.

The genesis of this work is to be traced to a paper read by Professor Calkins to the American Association of Anatomists in 1921 in which he maintained (1) that "the relative growth rates of the external "body dimensions are established in the third "month and remain unchanged until birth; "(2) that the growth of the external body dimen-"sions in the fœtal period follows the law of "developmental direction." The present monograph was undertaken to obtain a sufficient collection of data to prove or disprove these contentions.

The authors are satisfied they have proved that these laws of fœtal growth are valid for almost all dimensions of the fœtal body.

They have come to the conclusion that the best measurement of the fœtal body to serve as a standard against which to contrast the growth of individual parts is the crown-heel length. If we take the growth of the length of the fœtal head as an instance to illustrate their results they find that for every 50 mm. added to the total length of the body (crown-heel length), just under 12 mm. is added to the length of the head. In the 9th month the Minnesota fœtuses had a head-length of 122·5 mm. and a crown-heel length of 500 mm. On the other hand, the increment to head-width made with each 50 mm. added to the body length was only 9·5 mm. The rate of growth of each individual dimension pursues its own relative rate so that when plotted out in relationship to the growth of the body as a whole, the increments fall on a straight line. If the law is valuable the data bearing on the dimensions of the fœtal body are still more so. As already said it is a work of reference. It is true that the lower limbs outstrip the upper in growth, but that is because relative growth is greater in the lower limbs; in both, the increments are rectilinear.

Their second law needs a word of explanation. The law of "developmental direction" is really an application of the theory of child's growth gradients —that growth and development become manifest first and most in the cephalic region and that the vigour spreads subsequently towards the hinder end of the trunk; in the limbs, the spread is from basal to digital parts. The authors find that in the various dimensions of the head growth occurs more rapidly in the earlier than in the later fœtal months; that in the thorax an equal rate is maintained in all months, while in the pelvis and lower limbs growth tends to be accelerated as the later months are approached.

We regard this monograph as one which should have a place on the bookshelves of every anatomical and anthropological laboratory. The clear summaries, the statistical tables of measurements and the wealth of graphs make it easy of consultation.

A. KEITH.

Growth in Private School Children. *By H. Gray and J. G. Ayres. University of Chicago Press,* 1931. *Pp. xv and* 282. *20s. net.*

302 This is a study of the data obtained by the investigators of the Institute for Juvenile Research of Chicago from measurements of pupils attending numerous private schools in the neighbourhood of that city. Some 32 separate measurements were made on each individual and the total number of measurings was over three thousand boys and about half as many girls between the ages of one and nineteen years. The authors refer to them as measuring because some of the children were measured and recorded more than once at different ages. The fullest details are given of the procedure adopted so that the results can be compared with certainty with those of other investigators who have equally described their methods. The monograph gives all data in full and also works out the statistical data and gives tables by which the variation of any individual from the normal can be seen at once.

As might be expected, the private school children are taller, heavier and bigger chested than the average pupil of the ordinary grade and high schools, which is probably a result of the better economic conditions under which they are placed. They are also significantly more dolichocephalic, a result which, perhaps, would not have been expected. Girls grow faster than boys up to the age of 14, their epoch of rapid growth antedating that of the boys by as much as three years. The data show that there is a period of accelerated growth in both sexes not only at puberty as has long been recognized, but also around the age of six years. The tallest children proved not to be those of old American stock with all four grandparents native born as had been anticipated, but in the group with one or two grandparents born in north-western Europe. The heaviest children were those from California, which may be due to a climate which more favours an out-door life, or may be due to greater abundance of fruits, etc., in the dietary and so greater supplies of growth vitamins. The possible associations of race or economic differences could not, however, be entirely excluded. There is useful discussion of the significance of over or under weight in children and a table is provided which will help materially in interpreting results. Twelve per cent. of boys and 11 per cent. of girls were over weight, and 4 per cent. of boys and 7 per cent. of girls were under weight. Over-weight, due to glandular non-balance of the nature of adipose-genital dystrophy, was found in about 2½ per cent., a figure which agrees with data collected in New York and tends to show that this condition gradually reverts to the normal in time in the majority of instances. A stocky type of build was found in 15 per cent., and a slender type in 24 per cent., but variations occur from age group to age group. Mental tests show that the intelligence quotient of the private school group was far above the average of the ordinary schools, no doubt to be explained partly by heredity and partly by the greater opportunities afforded by good economic conditions.

The monograph contains a full bibliography and constitutes a valuable source of reference for comparative data.

F. C. S.

Up from the Ape. *By E. A. Hooton. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London,* 1931. *Pp.* 626 *and* 28 *plates.* 25*s.*

303 Those who are acquainted with Professor Hooton's serious monographs on subjects of physical anthropology, especially with reference to the American Indian, will not doubt that he is eminently qualified to provide a popular exposition of his science which will be both well informed and reliable. The author, in his preface, tells us that he is tired of turning out contributions to knowledge, "full of tables and technical terms, to be perused by a few yawning, carping specialists," and so he thought he would amuse himself by trying to "write something that could be read." The result is the book now under review. Most of the field covered by the ordinary student of physical anthropology is covered in this volume in a popular fashion, and we have found it to be, on the whole, remarkably sound in fact and inference. Anthropologists will find little that is original here except in those later chapters dealing with subjects on which the author himself has worked personally. Yet, in general, the first chapters, dealing with Man's Relations and the Primate Life Cycle, form the better part of the book. The illustrations are excellent and the whole book is attractively produced.

If we were pressed to advance some specific criticism, it would be in regard to the odd kind of humour which prevails throughout and which seems to gather in intensity from chapter to chapter. We find headings which remind us vividly of typical captions to be seen in American 'movies,' thus:—"Dame Eoanthropus," "The First Female Intellectual," "Herr von Heidelberg, Who fought without Biting," "The Man from Rhodesia, Who needed a Dentist." In the same strain, the various races of mankind are all provided with a facetious epithet—"The Stodgy Alpine Race," "The Inscrutable Mongoloids," "The Fat-buttocked Bushmen" and so on *ad nauseam*. Why is it that American scientists are especially prone to this type of levity? Perhaps it arises from a kind of inferiority complex which compels the author to adopt an apologetic attitude in bringing his speciality before a popular public, and to hide his self-conscious feeling of erudition under a camouflage of cheap wit. It certainly detracts from the dignity of his science. We do not mean to imply, however, that this book is for this reason to be passed over by serious thinkers. We have ourselves enjoyed reading it and we heartily recommend it to all those—expert or amateur—who have any interest in a very interesting subject. W. LE GROS CLARK.

The Search for Man's Ancestors. *G. Elliot-Smith, F.R.S. London*, 1931. *Price* 1*s*. **304**

With happy combination of erudition and clear expression, Professor Elliot-Smith has produced, within a shilling manual, one of the most important summaries of recent research in human palæontology. The discovery of prehistoric human remains has often provided the theme of a romantic story, but we have never before learnt in such detail the stories of the finding of important fossils such as *Pithecanthropus*, *Eoanthropus* and *Sinanthropus*. The author gives us a critical study of the significance of the fossils in the light of recent anatomical research, and we welcome his mature judgment and methodical reasoning on matters which often lead to hasty generalizations and bitter controversy. The element of coincidence is very strikingly illustrated in these records of fossil-hunting, and in no case is it so astonishing as in the discovery of *Pithecanthropus*, for Dubois set out for Java with the precise idea of finding the 'missing link.'

The book is well and abundantly illustrated. The last chapter provides a particularly illuminating discussion on the problem of the location of the birthplace of mankind. W. LE GROS CLARK.

L'Evolution Cérébrale des Primates. *By Charles Fraipont. Archives de l'Institut de Palæontologie Humaine. Memoire* 8. 1931. *Pp.* 86 *and* 4 *plates.* **305**

This monograph deals in a general way with the changes in the evolution of the human brain which have been associated with diminishing osmatism and the adoption of the erect posture. We have been able to find very little that is original in this exposition, and there is a conspicuous lack of references to the authorities who have done most to unravel these problems of cerebral evolution. The monograph contains some excellent reproductions of X-ray photographs of the astragalus bone in Apes, Homo Neanderthalensis, and Homo Sapiens. The main conclusion of the author is that human intelligence (as judged by the relative development of the brain) is only possible in a microsmatic mammal which has acquired a perfect erect posture and complete liberation of the hands, and which has a flattened face and a reduced dentition. In these conclusions, we think the author expresses rather crudely a fundamental thesis of human evolution which has been stated, restated, and indeed generally accepted, for many years now in this country.

W. LE GROS CLARK.

The Ætiology of Irregularity and Mal-occlusion of the Teeth. *Four lectures by Professor J. C. Brash, M.A., M.D., with an Appendix by Miss M. L. Tildesley. London (Dental Board of the United Kingdom)* [1930]: 8*vo, pp.* 274, *numerous illustrations.* **306**

Though intended for advanced students of dental Pathology, the wide scope and philosophic standpoint of these lectures give them interest and value for anthropologists. Especial attention is called to the sections on sex-incidence, social incidence, geographical distribution, and comparative mammalian incidence of dental troubles, and the relation of these to other results of variation of the hormones and genetic constitution generally. Miss Tildesley's appendix discusses the standard by which 'rightness' is to be measured, the causes of divergence from this standard, the causes of tendencies to divergence, and the possible remedies for them. In view of the value of historical data in such inquiries, there is the more reason for carefully preserving even fragments of human jaws from archæological excavations. In this connection, reference must be made to Miss Tildesley's recent article, MAN, 1931, 112. J. L. M.

Psychology.

Psycho-Analytical Studies. *By Theodor Reik. Pp.* 367. *The International Psycho-Analytical Library, No.* 19. *London: Hogarth Press.* **307**

The papers contained in this book were originally published in 1914–19. This fact makes it somewhat difficult to criticize the book now. In 1914, scientific anthropology was in its infancy and, though active work was being carried out, not much in the way of results had been published, so that one could hardly blame a psycho-analyst for accepting and reproducing fallacies set forth in many anthropological works. But the situation is somewhat different now. A writer who to-day sets out to explain cultural phenomena and yet shows no acquaintance with the theoretical and methodological implications of the work of Malinowski, Radcliffe Brown, Kroeber, Lowie, Mrs. Seligman and many others can hardly hope to escape severe criticism.

As this volume is a translation of the second German edition and is published in the official psycho-analytic series it must be taken as representing substantially the present views both of the author and of leading psycho-analysts, and must be treated as though it were a new work.

In his introduction, Reik is careful to warn us that the method to be used is the psycho-analytic one. It is here that our first stricture must be made. He has not, in fact, adopted this method but has contented himself with psycho-analytic theory. The method he uses is the familiar pseudo-historical one—an attempt to give an historical explanation, while dispensing with historical data and substituting instead a compound of sociological facts, psycho-analytical theory and early ethnological guesses.

In the first paper on the couvade, the whole stress is on how this strange custom originated. This interest at once produces a body of assumptions about the psychology of primitive (early) man. The theory of the origin of the couvade put forward involves the hypothecation of a cultural series in which the sacrifice of the

first-born displaces secular infanticide and is itself displaced by animal sacrifice. This is in turn forbidden by the same force which caused the earlier displacements. The prohibition on the killing of animals at the birth of a child follows and thus we have the dietetic taboos of the couvade. There is no evidence for the existence of such a series, but it must have been so, for in this way the couvade can be shown to have arisen historically out of an œdipus complex, which originated in the great pre-historic event, the Primal Crime.

And so we have another volume added to the growing series of psycho-analytic excursions into ethnology, at which, however much amusement they may give the excursionists, the sociologist can only shrug his shoulders and sigh.

If only Dr. Reik had used the psycho-analytic method! It would have been of undoubted value to anthropology had he treated the couvade scientifically, examined its associations and correlations and revealed to us the psychological factors involved, free of historical mumbo-jumbo. He might then have posed and tried to answer as far as the very incomplete data at his disposal would allow, a few such questions as the following: If the unconscious trends finding expression in the couvade are universal, why is the couvade itself sporadic? What takes its place as their manifestation elsewhere and why? Is the occurrence of the couvade associated with some specific correlation of these trends with other mental traits or with sociological phenomena, forms of social organization, economic necessity, etc.? What is the relation of these trends to other factors involved in the couvade? How far are they the cause of the couvade or how far is it the occasion for their expression?

These considerations of the particular case of the couvade and similar ones regarding the other subjects treated in this book—puberty rites, the 'Kol Nidre' and the Shofar—would inevitably have led to the consideration of the highly important general question: What is the relation of psychological phenomena, neurotic and normal, and their explanation, to the study of social phenomena?

These problems, the solution of which would have made a contribution of inestimable value to anthropology, remain unanswered. They are not even envisaged in this volume. T. J. A. YATES.

The Evolution of Human Behaviour. *By Carl J. Warden. Pp.* ix, 248; 27 *illustrations. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price* 15*s. net.*

308 To those familiar with Dr. Warden's work as a comparative psychologist the present volume may be a disappointment. A consideration, from his pen, of the evolution of man in the light of the facts of comparative psychology would probably be extremely interesting. Instead, we have here a semi-popular text based on the discoveries and hypotheses of comparative anatomy, palæontology, and prehistory. The major part of the book gives a neat résumé of the presumptive history of the human species till the beginnings of culture. In sketching the gradual emergence of the anthropoid and human stocks from primeval living systems, Dr. Warden seems to stress habitat as the most significant selective agent. Inevitably, since he is perforce so largely held to speculations and reconstructions, Dr. Warden has sometimes to adopt an *ex cathedra* tone, thus dexterously skirting controversies; for example, when he traces the origin of culture to man's manual dexterity and ability to use language, as well as to the family group 'taken over' from anthropoid precursors.

Throughout a judicious middle course is steered in the controversial issues which abound in this field. To take a random instance, he rejects Keith's hypothesis about the influence of the endocrine glands in human racial evolution, but not without due regard to the facts upon which it is built.

The last two chapters deal with contemporary problems of race. The section on racial superiority, while making no new contribution to the elucidation of this tricky problem, leaves us with an appreciation both of the author's freedom from bias, and of the flimsy nature of the evidence for dogmas about racial superiority. The final chapter deals with present trends in human evolution, and is the least acceptable one to the reviewer. Dr. Warden believes that "biological evolution "takes place in response to cultural changes as well as "to climatic and other physical conditions." He is thus led to pronouncements savouring of the ardent type of eugenics which mistakes its prejudices for facts.

M. F.

Archæology.

Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire à Bruxelles. *Belgique Ancienne. Catalogue descriptif et raisonné. Par le Baron de Loë, Conservateur honoraire. I. Les Ages de la pierre,* 1928; *II. Les Ages du métal,* 1931. *Bruxelles (Vromant & Co.). Imprimeurs-Éditeurs, 3 Rue de la Chapelle.*

309 All archæologists feel their great indebtedness to Baron de Loe for his long-continued efforts, not only to study the early history of Belgium, but to preserve in a public museum all recoverable remains of its antiquities. We are glad to learn that, having retired after nearly thirty years' service as Conservator of this collection, he has been granted the title of *Conservateur honoraire.*

Since he retired from the active charge of the section of 'Belgique Primitive,' he has been busily engaged in producing a great catalogue of the collection that he created, and the two earlier parts of this work are the subjects of this notice.

At the beginning of each period there is a short introduction, pointing out the general aspects of the phase as found in Belgium. Then follows a description of the contents of each case, with full details of the site and the circumstances of the discoveries. There are a number of illustrations, among which we may select for special mention the photographs of the Neolithic Omalian pottery and the plate giving outlines of the pot-forms found in the Early Iron Age settlements.

For the visitor to the Museum these volumes provide all the information that he is likely to require while inspecting the cases. The foreign student will, however, be a little perplexed, since the cases in each period follow no precise chronological sequence or geographical order. A series of distribution maps for each phase would have added considerable value to what is, however, a most important work. H. J. E. P.

Antiquities in the Nile Valley. *By James Baikie, D.D., F.R.A.S. Pp.* xxvi, 864; *illustrations, maps and plans. London: Methuen & Co., Ltd.,* 1932. *Price* 21*s.*

310 This descriptive handbook, as its sub-title rightly terms it, is very up to date and comprehensive; it comprises all Egypt and the Sudan as far as Khartum; to the usual descriptions of topical guide-books it adds running commentaries of a somewhat personal tone and much historical and miscellaneous information compiled from expert sources. The opinions of the experts are frequently recorded and the author is not afraid to

register his own, mostly in matters of taste. The presentment is not always convincing, largely, perhaps, on account of the somewhat loose and colloquial style which detracts appreciably from the real worth of the book. Naturally the opinions recorded are often debatable, though not offered as such; perhaps in a handbook of this class this reticence is excusable and matters little to the lay reader in search only of general ideas; yet some explanation might well have been allowed to so debated a matter as dating: the system adopted, derived from that governing the early volumes of the 'Cambridge Ancient History,' has now been almost universally abandoned; it was founded on compromise and should have been explained as such by the author. If ancient Egypt were an isolated entity actual figures would matter little, but its contacts with other countries such as Elam and Mesopotamia make it very necessary to give a clear view of the position.

The commentaries are generally well chosen and the book can be recommended to the more leisurely traveller (whether so in fact or only in the armchair) who wishes to acquire a greater knowledge of the history and circumstances of individual objects than is usually afforded by guide-books.

Nearly sixty pages are devoted to a characteristic description of the contents of Cairo Museum; it is well up to date and draws due attention to objects likely to be of special interest to the curious visitor.

A point much in favour of the book is its reasonable price. G. D. H.

Manuel d'Archéologie Orientale. *By G. Contenau.* Vols. II, III. *Histoire de l'Art jusqu'à Alexandre.* *Paris (Picard)*, 1931. 8vo. *Pp.* 547–1122; 1123–1686. *Map and many illustrations.* **311**

These volumes carry the author's survey of ancient Oriental art from the age of Ur-nina and his successors in Sumeria to the beginning of Hellenistic culture in Egypt and Western Asia. For the general reader, as well as for specialists who need ready reference to the principal works of art, they perform the same service as the work of Perrot and Chipiez a generation ago, but with far more copious material and the greater experience accumulated by M. Contenau as Conservateur-adjoint au Musée du Louvre. In another aspect one might compare them with the 'Manuel d'Archéologie' of Déchelette for early European civilization. Even in the interval between the publication of these volumes and their predecessor, important sites have been excavated, and much has been done to correlate their yield. And as this work still continues, M. Contenau has been obliged to add sections at the end of Vol. III on the Painted Pottery of Elam, Sumer and Western Asia Minor (pp. 1499 *ff.*), on the Babyloman Flood (p. 1506 *ff.*), on the Royal Tombs at Ur (p. 1509), on the Caucasus and Caspian region (p. 1564 *ff.*), on the pottery and bronzes of Nihawand and Luristan (p. 1576 *ff.*), and a summary of prehistoric contacts between Egypt and Asia (p. 1582 *ff.*), in which racial as well as cultural evidence is reviewed in the light of recent hypotheses of commercial intercourse and of conquest.

In each section enough is said of the history and cultural background generally to put dynasties and individual art-patrons such as Gudea into the proper perspective. Throughout, sculpture and gem-engraving have the larger share of space; and pottery, as usual in French archæology, does not count for much: two pages, or so, for Palestinian fabrics, so varied and instructive; less than three pages in all for Hittite; fifteen lines for Phœnician.

To combine with a general history of the arts the regional description of the principal styles, it is unavoidable that the course of events in all the countries concerned should be cut up into periods and described separately. This makes some objects and topics difficult to find; but it has the advantage that comparatively short-lived communities such as Sinjirli can be considered in connexion with the more permanent centres of advancement which influenced them respectively.

The bibliography at the end of Vol. III is helpful; but it would have been more helpful still if a list could have been given, in each chapter, of the principal works of art and their present whereabouts, as is done in Petrie's 'History of Egypt.' This would also have the result of showing which periods and regions are well-documented, and which are (like Israel) still almost unexplored.

A curious omission is the evidence from Cyprus at almost all periods, all the more unexpected because the Louvre has a fine series of Cypriote pottery, sculpture, and jewellery; and in the discussion of the 'Assyrian' engraved and embossed bowls, where much important material is Cypriote, there is little that goes beyond the views of Perrot-Chipiez and Poulsen. The old statement (p. 1346) that the 'Amathus bowl' is in New York marks all this section as second-hand.

But these are minor matters, and all students of ancient art will be grateful to M. Contenau for having put his great knowledge and sound judgment at their disposal. J. L. MYRES.

Seventy Years in Archæology. *By Sir Flinders Petrie. London*, 1931. 8vo. *pp. viii*, 284. *Portraits and other illustrations. Price* 18*s. net.* **312**

From the accidents of unusual infancy and boyhood, to last year's discovery of a real Hyksos town at Tell-el-Ajjûl in Palestine, here is a record of persistent and fruitful energy which it would be hard to match. Beginning with 'Inductive Metrology' in 1877—which put an old and intricate problem on to sound lines at last—there has been hardly a year without its published record of discovery, often two or more volumes; and alongside the series of excavation reports, frequent excursions into subjects so diverse as *Racial Portraits* and *Janus in Modern Life*, *Personal Religion in Egypt* and *The Growth of the Gospels*, *Stonehenge* and the *Hill Figures of England*. In yet another class stands the *Students' History of Egypt*, of which the editor was also author of the first three volumes: it marked as fresh a departure in historiography as those reports of excavations in archæology. But these are results, and it is by his contributions to scientific method that Sir Flinders Petrie has achieved his unique place in the advancement of knowledge. Pupils and imitators have introduced refinements, but the technique of scientific 'digging' owes more to him than to any living excavator; and in this book, mainly compiled from contemporary diaries and field-books, the dates and sequence of the principal innovations can now be verified more fully than in 'Ten Years' Digging' or in 'Methods and Aims.' Yet another aspect of Egyptology, of which it is right that there should be a published record—*pour encourager les autres*—is the long tale of official stupidity, international jealousy, and political corruption, with which scientific exploration has been hampered, and the curious inability of administrators to see that professors are as much entitled as pedlars to justice and honest dealing.

But this is a book to be read rather than reviewed. From the absence of a date from the title page, let us anticipate—and wish the author—another 'Ten Years' Digging' to chronicle! J. L. M.

Technology.

313 Entstehung und Verbreitung des Pfluges. *Von Paul Leser. Inter. Sammlung Ethnol. Monographien, Bd. III, Heft 3. Munster: I.W. Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung.* 1931. 9¾ in. × 6½ in. Pp. viii + 677. 351 *text figures and* 42 *plates.* 39 *Rm.*

Ten years ago the author of this monograph was advised to leave the plough alone, since enough had already been said about it; on the other hand, he had better authority for the view that the history of the implement had yet to be written. He therefore wrote it, though he modestly regards his work as a preparatory study for the 'Kulturgeschichtliche Durchforschung der sogennanten Hochkultur,' and as a contribution to the historical structure built up by his teacher Graebner. The book was ready for press in 1924, but owing to financial obstacles it only began to move towards publication in 1927, the end being achieved in 1931. As will be seen by reference to the heading of this review, the work was one which could only be printed at considerable outlay, and it is doubtful whether in this country such a book would have found a publisher at all; it is perhaps even more doubtful whether such a book would ever have been written—or ever will be written, as long as our students of technology remain in such a forlorn minority as they are at present. Even under more encouraging conditions, however, it seems improbable that the German habit of pursuing a subject into the innermost recesses of its being will ever spread across the North Sea. As a people, we prefer to compromise, even on facts, realizing that most truths are only half truths, man being what he is. In any case there are always those who would rather be seduced by a theory than bored by a fact.

In a postscript to his book, the author, grown older and less sanguine since as a "glaubige und begeisterte Student" he completed his labours, laments his discovery that "die Gelehrten nicht so sind, wie seine "Jugendbegeisterung es glaubte." He has found that the great, or at any rate the learned, are merely human. He has, in particular, made the disheartening discovery that "viele Leute dicke Bucher nicht lesen . . . sondern "nur, wie der hubsche Ausdruck lautet, 'benutzen,' "d.h. durchblattern." For this reason he gives a summary of his conclusions, and without making any confession whatever, the present reviewer has found this summary of the greatest value. If the author fears that his readers will 'skip' in some portions of his book, he may be sure that they will carefully study his conclusions, and, for the rest, he may congratulate himself on producing a work of reference which will be the standard authority on the origin and distribution of the plough for many years to come. He has no reason to be downhearted because the 'Gelehrten' do not, or do not always, read thick books. To use a book is more flattering to the author than to read it.

The author's 'Graebnerism' is not obtrusive, and in part at least it follows on lines which fall within the limits of the unstandardized diffusionism which is not unpopular at the moment. To summarize his summary of conclusions would demand far too much space, and we must be content to note his attitude on the subject of the origin of the plough itself. Not the hoe but the spade is his selection for the ancestor of the plough—"die altesten Pflugformen sind sammtlich durchaus "Hackenunahnlich . . . ; sie ähneln von anderen "Bodenbaugeraten ihrer Form nach lediglich dem "Spaten." He is not the first to dissociate the hoe from the plough, but he has also brought together the evidence that the 'draw-spade' has a wide distribution (South Arabia, Armenia, Hindu-Kush, Himalayas, Korea), and may justifiably claim consideration for ancestral honours alongside the hoe. He may be right in his conclusion, but as in other questions of origin of early types, there is no occasion for the dogmatism which accompanies an unsure faith.

The reviewer has been unable to find any reference in the book to the modified digging-stick of Ancient Peru, which was described by Prescott (following Garcilasso) as having a crosspiece on which the ploughman could press his foot, and an attached rope by means of which it could be dragged through light soil by a number of men pulling together. Here we have the 'draw-spade' in a still more primitive form, as well as (on Dr. Leser's theory) an embryonic plough. The Korean 'draw-spade,' and a Japanese type figured in the book, are at least structurally and functionally related to the Peruvian form; a genetic relationship is more easily asserted than proved.

For the many other interesting questions raised by Dr. Leser, and duly pronounced upon, the technologist must search the volume itself; unless he prefers to read it, thick though it undoubtedly is. H. S. HARRISON.

America, North.

Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology. Volume XI. The Anthropometry of the American Negro. **314** *By Melville J. Herskovits. New York,* 1930. *(Oxford University Press.) Price* 27*s.*

The negro population of the United States had been neglected by physical anthropologists before the survey described in this volume was undertaken. The only earlier anthropometric studies dealing with it are those of Wingate Todd and his associates on about 100 cadavera. Measurements of 6,000 negroes were taken during the world war for the purpose of estimating clothing sizes, but these are of little scientific value. The present memoir gives the results of an examination of 5,659 individuals, of whom 3,766 were under 19 years of age. These negroes came chiefly from the Northern States and the West Indian islands, the Southern States being practically unrepresented. They represent, perhaps, a more thoroughly miscegenated population than any other in the world. The original African slaves were crossed in varying degrees, and for several generations, with representatives of several European races, and there has also been considerable inter-mixture with American Indians. Genealogical records were made from information supplied by the subjects, and these show that 29 per cent. of the total claim to have partial Indian ancestry. The possibility of collecting any exact information regarding the ancestry of the American negroes has been questioned, but the author contends that his records are reasonably accurate. They show that there were only 20 per cent. of unhybridized negroes in the sample examined and the census estimate of 85 per cent. is probably inaccurate. The other data collected relate to fairly detailed head and body measurements and to skin colour. Comparisons are made between the means of the adult groups and those available for several white and other races. The most surprising result is that the variability of the sample examined is rather greater than those found for most African negro groups, but still less than for white and Indian peoples. The type is actually a relatively homogeneous one and it shows less variation than some of the ancestral races from which it was mainly derived. It is concluded that the physical characters of the existing population cannot be explained as being due to simple Mendelian inheritance, and if Mendelian principles are said to apply it must be assumed that there were multiple factors for each character. Growth

curves are given for all the characters considered, and those for the cephalic index suggest that there is a distinct negative correlation with age before maturity is reached. This has not been found in the case of some other series.

It is of interest to note that special precautions were taken to determine the magnitude of observational errors. The measuring was undertaken by five people and Martin's instructions were followed. The writer of the report remeasured a considerable number of the subjects, and the same 100 individuals were measured independently by two of the recorders. Fairly satisfactory agreements were found for most of the characters, but there were observational differences large enough to affect inter-racial comparison profoundly in the case of the head height, the width of the nose and all facial heights terminating in the nasion. A point connected with the technique of recording may be noted. Means are given throughout, followed by the standard deviations of the distributions. This practice is likely to be misleading in two ways since the symbol was originally, and is still largely, used to denote the *probable error* of the preceding *constant*, and it ought not to be used for any other purpose.

This is obviously a valuable record and it can now be stated that the American negroes, though neglected before, have been more adequately described from an anthropometric point of view than has any section of the population of England. G. M. M.

Etowah Papers. I. Exploration of the Etowah Site in Georgia. *By Warren King Moorehead. (New Haven, Conn., Yale University Press.) London,* 1932. *Humphrey Milford.* **315**

This is a full account of the excavations conducted by the Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass. The site was well worth investigating, as while to a certain extent the culture of Etowah has an individuality of its own, it is a good example of the rather highly-developed culture of the Muskhogean linguistic group of Indians, and differs considerably from the Hopewell culture to the north. It seems clear that it cannot be identified with any historic town mentioned by the Spanish or French writers, but it is equally clear that its inhabitants were part of this group and not a pre-Muskhogean people. On the whole it may be considered to represent the high-water mark of this culture. Especially noteworthy are the copper plates, some with eagles and others with warriors clad with eagle paraphernalia, and the stone images, evidently representing corpses. Both can be explained by what is known of the historic tribes, as is well shown by the extracts from older writers given in this book by Mr. Charles C. Willoughby. Some excavation was also done on other sites, and notably on several sites identified with the Natchez. The results obtained there were curiously disappointing, considering the French accounts of the Natchez culture. The pottery is fully discussed by Miss Margaret E. Ashley, and the molluscan shells found are treated of by Professor F. C. Baker, while Mrs. Zelia Nuttall discusses possible Mexican parallels with the designs on the copper plates and shell gorgets, but in the reviewer's opinion without proving any definite connection.

This book is in many ways a model of what such a work should be, giving a full and detailed account of the results obtained, and such information, historical and otherwise, as is necessary to interpret these results, but with a very commendable caution in theorizing. It is well illustrated and indexed, but one would have been glad of a separate bibliography. However, this is a small matter in an excellent piece of work.

RICHARD C. E. LONG.

India.

Caste and Race in India. *By G. S. Ghurye, Ph.D. (Cantab.). 9½ × 6 in.; pp. vii + 209. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1932. 10s. 6d.* **316**

The author, himself a Hindu, gives us his views on the history and the origin of the caste system in India, a subject on which very divergent opinions have been expressed. Risley, for example, laid stress upon racial distinctions and the influence of the idea of kinship, and Nesfield on the functional basis of caste. Most authorities have referred to the powerful influence of the Brahman priesthood, at least in shaping the development of the system. Senart thought that Ibbetson had overestimated this influence. Dr. Ghurye goes farther, and holds (p. 143) that caste in India is "a brahmanic child " of the Indo-Aryan culture, cradled in the land of the " Ganges and thence transferred to other parts of India " by the Brahmin-prospectors," and that endogamy—the outstanding feature of the system—was first developed by the Brahmans in the plains of northern India and thence conveyed as a cultural trait to the other areas (p. 111). We feel that this explanation is inadequate, and that account must also be taken of such phenomena as the totemistic septs, the *devakas* of western India, and many other factors, of race, tribe, kinship, locality, religious and social usages and function that have contributed to the building up of this complicated structure, the foundations of which go down to times anterior to the so-called 'Aryan' immigration, the influence of which there has been a tendency to overrate. Again, if we regard the system as an 'Aryan' importation, we are confronted with the fact that it developed most rigidly in certain respects in Magadha and Southern India, and was weakest in the Panjāb, which is not satisfactorily explained by the argument of Muslim influence. It is essential, moreover, to realize that great masses of the peoples of India, particularly in remote rural and hilly areas, are largely ignorant of the Brahmanical sacerdotal literature and its conventions, a matter to which Crooke drew attention half a century ago. We must also remember that many of the so-called castes are really tribal groups or sub-groups; and between tribe and caste no sharp distinction can be drawn.

That in early Vedic literature we find frequent reference to three classes or orders (*varna*) of society, and that in the early Īrānian literature also we have three classes mentioned (most passages in the Avesta refer to three) seems but to corroborate other evidence of cultural connection between Īrān and the Panjāb in Vedic times; but we must be careful not to confound these orders of society, which may be traced in many parts of the old world in ancient times, with the complex 'caste' organization, with its peculiar characteristics as found in India, and in India alone. It should also be remembered perhaps that while the Rig-vedic evidence points to origins from the west of the Indus, the traditions of the Brahmans in the Pauranic texts point to their original home as having been somewhere about the upper waters of the Devikā river (now known as the Gogra), *i.e.*, in the direction of the sacred Kailāsa mountain and Mānasarovar lake, a region ever regarded by them as of the utmost sanctity. The difficulty about the literature of Dr. Ghurye's second and third periods, cited in chapters 3 and 4, is to know whether it presents accurately existing facts or rather the ideals which its authors desired to enforce.

The term 'caste' itself is not a happy one; and Ketkar and others have warned us against applying this word indifferently to the Sanskrit terms *varṇa* and *jāti*, which

we consider should be carefully differentiated. We are inclined to regard the caste system as the result of imposing the *varna* tradition upon the conditions found in India, and the influence of the Brahmanic hierarchy as having been exerted with the object of embracing within their fold the indigenous tribes and social groups and of establishing at the same time an organization that would conform broadly with the tradition of the sacred hymns.

The book is well written, and while it does not carry us much farther towards the solution of the difficult problems involved, it presents many aspects of the system in a clear and useful form. Dr. Ghurye shows, for instance, that Risley's correlation of the nasal index with social precedence is true only of Hindustan proper, and there only in a broad sense, but "has almost no "basis in fact outside Hindustan." The last two chapters have rather a political, or semi-political, trend, and so need not be discussed here. C. E. A. W. O.

The Mysore Tribes and Castes. Vol. IV. *By the late H. V. Nanjundayya, M.A., C.I.E., and Rao Bahadur L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer, B.A.* **317** *8½ × 5½ in. Pp. x + 677, 71 illustrations. Published under the auspices of the Mysore University. Bangalore.* 1931.

This is the fourth and last volume of a work which is based upon the late Mr. Nanjundayya's valuable preliminary monographs. Vols. II, III and IV have now appeared, but Vol. I has yet to be published. The Mysore State comprises an area in many respects of special interest from ethnological and cultural points of view, and the authors, while utilizing the information already recorded in the works of Messrs. Thurston and Enthoven on the Tribes and Castes of Southern India and Bombay respectively, have added considerably to our knowledge of this region. In the present volume we find many additional details regarding the Kunchitigas, Kādu Kurubas, Malerus, Mondārus, Rāchewārs, Sālahuva Vakkalus, and others, information about whom was hitherto either very meagre or not readily available. The student will find among these Kanarese peoples many survivals of ancient tribal organization and of religious and social customs which in other parts of the continent have either died out or have been so modified by Brahmanical influences as to be scarcely traceable. He will be struck, to cite but a few matters, with the frequency of exogamous clans of a totemic character, with the large number of tribes and castes that still practise burial of the dead, in a variety of forms, with the existence of polygamy and of matrilineal survivals here and there, and with the wide diffusion of the worship of the *kalaśa* (pot), the significance of which merits further investigation.

In the article on the Morasu Okkalus, in reference to the cultivators' calendar, there have been cited a number of interesting proverbial sayings relative to the characteristics of the *nakṣatras*, or 27 lunar asterisms into which the year is divided, and according to which, as in many parts of northern India, the cultivators regulate their agricultural operations. Presumably these ideas are not confined to this particular caste, but are common to other agricultural communities. The parallelism of these sayings with those current among cultivators in the Gangetic basin discloses a noteworthy cultural affinity that deserves further attention.

While recognizing the value of the work of the authors, we must regret the defects in editing and printing, *e.g.*, in the transliteration and diacritical marking of vernacular terms. We find even the same word spelt in different ways, as, for instance, Mahrātta and Maharatta, Lingāyat and Lingāyet, *tīrtha* and *thīrtha*; while the botanical names of trees and plants are often difficult to identify, *Strychnos myrtifolium* appearing for *Strychnos potatorum*, *Serium* for *Santalum* (*myrtifolium*, or rather *alba*), *Eugenia jambal Zam* for *Eugenia Jambolana*, Lam., and so on. The article on Musalman would have been the better for revision: *shab-i-barāt*, for example, does not mean night of 'discord.' Nor can we regard it as appropriate to class the Piṇḍārīs under Musalman. A recent discussion of the origin of the name Piṇḍārī by Professor Jarl Charpentier will be found, we may note, in the 'Indian 'Antiquary,' Vol. LIX (1930), pp. 149–51.

C. E. A. W. O.

Pacific.

The Island Builders of the Pacific. *By W. G. Ivens, M.A., Litt.D. London, Seeley, Service & Co., Ltd.* **318** *Pp. 317, plates 18. Price 21s.* 1930.

Anthropological literature must be readable and semi-popular to get published. It cannot contain all the information that the scientific student requires, or it would cease to be readable. Mr. Ivens has produced a readable study of a people of Malaita Island in the Solomons and at the same time has filled it with as much information as could be put into it without making it unreadable. We often wish we had more information, but if the information we lack had been added, it might never have seen the light. The general public will not constrain itself to the study of all the intricacies of societies remote from our own, or try to follow the meaning of peoples with modes of expression different from ours. Instead of having the people's own words and concrete cases we must therefore be content with the author's summary. Yet the summary yields much information which is useful to the comparative historian. I have frequently had to pause in my reading, in order to make an entry in my card index, and have found useful links in a chain of argument. The author's reflections on institutions are sound and based on an objective study. They are quite free from that pseudo-mysticism which has been so long in fashion, and which is giving place to a more objective study of the facts. His historical deductions, on the other hand, are somewhat weak and betray an imperfect grasp, for instance, of comparative philology and kinship. He takes the cross-cousin system to be evidence of a previous matrilineal state. There is no inherent reason why this system should be matrilineal or patrilineal. As a matter of fact the people who have the cross-cousin system in Fiji are patrilineal, and the matrilineal people have not got it. Until we know the origin of the cross-cousin system we cannot decide this point, and no satisfactory origin has yet been propounded. The author quotes my theory of marriage fights in support of a matrilineal past; but that theory has nothing to do with descent through the father or the mother. It merely identifies such fights with the ritual combats that precede all the varieties of sacrament, such as initiation, installation, etc. Speaking of marriage, the author uses the term bride-price of the gifts made by the bridegroom's people to the bride's; yet on page 99 he says, "Both sides have prepared food, but the "bride's party brings by far the greater amount. "They are *making the true return* for the bride-price." Evidently we have here an exchange of gifts such as is common in the South Seas, particularly Fiji. There it is evidently an exchange of offerings such as takes place on every ceremonial occasion, a potlatch. It is common in such exchanges for one side to present

food, the other manufactured articles: in Samoa it is manufactured articles (*'oloa*) from the man's side, and fine mats from the woman's.*

The conclusions are, however, wisely kept apart from the facts, and only occupy a small part of the book, which is a welcome account of a people unique in this respect: that they are not content to inhabit islands ready made, but build them at a great labour.

A. M. HOCART.

Lau Islands, Fiji. *By A. M. Hocart.* (*Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin*, 62. *Honolulu*: 1929.) **319**

The population of the Lau Islands is mixed: some people have Mongolian features. The houses in Lakemba are of the Tongan type, raised on mounds. A useful plan of Tumbou is a good illustration of Mr. Hocart's care and industry. The cross-cousin relationship is the basis of the kinship system. Usually a marriage takes place between cross-cousins. Few informants could trace their descent beyond their grandparents, some not so far. The people are remarkable for their suavity and good manners, for their comparative delicacy and restraint in begging, and for an unconquerable aversion to saying 'No' to a kinsman and to contradicting a person of quality. The latter qualities, Mr. Hocart thinks, vitiated many of the conclusions reached by the Lands Enquiry.

There is a good account of the villages and of their history, of the kava ceremonies, of agricultural methods, of navigation and fishing. Several recipes for witchcraft are well described, as also is the ceremonial exchange of gifts between two groups, held in a competitive spirit, accompanied by feasts and dances. Excellent diagrams accompany the account of house-building. Canoes are dugouts, and carry outriggers. No woman can enter a new canoe with impunity or embark in it until a ceremony has been performed. Women's industries include the making of baskets and mats.

Babes are suckled for eighteen months or more, seldom smile and are never crossed. Food is the children's chief interest. Bastards are common, though looked down upon. Doubtless the introduction of Christianity has loosed the sexual regulations (as, according to Thomson, in western Fiji). A girl who is not a virgin when she marries is shamed, the tokens being welcomed by her parents. Adultery and divorce are common. A widow returns to her own people. Temples used to be built; none is extant.

The accurate methods which Mr. Hocart adopts in this excellent monograph might well be imitated by others, for hitherto scholarship has not been an outstanding characteristic of social anthropology. Every anthropologist knows that it is only owing to Mr. Hocart's careful researches that we know the meanings which the natives attached to such words as *kalou*, *tevoro*, etc., in western Fiji, and no one will be disappointed when he reads this more extensive survey of eastern Fiji. Mr. Hocart puts together native accounts of their own customs. He distinguishes (the Fijian also) between history and legend, gives valuable negative information, quotes the native terms, describes the native usage of those terms, wastes no space on purple passages, abjures psychological interpretations, and states his facts without his inferences.

There appear to be some errors in the book as published. Clearly on pp. 204–9 the legends of Lakemba have been confused with those of Thithia Island. On p. 185 the first sentence seems to contain a blunder, or else there is an ellipsis, for *tevolo* is the Tongan, not the Tahitian, form of *tevoro*.

It is to be hoped that Mr. Hocart will write a considered work on pagan Fijian culture, for he is well-equipped for the task. Doubtless, if he does so, he will be careful to define exactly what he means by dual organization. In regard to Fiji there seems to be some danger that the application of the term to the relationship which exists between two intermarrying groups may give rise to misunderstanding, for there were many such intermarrying pairs.

J. D. U.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Nayar Polyandry.

SIR,—The two original observations of Mr. K. M. Panikkar made in his paper on 'Some Aspects of Nayar Life' in *J.R.A.I.*, Vol. XLVIII, and referred to in MAN, March, 1932, 99, invite remarks to avoid misunderstanding. **320**

Mr. K. M. Panikkar states: (*a*) "that non-fraternal "polyandry had no existence among the Nayars, and "that McLennan was wrong in giving the name to a "particular type of polyandry supposed by him to be "practised universally among them (Nayars)," and (*b*) "that the only type of polyandry to be found among "the Nayars is of fraternal variety." Desire is also expressed for the revision of ideas about Nayar institutions, and to disbelieve the accounts of the various European travellers who have given us descriptions of Malabar Society. In the absence of any further light thrown on the subject the information already available might be considered as fairly accurate. The subject has been studied by various scholars in Malabar, Cochin and Travancore, as well as by me twenty years ago.

The Nayar polyandry is an old institution which is no longer in existence, in Malabar, Cochin and Travancore. McLennan calls the Nayar polyandry as non-fraternal, and Mr. Panikkar opines it is fraternal. The latter statement is not supported by any evidence or authority. Fraternal polyandry was common among many of the Dravidian tribes of South India which flourished also among the Izhuvans, Kammalans, Kaniyans, and the Vilkurups and Panans in Cochin State. Among these castes the eldest brother married a girl or young woman and took her to his own house where, after a formal ceremony, she was allowed, with the permission of their mother, to share conjugal relations with his brothers. Here they profess to follow the custom which prevailed among the Pandavites of the Mahabharata. The woman resides in the house of her husbands, and the children are owned by their fathers. The inheritance is patrilineal. A few instances of fraternal polyandry among the Nayars of Travancore came to my notice at the time of my investigations. Two more instances were recorded by Rev. Mateer and Fawcett. The former says that "he had known of six brothers keeping a woman." Further a statement is made by Briffault in his 'Mothers' regarding the fraternal polyandry among the Nayars of Travancore, his only authority being a passage in Gamelli Carreri's book 'Giro del Mondo' (Venezia, 1728). But the custom even there is not said to be common. The only explanation that could be given is, that Nayars were recruits originally from various Tamil

* This constant opposition between the gifts from one side and food from the other may be related to the *kula* of the Trobriands.

castes and tribes among whom this must have been found to be still lingering.

The question now arises as to how the non-fraternal type of polyandry could have prevailed among the Nayars who were living in the midst of the caste-men who were practising the fraternal type. The former has been traced to various causes. "The popular belief is "that the Nambuthiri Brahmans brought it about to "accommodate their domestic habits." It has been suggested that it is a survival of fraternal polyandry. One writer of the seventeenth century even states that "although according to the law of the Brahman only "one of their sons takes a wife, all his brothers are after-"wards allowed access to her." Professor Westermarck himself doubts the accuracy of the statement. It is true that the Nambuthiri Brahmans have had undue influence on the sexual relations of the Nayars; but it is hard to believe, as Westermarck says, that the Brahmans are responsible for the first introduction of polyandry among the Nayars. A colony of Brahmans who have settled in Malabar in small groups, could never have succeeded in eradicating a national institution of marriage, even if they had attempted to do so. Mr. Moore says "that there "appear to be valid reasons for holding that the Nayars "entered the country under a military organization "before the Nambuthiris were heard of in Malabar." It is said that the Nayars imported polyandry into Malabar after their separation from their fellow Dravidians of the east coast, or as some say, from Nepal, where they were a subdivision of the Newars. The architecture of the Malabar temples suggests Mongolian influence; the faces of the demons carved on them are almost identical with those of the Tibetan masks. The initiatory ceremony is the same as that prevailing among the Newars.

The Nayar women, according to the matriarchal system, live in their houses, and their husbands instead of staying with them are only visitors. The inheritance is matrilineal. Since according to this system the women enjoyed greater independence, they naturally selected men as husbands belonging to families of the same status, either from their own or allied castes, but never below. The non-fraternal polyandry was, to a great extent, due to the military organization of the Nayars, and feudalism which then prevailed in Malabar. Lopez de Castenheda writes that "the law of interdicting "them to marry, was established by their kings that "they might have neither wives nor children on whom "to fix their love and attachment, and that being free "from all family cares, that they might the more "willingly devote themselves to warlike service." Mr. Warden, writing from 1814 to 1816, gave a similar explanation of the origin of polyandry and inheritance through the female line among the Nayars. "The "profession of arms by birth subjecting the males of a "whole race to military service from the earliest youth "to the decline of manhood was a system of policy "utterly incompatible with the existence among them "of marriage state." The same opinion was expressed by Burton; Dr. Herbert Müller in his monograph on polyandry in Southern India corroborated the same facts. Montesquieu observes that in Europe the soldiers were not encouraged to marry. In Rome also the same custom is said to have existed.

The writer of the article referred to states the "Tali-"kettu kalyānam is sometimes brought as an argument "against polyandry." My own view is that it has nothing to do with it. This custom prevailed among all the Dravidian tribes. The tāli is only a symbol which signifies that the girl is fit to become a wife. It is only a kind of betrothal ceremony as among the Brahmans. Among the Nambuthiri Brahmans it is the father who ties it. Among the Nayars either an Enangan, a Tirumalpad or rarely the mother in poor families was the talier, on the ground of economy, of a number of girls in a big family. It is celebrated with all formalities. It is not a later adoption in Malabar, as the writer of the article seems to think. It partook of a more quasi-religious character owing to the influence of Brahmans for social distinction. It is difficult to get a clear idea of their social organization without the knowledge of the history of Malabar and feudalism connected with it. If the tali-tying ceremony is not a sacrament or samskara it has, under modern social conditions, several compensating advantages. "Many are of opinion that the "Nayar marriage is excellent and requires no aid of "law. Under the Malabar system there are no ill-"assorted couples fated to render each other's lives "miserable till death. There are no wives tied irrevoc-"ably to the undesirable, no women to whom life is one "imprisonment in the zenana, no virgin widows, no "divorce proceedings, and no degraded class of fallen "women. Their real marriage is the Sambandham (the customary union of a man and woman)."

Regarding the defloration of a Nayar girl, it must be said that it is a relic of an old custom prevailing among the people of low culture, for which various explanations are given by anthropologists.

L. K. ANANTHAKRISHNA IYER.

Theology and Physical Paternity.

321 SIR,—Without wishing to controvert the main thesis advanced by Dr. W. J. Perry in MAN, 1932, 218, on the alleged ignorance of the Trobrianders and others of the physiology of paternity, I would like to invite caution with regard to inferences about ancient Egypt which might be deduced from the birth-scenes sculptured on the walls of Queen Hatshepsut's temple at Deir el Bahri.

These scenes are framed round two distinct elements, the fatherhood of the god Amûn-rè, the patron-deity of the district in his solar aspect, and the fashioning of the child by the god Khnum.

In the matter of Amûn-rè, the Pharaonic title "Son of the Sun" does not necessarily warrant the inference of the god's direct fatherhood in each case, but rather asserts the king's ultimate descent from the Sun, which must, under the matrilineal convention ruling in Egypt, be clearly established on the mother's side. Further, the king, to possess the complete divine powers flowing from legitimacy, must marry a princess of pure royal blood. The mythical beginnings of the descent of the royal line from the Sun, in the Fifth Dynasty, are recounted in the Westcar papyrus, which was probably edited from a version of the Twelfth Dynasty; the god is reported as having connection with a mortal woman, wife of a priest of the Sun, exactly as in many a tale of classical mythology, but it does not follow that he was supposed to repeat the same action with the mother of every king; the divine seed would remain potent so long as it was transmitted in the blood of royal mothers and wives, and if for any king this condition did not exist, a new myth was fabricated, as will be seen later. Now, Queen Hatshepsut, according to the canons then ruling, was of pure royal descent, but those canons did not permit of the kingdom being entrusted to a woman and so, to legitimize her usurpation, she had recourse, as an exceptional measure, to the old myth of the god's actual intervention and added to it the new and all-important detail of his recognition of her, though a woman, as king. It may be added that the priestly story underlying the popular one of the Westcar papyrus was evidently well known to the fabricators

of Hatshepsut's story, for the scenes of her actual birth comprise several details found in that papyrus. The fatherhood of the god was simply physical, like that of Zeus in his earthly wooings; he assumed the form and garb of the king when entering to the queen, Hatshepsut's mother, and did not reveal to her his true nature till he had achieved his desire. The case was evidently a special one, arising from the machinations of an active and ambitious princess.

The myth of divine descent inhering in the solar phase of Egyptian religion is found equally in the Osirian phase that preceded it and, earlier still, in the proto-totemic Falcon-cult of pre-historic times. In that remote age the Falcon, as we may legitimately infer from the beliefs of modern totemistic peoples, was the foundational element and central gathering-point of the clan which, in the dim beginning of history, conquered and unified Egypt. The clan had as ensign a falcon on a perch and its mutual relations with the bird are most significantly indicated by the adoption of this ensign, on the introduction of letters, as the earliest written symbol of godhead. The Falcon—in Egyptian *horus* (Graecized form)—was, in fact, divine, and the king, himself a Horus-falcon, was held to be thereby endowed with divine powers; his relationship with the Falcon was fully recognized in historic times but, with the spread of greater knowledge, had gained straiter definition and become physical sonship, as we may read in the Pyramid Texts, par. 568: "The Falcon "has conceived the king in the night." The original beliefs, starting in a far-off age of really primitive food-gatherers, had, by their long antiquity and social effectiveness, rooted themselves so deeply in the philosophy of the nation that throughout its history the king remained a Horus-falcon despite the supremacy won later by Osiris and, after him, the Sun—a supremacy due to the close connection of the new cults with organized agriculture which was then reshaping the whole life of the country while the Falcon-cult, bound up with the hunters' social system now disappearing, suffered inevitable decline.

The king's position in the new religious systems was a tangled one and might have proved too paradoxical even for the primitive imagination to accept, but for the myths of divine birth with which the theologians regularized it. In the earlier case the king had to be placed in the same filial relation to Osiris, the new divine hero, as he had with the antique Falcon, thereby reconciling and fusing, however imperfectly, the two cults. This was effected by the myth of the miraculous impregnation by the dead Osiris of his sister-wife Isis, resulting in the birth of the 'younger Horus, son of Isis' (*Harsĕisis*), who was equated, for the purposes of the myth, with the older Horus; thus the king, who had always been identified by his descent with the latter, took up the same relation with the newer form and became the son of Osiris: it is very significant that Isis was represented for the occasion in the guise of a falcon. Similarly, when, later, the king and his circle embraced the Solar belief, a myth was found by which to affiliate him to the Sun, as related in the Westcar papyrus.

The points to be noted in connection with the debate on the Trobrianders are, first, that the Egyptian belief in the divine descent of kings had its roots in the remotest antiquity; second, that the god's action, as represented in the temple of Deir el Bahri, was of a purely physical character which, had not the chief agent been divine, would be considered basely adulterous; and, third, that this case was a special one, framed to meet the definite political needs of an aspiring princess.

With regard to the third point we may note that when Tuthmosis III, a very strong and ambitious young prince, born of a concubine, mounted the throne despite his lack of legitimacy, he originated another kind of myth to make his position good: backed doubtless by the priests, like his one-time spouse Hatshepsut, he caused it to be declared that Amûn-rè had recognized him as king at a public function and had greatly glorified his coronation, making of it a celestial ceremony. But this was a story too capable of disproof and so, three generations later, Amenophis III, whose legitimacy was not supported by royal blood in his wife or mother, reverted to the older scheme of the god's actual intervention, and caused it to be pictured in the temple-chambers which he built at Luxor: in this he was followed, after many centuries, by the Greek and Roman kings at Philæ, Edfou and Dendera, anxious to establish a legitimate status before their Egyptian subjects. Alexander, however, fully occupied during his fleeting visits to Egypt with the building of his city, followed the quicker method of Tuthmosis III, obtaining direct recognition of his divine sonship at the temple of Ammon (the Greco-Libyan form of the god) in the Oasis of Siwa.

The second element noted in these temple scenes, concerning Khnum, is quite different, founded on a very old form of belief and not on mere royal needs of the moment. Khnum is generally described by writers as the Creator- or Potter-god: the former epithet is founded on a mass of inscriptions of comparatively late periods in which he had become identified, to a greater or less degree, with the Sun, Amûn and other gods classed as universal creators: this development is, on the face of it, a late one, part of the syncretism so noticeable in the later Egyptian periods; we must search beyond it for Khnum's primitive character. In the Pyramid Texts he appears but seldom and plays only an incidental part: in two passages he is mentioned as 'fashioning' the king (*kd*: pars. 524 and 1769); the hieroglyphs and determinatives employed make it likely that his original function was not to 'create' the child, but in some way to shape its limbs as it lay unborn within the womb. There is an indication of this, also, in the Westcar papyrus in which Khnum's function is limited to endowing the royal child's limbs with strength; in the 'Tale of the Two Brothers,' dating from the Nineteenth Dynasty, he fashions a wife, at the bidding of the gods, for the young hero, Bata. Again, in chap. XXX, B, of the 'Book of the Dead,' which was inscribed on the protective heart-scarab laid on the breast of the mummy, the heart is said to be the dead man's 'Khnum' who "makes his limbs to flourish."

When, therefore, the potter's craft appeared and shapes were kneaded out of clay, it was natural that Khnum should be connected with it, by way of metaphor, and that, on the invention of the potter's wheel, that invaluable aid to the craft, it should be allotted to him also; we find accordingly, as early as the Pyramid Texts (par. 524), that his name is followed by the determinative of a jar on a potter's wheel—the jar being of a form adapted to that implement. This simple figurative device was developed to an extravagant degree in the scenes on the temple-walls of Deir el Bahri and Luxor in which Khnum is pictured as throwing on his wheel two child-figures, one of the newly conceived king and the other of his *ka*—a patent absurdity, for figures in clay must, of course, be moulded or modelled and cannot be thrown on the wheel. The scene seems, nevertheless, to have passed unquestioned, with all its naïveté, for we find it repeated in other places, with one figure only. It is evident that the notion of Khnum as a fashioner was firmly fixed in the Egyptian mind, for in the late periods when, as so often happens elsewhere, ancient and deeply-planted popular beliefs rise more

conspicuously to view with the weakening of the official forms, the very word *khn.m* came to mean 'to shape' or 'build.'

The body of the newly-conceived child was imagined to be built up from matter and shaped by Khnum, but of the implanting of the spirit no account has come down to us; it is possible that the question hardly presented itself to the early Egyptians, for they discriminated little between body and soul and it is not till later that a distinction was clearly drawn when, in the Eighteenth Dynasty, courtiers were admitted at death to the heavenly paradise originally reserved for the Sun-descended kings, and tomb-inscriptions consigned the soul to the sky and the body to earth—but even this was a theological compromise between two phases of religion, such as is common in the story of Egyptian beliefs.

It may be added that if we examine the popular tales we shall find incidents pointing unmistakably to a time when the Egyptians were ignorant of the physiological facts and accepted strange accounts of methods of female conception, as in the latter part of the 'Tale of the Two Brothers'; certain details of this story have their counterparts among the many myths and tales collected by Hartland and published in his 'Primitive Paternity,' with the express purpose of showing that at one time—in some cases not very remote—all peoples were thus ignorant, a thesis with which, it may be supposed, few of us would now disagree.

The analysis attempted above, summary though it be, seems to indicate that Egyptian beliefs about divine fatherhood were of very remote origin, long before the beginning, with food-production, of civilization, and that they pertain to an ancient stock of ideas originating with early thinkers—perhaps palæanthropic—the first philosophers of a rude hunting world, struggling, like Rodin's 'Penseur,' to explain its puzzling phenomena. Such ideas, with the coming of civilization and, above all, with increased knowledge in physical matters, naturally underwent modifications, but, deep-rooted and strong in their antiquity, survived in their essence, while adapting themselves to new paths of thought. Thus Osirianism, while retaining the essence of the older ideas, gave them a new aspect, fitted to organized agriculture, which was soon to be modified, in its turn, by Heliopolitan theories, still crude and anthropomorphic, but informed by a purer science, gained from long study of the ways of the sun. In dealing with Egyptian thought this stratification must be taken into full account; some of the beliefs and customs that might seem to have originated on the Nile may well belong to the older stratum of thought which had become common to the forefathers of a great part of mankind, and in this stratum it seems we should place the origins of most primitive theories, including that of the Trobrianders, concerning the mysteries of fatherhood. G. D. HORNBLOWER.

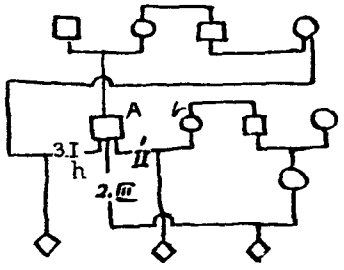
Standardization of Pedigree Charts.

322 SIR,—I should like to comment on the Sociological Research Committee's letter on the 'Standardization of Pedigree Charts' (MAN, 1932, 141). It is sometimes desirable to show not only the relationships of an individual's wives, but also their status, the order in which they were each taken in marriage, their respective seniority in the home, whether inherited from a deceased relative, etc., and for this reason I suggest that provision be made to break the marriage coupling-bar, leaving a space in which these particulars may be entered.

For example, let us take the first diagram in the article mentioned above, and let us assume that we wish to show the following particulars concerning A's wives :—

Order in which married.		Order of seniority.	Inherited, or not.
Wife 'b'	1	II	Not inherited.
A's wife's brother's daughter	2	III	Not inherited.
A's mother's brother's wife	3	I	Inherited.

In this case the diagram would be drawn thus :—



The Arabic numerals refer to the order in which the wives were taken in marriage, the Roman numerals to their order of seniority in the home, while 'h' indicates that the wife in question has been inherited.

If thought fit, further symbols could be adopted, and the scheme could be extended to cover other persons on the chart, thereby showing at a glance a mass of information which might fill paragraphs in print.

A. T. CULWICK.

Kiberege, Tanganyika Territory.

Fenland Exploration in East Anglia.

323 SIR,—From many points of view the Fen country of East Anglia is of extreme interest. Hardly anywhere else can a more or less complete sequence of deposits dating from Quaternary times be so well studied. Recently the especial importance of the Fenland has been demonstrated once again by Major Fowler of Ely, who has been studying the prehistoric waterways of the district, and by Mr. Grahame Clark, who has been investigating an early Metal Age site *in situ* below peat. But for a proper study of the Fens many different lines of investigation are required; not only is the archæologist needed, but perhaps even more the palæo-botanist and the geologist. For some time past several of us at Cambridge have felt that a research committee of experts in the various branches of science required should be formed to undertake a comprehensive study of the region. Such a committee, connected with the two chief archæological societies in the area (the Cambridge Antiquarian Society and the Prehistoric Society of East Anglia), has now been formed and will probably be starting its work during this autumn. The Master of Downing College has most kindly consented to be the President, and Major Fowler the Vice-President. Mr. Grahame Clark is the Secretary, and anyone wishing to communicate with the committee in regard to the early history of the Fens should write to him at Peterhouse, Cambridge. M. C. BURKITT.

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A DRIED HEAD FROM THE MARIND-ANIM (TUGERI) PEOPLE.

Cranmore Ethnographical Museum, Chislehurst, Kent.

APPROXIMATE MEASUREMENTS: Total height: 24″ or 61 cm. Width: 17″ or 43 cm. Depth: 15″ or 38 cm.

MAN

A MONTHLY RECORD OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL SCIENCE

PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE
ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

XXXII, 324-338 DECEMBER, 1932.

ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

With Plate M.

Papua, Dutch Territory. **Beasley.**

A Dried Head from the Marind-anim (Tugeri) people.

Material collections from Dutch Papua are, unfortunately, but ill-represented in this country, and so far as my knowledge serves not a single specimen of these preserved heads exists in the British Isles. The few explorers who have reached the Tugeri country, situated on the Dutch side of the former German and Dutch frontier, all refer to the savage state of these people. Papua as a whole has produced many and unusual types of dried and reconstructed human heads, and most of these have already been described in MAN. In addition to those which may be described as 'preserved heads,' there occur, both in British and the former German territory, examples entirely reconstructed of clay overlying the original crania. In the present instance, Plate M, these two methods are combined, for, while the original skin still covers the features, the posterior portion is composed entirely of clay. Further certain details stand out as peculiar to these rather gruesome objects. Haddon[1] wrote an account received from a missionary, and Wirz[2] has considerably augmented our knowledge. The Tugeri to-day are an inland people whose country is watered by the Chester River (Wasi Kusa). They possess, however, large canoes, and make periodical raids down river on the scattered peoples who inhabit the islands round the mouth. From their willingness to embark on such sea adventures, one may deduce that formerly they were a coastal people, driven inland by later arrivals. These raids have the sole purpose of securing heads, which would appear to enter largely into their ceremonial and religious activities. Their social organization would seem to require a steady flow of external captives for the supply of these reconstructed crania, which are obtained from prisoners captured from the islands and brought alive to the Tugeri villages. It is recorded that the prisoners' legs are broken to prevent escape, and death occurs only at the feasts that are held on the return of the raiders. 324

The object of these raids is to secure the soul of the victim, since immediately prior to the death blow the victim is maltreated so as to cause him to cry out. Whatever cry he gives is accepted by the Tugeri as the name of his spirit, and this word is treasured, whose influence will hence further guard and benefit the captor. Of these heads, Dr. Wirz[2] has further published a very full account of the method of manufacture, but space does not permit of its duplication. This writer mentions the addition of the fibre 'wig' which is such an outstanding feature. This arises from the occurrence that the coast people who provide the victims always have short hair, so this wig is added, and in the present specimen consists of numerous lengths of fibre woven together towards their bases, and uniting in a sort of close-fitting cap which is attached to the scalp.

Since the Dutch authorities have for a number of years discountenanced these head-hunting raids and, wherever possible, destroyed and confiscated these trophies, it may be assumed that few exist to-day.

H. G. BEASLEY.

[1] Haddon: *Int. Arch. für Anthropologie*, Band IV, 1891.

[2] Wirz, Dr. P.: *Die Marind-anim von Holländisch Süd N. Guinea*, Hamburg, 1925, Tiel III, Band II, Die Kopfjagden.

Pacific: Ethnology. **Rentoul.**

Papuans, Professors, and Platitudes. *By A. G. Rentoul.*

325 In MAN, 1932, 44, Dr. Malinowski takes me severely to task, apparently for having had the temerity (MAN, 1931, 162) to question his oft-repeated statement that "amongst the Trobrianders " physiological fatherhood is unknown, and no tie or kinship is supposed to exist between father and " child except that between a mother's husband and a wife's child."

I would explain that I wrote MAN, 1931, 162, as a layman closely associated with the natives of Western Melanesia, and I am indebted to the Editor of MAN for his kindness in deciding that the article was worthy of submission to his critical readers.

I am therefore rather surprised that, instead of dismissing my small effort in half a column of his inimitable writing, Dr. Malinowski should exhibit so much annoyance at my statements, that he absorbs four and a half pages of this valuable publication, mainly in an endeavour to prove that I am a person of no account, that I have apparently not read any of his works, and that I "seem to " have heard about the facts at second-hand from a review or summary."

I had thought that Dr. Malinowski would have proved more skilled in debate than to stoop to personal abuse, a method I have no desire to copy. It is my purpose to stick to the point at issue, and that is whether or not the intelligent Trobrianders have or have not the average knowledge of physiological paternity possessed by any other natives in the vicinity, such as those of the Amphletts to the South, with whom these 'Argonauts of the Pacific' have had dealings in connection with the Kula circle of wealth from the earliest known times.

But as Dr. Malinowski has taken it upon himself to explain me to the readers of MAN, and to question my qualifications to speak on behalf of the Trobrianders, may I be permitted to mention the fact that I am Resident Magistrate in charge of the South-Eastern Division of Papua, embracing a large portion of Western Melanesia and the Trobriand group itself, where I was at one time a district officer, and that my only knowledge of anthropology was gained while attending a course at Sydney University under Professor Radcliffe Brown and Dr. Firth. What knowledge I possess of my natives has been gained, not only in Courts of Native Matters, which, as Dr. Malinowski should be aware, have a very different 'atmosphere' from an ordinary police court, but also by living amongst the people, questioning them, and studying them day by day. That is all I shall say about myself.

I cannot follow Dr. Malinowski's keen resentment at my innocent phrase 'a visiting anthropo-' logist however gifted.' He reiterates the phrase, and accuses me of introducing the opposition.

Now to hurt the feelings of any anthropologist was my last intention. What I would explain is, that in an interesting territory like Papua, we have become used to the appearance of visiting anthropologists, sociologists, technologists and others. These gentlemen spend some little time in the territory working on their own particular thesis, and then depart to compile a book thereon. Dr. Fortune, whom Dr. Malinowski quotes, is of the type I mean.

In my opinion, and I am sure Dr. Malinowski will forgive me for again venturing my opinion, such work cannot be compared in value to the steady and continuous work performed by a stationary anthropologist such as Mr. F. E. Williams, our Government anthropologist. That is why I used the term 'visiting anthropologist' to distinguish the type from a permanent officer like Mr. Williams, whose splendid work there is no need for me to praise.

To get back to the point at issue. Dr. Malinowski asks me to quote my authorities for my various statements. I will say that my authorities are scores of intelligent natives in the Trobriands whom I have interviewed, and whose information I have had sense enough to check and cross-check. It would be impracticable for me to quote the names of all my authorities in such a paper. Perhaps my word counts for something. Furthermore, Dr. Malinowski accuses me of translating the native mind incorrectly. He states in a rather involved sentence: "Now since what concerns us is what " the natives actually think, and not what Mr. Rentoul thinks they ought to think, his inferences " are irrelevant." What, after all, are Dr. Malinowski's writings but his own opinions and observations, and the results of his own interviews with various natives. Is Dr. Malinowski the only one who has discovered what the natives think? Does he not admit the possibility of error on

his part? With sixteen years of experience of natives behind me, I say that there is every possibility of error on anybody's part, including my own, of course.

It is in dealing with what Dr. Malinowski terms my "police court perspective" that he fails rather lamentably. With a long experience of magisterial work in Papua, I can only characterize Dr. Malinowski's statement that "no native would in good faith bring a domestic case before the "magistrate's Court. Those that do so are invariably branded as renegades and outcasts" as absurd and untrue, and an insult to those officers who are giving up their lives to the fulfilment of the successful native policy built up in Papua during the last twenty years by the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Hubert Murray: a policy which has earned, not only the confidence of the average native in the Trobriands, but Empire recognition.

Perhaps Dr. Malinowski will allow me to inform him, without quoting any authority but myself, that throughout the South-Eastern Division of Papua (including the Trobriands) there is little crime, and the most common offence brought before the magistrate is adultery. Dr. Malinowski, in quoting my incident in Court for Native Matters, quite unfairly leaves out the most illuminating part and substitutes three dots. The missing words are "after the mother has according to custom stated "her intention of returning with her children to her own people." Those omitted words cast quite a different meaning on the whole paragraph. Dr. Malinowski is very much aware that a magistrate in Papua has no power to 'divorce' the parties. What I described was the father pleading, not with the Court, but with the offended mother, for the custody of his son!

But to get down to bedrock. It appears to me that Dr. Malinowski's thesis is best explained in his footnote to page 109 in 'Sex and Repression.' He states: "It must be noted that the natives "have no idea whatever of the fertilizing influence of the male semen, but they know that a virgin "cannot conceive, and that to become a mother, a woman has to be 'opened up' as they express "it. This in the everyday life of the village is done at an early age by the appropriate organ. In "the myth of the primeval ancestress where the husband or any sexual eligible male companion is "excluded some natural object is selected such as a fish or a stalactite."

This means, I take it, that Dr. Malinowski believes that the Trobriand native is fully aware of the function of the male member, but is unaware of the fertilizing influence of the male semen.

Let me enlarge on Dr. Malinowski's statement. He has related the legend of the great ancestress Ilouma, the mother of Tudava, 'a hero born of a virgin who was *pierced* by the action of stalactite water.' Now that story, as it was related to me, varied in one or two important features which, perhaps, cast rather a different light upon the native mind. The girl Ilouma, desiring a child, fell asleep in a limestone cave. From above her the stalactite known as Kaibua began to drip, and the lime water Litukwa entered her womb, and afterwards she conceived and bore a male child Tudava, afterwards to become famous in legend. To this day the story is told by old men, and that stalactite is looked upon as a phallic symbol. The point is that in the telling of the story stress is laid on the fact that the lime water Litukwa was the cause of the pregnancy!

Surely the last paragraph indicates the existence of something more than 'a vague idea as to some nexus between sexual connection and pregnancy'?

In my own article I had the temerity to quote a practice of ejaculation, simply to prove that the Trobriand female recognizes that her attempt to expel the male seed may prevent pregnancy. Dr. Malinowski, in reply, again unfairly prefaces his quotation with the words: "*He is confident that* "*as an effective method of contraception in the Trobriands*, the female of the species is specially "endowed, etc." The words in italics are Dr. Malinowski's own, for in not one word of my article did I say that I was confident that the method was effective. I had learnt from my friend, Dr. Cecil Cook, C.M.O. of North Australia, that such a method could not be relied upon. My real aim in publishing the information was to show that 'the female of the species' in the Trobriands does realize that 'procreation is from the biological father,' and that to prevent conception the semen should, if possible, be ejected.

Dr. Malinowski attempts to cloud my meaning by ridicule, but it is amusing to note that in the same number of MAN in which he derides me there has crept in an unobtrusive letter (1932, 66) from G. A. Gaskell, in which that writer states that Dr. Kirsch, in 'The Sexual Life of Woman,'

mentions this method being used by women in Italy and in North Australia. This will be information to Dr. Malinowski.

One incident which may, perhaps, be of interest. On a recent patrol to the Island of Iwa, which is a Trobriand Island, while checking the census, I came across a single girl who had given birth to a male child. On inquiring the name of the father, the girl became shy and embarrassed, and stated that the baby had no father. At this an old crone sitting near by snorted with indignation and, pointing derisively at the girl, called a man's name. The people standing about immediately nodded their heads in agreement, and named the same man. At this the girl, realizing apparently that there was no longer need of secrecy, appeared relieved, and quietly admitted that the native referred to was indeed the father of her child. Perhaps Dr. Malinowski, with his anthropological gifts, may explain away such incidents to me, but happening as they do in my day's work, they only serve to establish more and more firmly my private belief that the intelligent Trobriand natives have quite as much sex knowledge as an average agricultural labourer and a great deal more of imagination and 'religion' besides.

I am glad that in his article Dr. Malinowski admits that his "thesis was not to prove that the "Trobrianders know nothing about paternity, nor yet did I reluctantly admit that there exist "among them paternal sentiments." He appears to have modified his statement slightly since the quotation in the first paragraph of this article on which I based my protest.

As a daily student of the natives themselves, I am content to believe that, like many professing Christians, the individual native can hold two beliefs: (1) that the offspring is the gift of God (or of the Baloma); and (2) that the child is given to the mother through the agency of the male seed. The first is the belief that would be expressed to any visiting anthropologist, and if that anthropologist were, like Dr. Malinowski, already impressed by a somewhat similar discovery of Baldwin Spencer's in North Australia, his acceptance of the same, without making allowance for the second belief, would be all the more understandable.

Misima, Papua. 4th May, 1932. ALEX. G. RENTOUL.

Tanganyika: Ethnology. Culwick.

Hippo Hunting amongst the Wandamba of Tanganyika Territory. *By A. T. Culwick.*

326 The Wandamba Tribe, so called, is a collection of scattered clans, who have been driven into the swamps of the Kilombero River Valley by their more powerful neighbours, the Wambunga, the Wabena, the Wahehe, and the Wangoni.

The Kilombero River, which ultimately becomes the Rufiji, is well stocked with fish and hippo, and these, together with rice, which is cultivated in the swampy areas, form the food supply of this interesting and backward people. For years the Wandamba have been harassed by the surrounding tribes, and have only retained their individuality by living in marshy country which is inaccessible to their neighbours, who are not expert canoemen, and cannot therefore reach the isolated villages amongst the swamps.

In the course of time the Wandamba have become skilled fishermen and hippo hunters, and to-day, under the protection of British rule, carry their trade in dried fish as far as Morogoro on the Central Railway.

At certain seasons of the year they hunt the hippopotamus, partly for food, partly to avenge themselves for the attacks of these beasts on their canoes and their depredations in the rice fields, and partly for sport. This well-built and virile people delight to pit their skill against their greatest enemy, and although their weapons are of the simplest type, they are fearless hunters, a quality which saves them from suffering heavy casualties.

They usually hunt with a fleet of three large dug-out canoes, each manned by half-a-dozen men armed with harpoons and heavy stabbing spears. In the bows of each canoe stands the chief harpooner, who directs operations, while the remainder of the crew are responsible for paddling or poling the craft as well as for assisting the chief harpooner in his assaults on the hippo.

The harpoon, Fig. 1, consists of a single-barbed iron blade, which is loosely hafted into a wooden shaft, about 8 feet long, and an inch to an inch and a half thick. The blade, which is about four

inches long, ends in a pointed iron tang on which a lateral spike is forged, Fig. 2. Round the tang, just behind the barb, several small rolls of cloth are tied which contain medicine to render the weapon effective. One end of a stout rope, which is usually about thirty feet in length and is made from raffia palm, is firmly secured round the spike which prevents it from slipping. The rope is carried up the shaft, Fig. 1, to which it is attached by a light cord, and is then turned over the butt and carried down the other side of the harpoon for some two feet. This ingenious arrangement allows the light cord to be broken as soon as the rope is pulled taut, thereby detaching the shaft and giving the blade a better chance of holding firm.

Attached to the rope near the butt of the weapon are several small iron bells, which serve to indicate the animal's presence should he seek refuge in the long grass on the river bank. The other end of the rope passes through a hole in a stout board about 3 feet long and 9 inches broad, and is

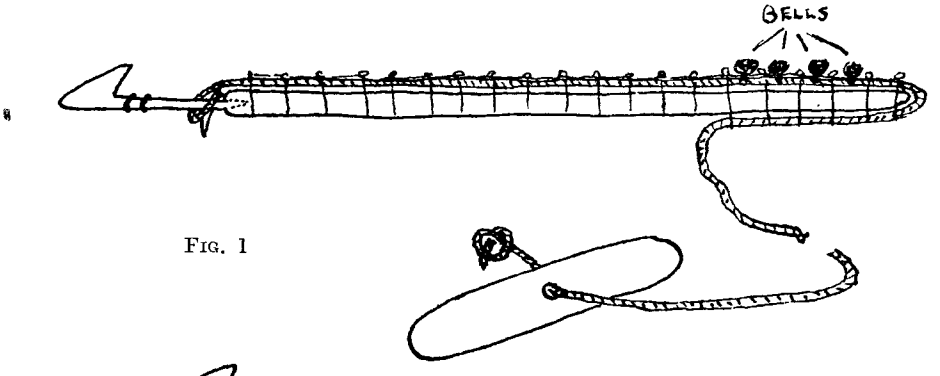


FIG. 1

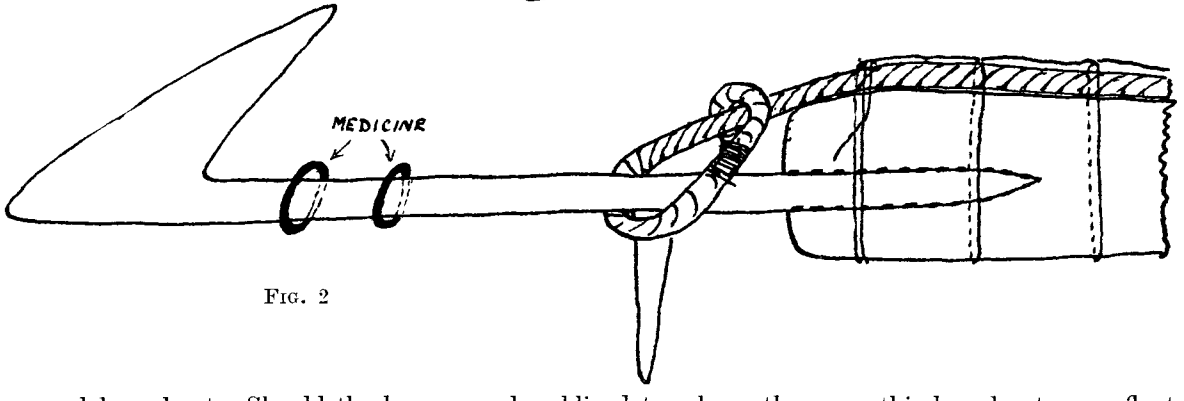


FIG. 2

secured by a knot. Should the harpooner be obliged to release the rope, this board acts as a float in the water and as an anchor on land.

Before the hunt the harpoons are placed on the ground, and near them small heaps of flour are made, a little being dusted on the blades of the weapons and on the wooden anchors. All the hunters assemble and invoke the aid of their ancestral spirits. The weapons are then taken to the canoes, but the heaps of flour remain till after the hunt.

The method of hunting is as follows: The canoes approach their quarry, who invariably submerges himself. The leader of the expedition silently stations his canoes at points of vantage, and waits until the beast breaks water. If the hippo continues to hide, the hunters search for him with long fish spears, poking about until he is located. As soon as he is seen within range, a harpoon is hurled home. The beast dashes off under the water. The hunters grasp the rope, and the canoe is dragged along at speed by the wounded animal. The other canoes follow, and as soon as the beast breaks water again, other harpoons are hurled home. Sooner or later the hippo becomes infuriated, and being unable to rid himself of the harpoons, turns on the canoes, which he tries to demolish. Manœuvring their craft with the greatest skill, the hunters await the animal's savage rush with spears and harpoons, and, if they are lucky, kill him in the water. If not, the hippo usually makes for the

shore, and in this event the hunters abandon the harpoon ropes, allowing him to rush off into the dense grass where the wooden anchors impede his progress. Guided by the tinkling of the bells, the men follow, tie the harpoon ropes to the undergrowth, and spear him to death, a feat which requires no little courage in the tall Matete grass.

On their arrival home the heart and the liver of the animal and the flour of the sacrifice are cooked, and all the hunters partake of them as a solemn rite, thanking their ancestral spirits for their good fortune.

A. T. CULWICK.

Kalahari : Ethnology. **Schapera.**

A Native Lion Hunt in the Kalahari Desert. *By I. Schapera, M.A., Ph.D.*

327 In June 1931, while I was engaged in field research among the BaKxatla of Bechuanaland Protectorate, I was invited by Messrs. L. Barnes and W. G. Ballinger, of Johannesburg, to take part in a short trip into the Kalahari Desert. The object of this trip was to make some inquiries into the status and treatment of the BaKxalaxadi, degenerate BeTšwana who live in the Kalahari as herdsmen and hunters of the BaMangwato, BaKwena, BaNgwaketse and other powerful tribes. We motored from Mochudi, the principal village of the BaKxatla, to Molepolole, the headquarters of the BaKwena and a convenient starting-place for expeditions into the Central Kalahari. Here we were joined by Mrs. Barnes and Miss M. Hodgson, of the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, and by Mr. D. J. Knobel, a long-established trader and keen hunter who acted as guide and interpreter.

We left Molepolole early the following morning, and motored for about sixty miles through heavy sand and dense growths of high grass and low bush thickly dotted with camelthorns (*Acacia giraffae*) and other large trees. It was in the midst of the dry winter season, and once we passed beyond the cultivated lands of Molepolole the whole country seemed parched and devoid of human inhabitants save for a few stray BaKxalaxadi whom we occasionally encountered. In the afternoon we entered a long pleasant valley known to the local natives as Lethlakeng, where we came across a few small villages of BaKxalaxadi. We camped for the night at the village of Seloilwe, which lies about three miles to the south on the plains overlooking the western end of Lethlakeng. As we sat round the fire the people of the village gradually joined us. They told us that during the preceding night a lion had seized a calf from one of the cattle-posts not far away, and that they had set a trap-gun for it under a tree where the mangled corpse of the calf had been left as bait.

During the night one of our party heard the report of a gun, which was confirmed in the early morning by the headman of the village, who sent a boy to tell us that his people were going down to the tree to see what had happened, and inviting us to join them. About forty natives, including three MaSarwa (Bushmen, fig. 4), set out in a body, armed with old rifles of various patterns, clubs, axes and spears, and accompanied by a number of dogs. We followed them as far as possible in the cars, and then marched across country for about a quarter of a mile to the tree where the gun had been set. Here we found the natives gathered excitedly around the paw mark of a lion deeply impressed in the sand, close to which were lying some spots of blood. They scouted around until they made sure of the direction taken by the lion's spoor, and then all came back to the tree (fig. 1).

The leader of the natives now insisted that the two ladies with us should go back to the cars and not accompany us any farther. "We cannot go out against our enemy," he said, "if there are women "with us." It was *moila* (taboo) even to talk of women on the hunt, let alone have them with us. The ladies accordingly returned to the cars under the escort of a native who was instructed to remain there with them. As soon as they were some distance away, the ceremony was performed of *xo bapola mothlala*, to "peg out" or "spread out" the spoor. One of the men, who was a *ngaka* or professional magician, had brought with him the large bulb known as *sekaname* (*Urginea sanguinea*), which figures in many Tšwana magical ceremonies, and a goat's horn containing *thsithlô*. *Thsithlô* is a mixture of many different vegetable, animal and mineral substances, all of which are cut to tiny pieces, stamped and roasted together over the fire in an open potsherd, and then ground down to powder which is mixed with some sort of animal fat. This powder is extensively used in Tšwana magic. The *ngaka* dipped his fingers into the horn and smeared the *thsithlô* adhering to them on to the bulb. Then he

placed the bulb on the paw mark of the lion. While this was going on, the rest of the men lounged about chatting and apparently not paying much attention to what he was doing. He now called on them to bring their weapons to the spot. Each gun, club, spear or axe was placed in turn by its owner on the lion's footprint, and the *ngaka* rubbed it with the bulb. Then he took all the weapons in a bundle and placing their butts on the ground over the lion's footprint tilted them over in the direction taken by the spoor. As he did so he said the words : *a di bolaya*, let them kill, which were repeated by the men around him. He returned the weapons to their owners, and then asked for certain of the dogs, three in all, to be brought to him. He smeared each of them on the palate, teeth and nostrils with the *thsithlô* from his horn. Then he again smeared some *thsithlô* on to the bulb, which he replaced on the lion's footprint. He then handed the horn of *thsithlô* to one of the MaSarwa, whom we afterwards discovered to be the leading tracker of the party. Next he plucked two twigs from a neighbouring *moretlwa* bush (*Grewia cana*), and planted them in the ground so that they formed a crossed arch over the bulb. Then he called a few of the men by name, one by one, to tread on the bulb with one foot, step over the arch carefully so as not to disturb it, and march a few paces ahead, where they were to stand still without looking behind them. We subsequently learned that these men were the more skilful hunters of the party. After them the rest of us, including the Europeans, performed the same action.

When everybody had passed over the arch, the MaSarwa began to move ahead on the spoor of the lion, and we all followed, leaving behind us the bulb lying under the arch. The slightly bloodstained trail led across country in a sort of arc, and appeared to present little difficulty to the MaSarwa, who at times quickened their pace to a run, so sure were they of its direction. Two of them took it in turns to guide the party, and every few hundred yards one of them would drop back and his companion come up to take over the lead, while occasionally they would pause to consult together. The rest of the party followed close behind in a disorderly group, apparently taking little precaution against a surprise attack, so confident were they of their leaders: but conversation was throughout carried on in a low tone, and we Europeans were expressly asked at the beginning not to talk loudly. Every marked clue to the trail of the lion was painstakingly pointed out to us—here a deep footprint, there a few spots of blood, or some broken twigs, or the fresh dung of the lion, or a slight depression in the sand showing where it had lain down. It was a graceful gesture which we appreciated highly, and which enabled us to form some idea of the remarkable skill shown by the MaSarwa trackers.

After about two miles of winding in and out of the deep Kalahari sand and dense *moxônônô* bush (*Terminalia sericea*), we came to a small cattle-post. Here we learned that during the preceding night another calf had been killed by a lion. The corpse had been found a few hundred yards away (and a little later we were shown the exact spot from which the lion had made its spring), and its meat was at that moment being cooked over a fire. One of the natives with us wished to eat some of it, but the *ngaka* told him that if he did so he would not be allowed to accompany us any farther, so he desisted. Meanwhile an animated discussion was taking place as to whether the lion which had killed this calf was the same as that whose spoor we were following. The MaSarwa were convinced that it was the same animal, and their verdict was soon accepted as decisive. The trail was again taken up, and we twisted once more in and out of the veld for about a mile and a half. Suddenly one of the natives in the vanguard pointed excitedly to the left, and a moment later one of the dogs dashed off in that direction. We heard it barking in the distance, and made a rush towards it, but shortly afterwards it was again heard to bark at right angles to the course being followed, and we swung round in that direction. Meantime the other dogs had run up after their leader and brought the lion to bay under a tree. As we ran up we could hear its angry grunts mingling with the barking of the dogs. We soon sighted it at the other end of an open glade. The leading native, planting himself behind a forked tree, carefully took aim from a distance of about fifty yards, and with a magnificent shot hit the lion in the right shoulder. Two more shots at close range from a shot gun put an end to it, and the natives rushed up to the body and commenced to beat it with the butts of their weapons, shouting out jubilantly *kxomo tseo, kxomo tseo*, those cattle, those cattle ! (fig. 2). Then followed a short chant of victory, and the men sat down with visible enthusiasm to talk over their happy success. The lion was a well-developed specimen in the prime of life. The shot from the trap gun had merely grazed its

cheek, sufficiently to draw blood but otherwise ineffective. It was time for us to return, and we left them there. Before going, however, we ascertained that the man who had first shot the lion (fig. 3) would on his return home have to go through a special ceremony of purification, and that certain parts of the lion's body (penis and testicles, fat, vertebral bones and their marrow) would be used as ingredients in the next lot of hunting *thsithlô* that was prepared.



FIG. 1. NATIVE HUNTING PARTY.

On my return to Mochudi a few days later, I at once inquired into the ritual and methods employed by the BaKxatla in hunting beasts of prey. Lions have not been seen in the BaKxatla Reserve for many years, but they had formerly been hunted there, and some recollection persisted of the procedure employed. The following notes are based mainly upon information given me by Rapedi Letsêbê, a magician whom I questioned myself, and by Sofonia Pôônyane, a young man whom I had trained to conduct independent investigations on my behalf and who discussed the subject with the older men of his *kxôrô* (lineage group).

When a lion has killed cattle or goats out in the veld, the owner of the dead beasts comes to Mochudi and reports the fact to the chief. The latter thereupon summons together a couple of the younger *mephatô* (initiation regiments). While the men are assembling, he sends ahead his *ngaka ya motse* or tribal magician to accompany the cattle-owner to the scene and to 'doctor' the spoor of the lion. The magician takes with him his horn of *thsithlô* and a small peg of *mokxalô* wood (*Zisyphus mucronata*). On arriving at the place where the beast was killed, he smears the peg with *thsithlô* and knocks it into the spoor of the lion. The object of this rite is to prevent the lion from leaving the vicinity—it will be unable to run away, but will keep close to the spot and soon become tired. The rite is known as *xo bapola mothlala*, to peg out the spoor, and the *thsithlô* used as *mothswari wa dipholoxolo*, the seizer of the beasts.



FIG. 2. *KXOMO TSEO!* THOSE CATTLE!

When the *mephatô* come up to the spot, the magician hands his horn of *thsithlô* to the MaSarwa

servants of the chief, who have been brought along to follow up the trail. Neither the men nor the dogs are specially 'doctored' on this occasion, but all men whose wives are pregnant or whose wives have miscarried are told to return home, lest their presence cause the hunters to misfire and to hit some of the men instead of the lion. The hunters are also told not to say a word when they see the lion, but to knock their weapons against a dry tree and, having thus attracted the attention of the others, to point in the direction of the lion. The *ngaka* then leaves the party of hunters, which now begins to form a *lethsolô* or large circular drive. All the men first sit down in groups according to their *dikxôrô* (divisions of the tribe). There are altogether nearly seventy of these *dikxôrô* in the tribe, which are grouped into five main sections. The senior section is BaKxosing, to which belong the chief and his people; then follow, in order of precedence, BaMorêma, BaThsukudu, BaMabudisa and BaManama-kxôthê. A man from the small *kxôrô* of BaMalebe, who must be a direct descendant of Malebe, the founder of the *kxôrô*, is selected to sit a few yards away from the others. He sits with his legs crossed, and faces the direction followed by the spoor. Then he strikes the ground with his club and says: *a marumô a jê dikxalwane*, let the weapons eat so that nothing escapes. Then he again strikes the ground with his club, and calls by name on any one of the five sections. The men of this section get up and one by one run past him, each of them as he does so hitting the ground at the same spot with his weapon but saying nothing. As soon as the first man has passed him, the MoMalebe points in the direction he wishes him to take. The rest of the men, as they pass him, form into line and run off in the same direction. As soon as the whole section has passed him, the MoMalebe calls on a second section, which passes by him in the same way and then runs off in the opposite direction. It has been arranged beforehand that the two lines should move away from and then towards each other in a semicircular direction, and then ultimately link up at a spot which has been chosen by those who know the locality. The third



FIG. 3. THE MAN WHO SHOT THE LION.
(*In centre, holding rifle.*)



FIG. 4. OUR BUSHMEN TRACKERS.
(*The three to the right.*)

section follows the first, the second the fourth, while the men of the fifth divide into two, alternate men following alternate directions.

All the hunters are thus divided up into two horns which close together at the spot indicated to form a circle. As they run along in this way, certain key words are used as signals. As soon as the two horns have come together, a gun is fired, and the word is passed on from man to man : *xo re* (lit., to say), *i.e.*, move inwards, and the circle begins to close in on the lion. If the lion shows signs of breaking through the circle, the word is passed along : *xa di rote*, run, "don't stop to urinate," run, so that it should have no chance of getting away. Or else, if the line has thinned out, a man will call to his neighbour *mosakéla*, close in. When the lion is at last sighted the word is again passed along : *moemêla*, hold, stand still, and then the shooting begins. No other animal must be shot at during the hunt except the lion.

The last lion hunt in the Reserve apparently took place about twelve years ago. A lion had killed some goats out at a certain cattle-post, and the owner at once rushed back to Mochudi to report to the chief, who set out with a couple of *mephatô* to the place. They had with them some MaSarwa whom the chief had ordered to come and lead them. On reaching the spot, they found a goat which had been killed by the lion. The spoor was 'doctored' in the manner described above, and then the regiments set out after the lion, the MaSarwa leading the chase. The spoor wound in and out, and often doubled back upon itself, but the lion could not be found. At last the chief called the men together and told them that they would have to alter their tactics. He ordered them to make a *lethsolô*, and sent the two horns out to surround the place and drive the lion towards the centre, where he and a number of men would be waiting for it. The lion broke through the circle and they again surrounded it, but it again broke through and turned back on its trail. Once more they encircled it, and this time the chief ordered the dogs to be sent out against it. They brought it to bay, and the men came up within sight of it, but were afraid to approach too closely. At last the owner of the goats crept up within range and managed to shoot the lion in the chest. He immediately ran back again, but it was seen that the lion lay still, and a few bold spirits ventured near enough to see that it was dead. Thereupon they all rushed up to the body and chanted their song of victory :—

bana ba tau, hee, hee,	Children of the lion, *hee, hee,*
re tso bidiwa, hee, hee,	we have been summoned, *hee, hee,*
thsweu hee, hee,	White One, *hee, hee,*
re tso bidiwa, hee, hee,	we have been summoned, *hee, hee,*
bana ba tau, hee, hee,	children of the lion, *hee, hee,*
re tso bidiwa, hee, hee,	we have been summoned, *hee, hee,*
tawana hee, hee,	little lion, *hee, hee,*
re tso bidiwa, hee, hee.	we have been summoned, *hee, hee.*

The lion was skinned, and the skin given to the chief, whose rightful tribute it was. The meat was brought into the village by the hunters, who marched triumphantly through the streets singing their *meêpalane* (small songs of honour), of which the following is one of the most common :—

Leader :	*Tlotlang kxosi e kxolo, banna,*	Leader :	Honour the great chief, men,
Chorus :	*hee, tšaba di xaketse :*	Chorus :	*hee*, the nations are aroused;
Leader :	*E re di xaketse,*	Leader :	when they are aroused,
Chorus :	*e re di xaketse,*	Chorus :	when they are aroused,
Leader :	*tlotlang kxosi, banna,*	Leader :	honour the chief, men,
Chorus :	*hee, tšaba di xaketse.*	Chorus :	*hee*, the nations are aroused.

The meat of the lion could be eaten by anybody who wished to do so, but the genital organs, fat, eyes, heart and liver were given to the magician to use with his hunting *thsithlô*. The killer of the lion was given two cows and some goats as a reward by the chief. He was also specially 'doctored' by the magician, who first gave him some of the *thsithlô* to eat, and then cut him on every joint of the body, rubbing into each cut a little of the same *thsithlô*. The purpose of this doctoring, according to Rapedi, was to prevent the man from being bewitched by others jealous of his success. In all probability it was also intended as a rite of purification, similar to that performed on men who have slain enemies in war, but of this my informant declared that he was not certain. I. SCHAPERA.

ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE: PROCEEDINGS.

Ordinary Meetings of the Institute.

Some Early Migrations in the Far East. *Summary of a Communication presented by Dr. P. van Stein Callenfels. 25 October,* 1932.

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A synthesis was given of the light thrown on Papuan-Melanesian migrations by archæological research. The term Melanesoid was used to indicate the offspring of tribes from Southern China (Yunnan) and Northern Indo-China (Tonkin) who by mixing with Polynesians and other races became the ancestors of the modern Papuan-Melanesians.

Dr. van Stein Callenfels' excavations in a cave in Eastern Java revealed a stratification in which winged or round-ended arrowheads were found in the earliest bed, the winged arrowheads being the most numerous: these were of stone, but there were no axes or adzes. The layer above yielded a bone and horn industry, mainly spatulate, and hatchet implements, but also a few awls, arrowheads, fish hooks, daggers and digging sticks. Above this were sherds of pottery and polished stone axes of the neolithic Javanese type. Previously no stone arrowheads had been found in the Far East, nor had there been found any industry using bone and horn only.

Later another cave about 225 miles from the first yielded the same bone implement and stone arrowhead culture. Gordon Mungo in 'Prehistoric Japan' had illustrated similar arrowheads from Japan.

The French had previously found in Tonkin (N. Indo-China) and in East Sumatra a palæolithic civilization using roughly chipped, not polished, stone axes; this civilization was later found also in the Malay Peninsula. A second stage encountered throughout S.E. Asia was reached when the edges only were polished. In N. and S. Tonkin and in Annam this second stage was found associated with the same kind of bone implements as those found in Java, though in N. Tonkin the finds were mainly stone and there were but few bone implements.

Not all cultures reached the East Indies through the Malay Peninsula. A polished axe, oval in section, is found from the British Isles to India and Burma, and also in China and Japan. Its distribution, however, stops east of the Irrawaddy, and no axe of this type is known in Java or Sumatra, though it appears again in New Guinea and Melanesia. Six or seven years ago Dr. van Stein Callenfels found axes of this type in neolithic graves in Minahassa, Northern Celebes: these had probably come south from China and Japan and were not of Indian origin. The modern Papuans make exactly the same type of axe as those from Minahassa.

In Northern Indo-China, on the east coast of Sumatra and in some places in the Malay Peninsula, is found the original culture of roughly chipped, unpolished stone. Evidence as to its origin is not yet available. However, all the later stages clearly arose in N. Tonkin, hence development increases towards the south. The first southward moving wave knew polished stone work only, the second wave used bone implements, and the proportion of the bone to the stone tools increases from north to south.

In 1860 skeletal remains from a shell heap near Penang were considered by Huxley to be related to the Papuo-Melanesians. The same results were obtained from Indo-China and Java. Hence this southward migration was a Papuo-Melanesian one. Another wave later mixed with the Japanese, for the roughly chipped stone industry reached Japan and was found by Dr. van Stein Callenfels in a shell heap near Tokio covered by about 10 ft. of clay. The arrowheads, on the contrary, reached S.E. Asia from Japan. Whereas in Java the arrowheads belong to an older culture before the Melanesoid wave, in the Liu-Kiu, in Formosa and Kikuna the chipped stone and bone implements were mixed. Thus either the arrowhead civilization existed in Japan first or the Melanesoid civilization wave found it on the way to Japan.

The fixing of the date of the migration of the Melanesoids is important because it must have occurred after the neolithic civilization with arrowheads spread through the islands of the Far East and before the Polynesians left the Philippines on their migration through the Pacific.

Some slides illustrating the Javanese bronze age were then shown which indicated influences from Yunnan. The first Indian influence in the archipelago was shown in tanged arrowheads. Finds

from Bali in bronze age stone coffins showed marked Indonesian and not Chinese influence. The lecture was illustrated not only by lantern slides but by remarkably fine specimens of the various cultures discussed.

Benin Brass Castings and Handicrafts in the Cameroons: *Summary of a Communication presented by Major P. H. G. Powell-Cotton :* 8 *November*, 1932.

329 During a big-game expedition in 1931 the hunter took the opportunity of making small film-camera records of native craftsmen at work, and these films were shown, with personal observations. Perhaps one of the most interesting arts described was the ancient "cire perdue" process of brass casting at Benin, which has recently been revived by the Oba. In addition to the pictures of this process the speaker exhibited actual moulds, crucibles and castings in their various stages.

At canoe building on the Ongue Creek, South Cameroons, only the older men seemed to be engaged. The craft is hollowed from a green log, and the worker seen in the film explained that he could complete a small boat, 14′ long, worth 50 francs, in five days. An unpractised white man fails lamentably to keep his seat in these canoes, but the native maintains his balance with ease, and that long after the wood is perished. The lecturer saw a woman with an infant lying on a pile of plantains before her, carelessly manœuvring her craft, of which the forepart had rotted away, the whole vessel so tipped that the end where the bows had once been was well above the stream. The Bakoko natives were seen making fishing nets of mesh of various sizes. Palm leaves were used by them for roofing, and often for the walls of mere temporary buildings. Each frond is bent over a strip of palm leaf rib, over which it was sewn. The short rigid cross bow in general use among the Bakoko requires considerable ingenuity and strength to string. The bending is effected with the aid of one foot. The poisoned dart is held in position by a dab of wax, and the butt is placed close to the eye for sighting, as there is no recoil.

European oil presses are very rare in the Cameroons, and palm nut oil is extracted by the natives by boiling and kneading the pulp on a stone or in a very primitive press.

The Northern Cameroon potter is usually a woman, who builds up her pot by adding clay bit by bit, and moulding it by hand. In the N'Velle country, on the other hand, the spiral method is followed.

A popular musical instrument in the Bakoko country is the mouth bow of wood, strung with cane, which is pressed across the mouth, and vibrated with a small stick.

They also use a harp of hollowed wood with six strings.

Other pictures showed the manioc flour industry, weaving, hair-dressing, shaving, and a tobacco vendor.

PROCEEDINGS OF SOCIETIES.

HELLENIC SOCIETY.

The Excavations at Ras Shamra. *Summary of a Communication by M. Claude F.-A. Schaeffer, Keeper of the Prehistoric and Gallo-Roman Museum of the University of Strasbourg, and Director of the French Excavations at Ras Shamra in Syria.* 18 *October*, 1932.

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M. Schaeffer showed first the numerous finds from the Necropolis of Minet-el-Beida. He recognized, in the great beehive tombs filled with objects from Cyprus, Rhodes and Mycenæan Greece, the resting places of important personages, probably of Greek, or Cyprio-Greek or Creto-Greek origin. This colonization of the Ras-Shamra region by Greeks in the fourteenth century B.C. is confirmed by a legend reported by Malalas according to which a mythical king named Kasos, of Mycenæan origin and having family connections with Cyprus, had brought Ægean and Cypriot colonists to the Syrian coast.

The Necropolis was also a cult-place where curious rites designed to assure the fertility of the earth for beasts and men were performed. There were special constructions for the reception of offerings and for magical practices, the mechanism of which has been revealed by a cuneiform tablet found in the library of Ras Shamra.

In the second part of his communication, M. Schaeffer showed the principal discoveries which he has made in the temples and in the library of Ras Shamra, where important monuments dating from the first half of the second millennium B.C. have been brought to light.

The now famous library has furnished diplomatic documents and real epic poems of particular in-

terest, being written in a hitherto unknown cuneiform script and disclosing the most ancient known alphabet. Several of the texts discovered at Ras Shamra seem to record episodes mentioned later in the Bible. The library contains documents written in at least eight different languages.

The city of Ras Shamra seems to have been strongly attacked and partly destroyed in the invasions of the 'People of the Sea' at the beginning of the twelfth century. Its commerce, based entirely on the importation of copper from Cyprus, was endangered by the use of iron instead of bronze during the twelfth century, and the city with its port fell into oblivion.

REVIEWS.

In the Beginning. *By G. Elliot Smith, F.R.S. New and revised edition. No. 29 of the Thinker's Library. London, Watts & Co.,* 1932. *Small 8vo. Pp. xv and* 109. *Price* 1*s.* **331**

This is a revised and illustrated edition of a small book which served as an introduction to a series of elementary histories of various human activities, as envisaged by members of the well-known diffusionist school connected with the author's name.

The main additions are Chapter VI, in which is put forth a revised explanation of Totemism and Exogamy as arising from ancient Egypt, and Chapter VII, on Primitive Religion, which gives in short the reflections on Tylor's theory of Animism which the author has expressed in previous works.

To ancient Egypt are attributed practically all the human inventions and social institutions on which civilization has been built since the great change wrought by the discovery of the art of food-producing; the enumeration of them all in so small a space tends to heighten the feeling of unreality which the author admits to be at first sight natural, but proceeds to combat with his reasoned views of their course in human history: such an enumeration, admissible, may be, in an introduction to the series, rather overloads a little treatise intended like this one to stand alone.

The introduction is new and gives, as do also parts of the ensuing chapters, a clear, if too brief, review of the qualities of the human mind on which the theory of diffusion is founded; a more developed treatment of this cardinal element would have been of great assistance to the kind of reader for whom the book was intended, especially coming from so high an authority as the author, and it would have been calculated to strengthen his case, founded mainly as it is on the powers and, no less, the limitations, of the brain. Thus we should get, what is much wanted, an exposition of the biological reasons for the unoriginality of man's mind, as apart from his ingenuity in adapting to his circumstances ideas newly presented to him.

The author's general arguments have been set forth more fully in earlier works and have met with so copious a treatment, with much opposition—not wholly unexpected—that it is needless to discuss them here. But attention may be drawn to a very relevant consideration which seems hitherto to have received little notice, namely, the existence of a strong background of primitive beliefs whose origins date from unknown ages before the beginnings of the civilization founded on food-producing. These beliefs survived vigorously in the new social frame, adapting themselves to it by the modifications which they had perforce to undergo; the process was exemplified by the present writer in the last issue of MAN (1932, 321), in connection with the claims of Egyptian kings to divine descent—an extreme case and so complicated that it left the king with a triple sonhood, from the Falcon, Osiris, and the Sun.

Man, as the author and others have taught us, talked and thought, with a capacious brain, thousands of years before the rise of civilization, exercising his reason on many things if only in order to conquer or circumvent them. He originated the philosophy of magic; he learnt to work in physical harmony with the band to which he belonged, for that is surely the meaning of the right-handedness found, with one exception, in the most ancient cranial remains so far discovered—a feature noted by the author and first made recognizable by him from the particular structure of the skull which indicates the dominant lobe of the brain. With the right hand thus developed man could work more effectively with his fellows in activities requiring their strict co-operation, such as coping at close quarters with big game; he could shape and sharpen wood or bone, dig pits for traps, twine creepers together in a kind of rope for hunting or other purposes—the foundation, doubtless, of basket-work—prepare the skins of animals and so on; but time destroys the traces of these things and small indeed can be our real knowledge of his physical achievements. Yet of his mental activities we can infer much from the comparative examination of the oldest records, material or literary, that have survived from ancient civilizations, together with accounts of the beliefs and customs of modern backward peoples. In the mental field it is hardly necessary to mention the cult of the dead, evident even in the distant Mousterian period, with its later development of ancestor-cult which underlies, though obscured, so much of the funerary practices of ancient Egypt. Again, the first origin of the Mother-figure, which became a goddess and took in Egypt the form of Hathor, goes back at least as far as the Aurignacian age; her cow-form, starting with the domestication of animals, originated perhaps in Mesopotamia, though the

author claims priority, as in all such things, for Egypt—a matter still under debate but, in this connection, of no outstanding importance, since, even if the Egyptians borrowed the idea from abroad, its further diffusion might still be due to them—nor should one deny, surely, the possibility of some diffusion from Mesopotamia.

The cult of Hathor is discussed in more than one passage by the author but without reference to the development that it underwent with the passage of time; for example, his fig. 6 (from Lanzone's *Diz. Mit. Eg., tav.* ccexxii, 2), which shows a dead man and his soul riding heavenwards on the cow-goddess's back, is copied from a late mummy case and cannot be taken as proving that this was an original function of the goddess. She was the earliest deity in human shape, motherly protectress of the dead as of the living and ever dear to the heart of the people, and when, with the weakening of official forms and the growth of syncretism, old popular beliefs rose up with added strength, her rôle was widened and made sometimes to comprise that of Osiris, as in the funerary texts of the lady Sais, of the Roman period, published by Schiaparelli, or, as in the present case, that of the primitive ferryman who conveyed kings to the solar paradise, a privilege once peculiar to them, then bestowed on their courtiers, and finally taken by anyone who could afford the cost of the necessary priestly services. This extension of function with regard to the dead was not unnatural for the great goddess who, from the earliest times, was revered as their protectress and had accordingly been adopted as Mistress of the West, whither the dead were believed to go.

About animism we must be cautious, for the word appears to bear different meanings for different people and may include the more primitive mode of ideation called by Marett animatism: it is certain that at one time man, or rather, perhaps, the members of the hominal race from which man has descended, had no notion whatever of spirits, but it is also clear that the Mousterian, with his orderly burial of the dead and provision for them of food, must have believed in their survival, in some manner, after death; this concept, then, cannot be claimed as originating in civilized Egypt. In the same way it may be concluded that an early stage of totemism, which we may call proto-totemism, preceded the appearance of food-producers, being founded on the mentality of hunters who lived, as it were, in community with animals, looking on them in much the same way as they did on their own kind, and who could easily imagine themselves turned into animals or descended from them, as many backward tribes do to-day—and even civilized children, 'playing bears,' will show a strange but real fear lest their companion should indeed 'be a bear.' Among the many kinds and degrees of totemism, belief in actual descent from a totem, though not universal, is wide-spread and fairly common; that it reigned at one time in Egypt seems to be proved by the example of the Falcon clan discussed by me recently in MAN (1932, 321). This type of totem may well have been the first, undergoing many metamorphoses as it spread from the centre of origin, many thousand years ago, among various peoples, and thus providing a good example of the ingenuity of men in adapting original ideas to their own circumstances, not without adding little touches of their own, a process which will account for the multitude of forms taken by totemism, so great that no single explanation has yet been generally accepted as covering them all.

The cases here enumerated will suffice to show how many problems had been faced by really primitive thinkers and solved, in their uninformed way, long before the rise of civilization. The solutions mentioned, and perhaps others too, have left manifest traces in Egyptian remains, and a study of those remains directed towards the elucidation of the earlier beliefs would yield invaluable material for the history of the human mind, a branch of study very close to the author's thought, as his brilliant contributions to it avouch. Before long we may hope that the basis for that study will be greatly strengthened on the conclusion of the arduous work of Drs. Alan Gardiner and De Buck on the Coffin Texts of the Middle Kingdom which provide a connecting link between the Pyramid Texts of the Old Kingdom and the so-called 'Book of the Dead' of the New Empire and later, and which, when interpreted in the light of these, will contribute much also to their interpretation, at present too often doubtful; thus we shall have a sequence of invaluable magico-religious texts, more fully understood than has been hitherto possible, dating from the earliest to the latest periods in which consecutive writings are known in ancient Egypt.

G. D. HORNBLOWER.

Man and Technics. *A contribution to the philosophy of life. By Oswald Spengler. London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1932. Pp. 104. Price 6s.*

332 The author of this book hopes that it may serve "to help the reader to a provisional glimpse into "the great secret of Man's destiny." With the publication of his larger work, upon which he has been engaged for years, the secret will be more explicitly revealed: this little volume of inspissated pessimism is merely a foretaste of direr things to come. The author has incubated a philosophy, and the phrases in which he thrusts the worst upon us have a glitter which attracts without convincing. "*Man is a beast of prey.*" "Ideals "are cowardice." "Scepticism, the last remaining "philosophical attitude that is possible to (nay, that "is *worthy of*) this age." "Every high Culture *is* a "tragedy. The history of mankind *as a whole* is tragic." "Only dreamers believe that there is a way out. "Optimism is *cowardice*." Man, civilized man at least, moves towards catastrophe, and, indeed, his mode of emergence has been catastrophic—the origin of the hand "must have been sudden; in terms of the tempo "of cosmic currents it must have happened . . as "abruptly as a flash of lightning or an earthqua e." "We have to emancipate ourselves from the nineteenth-"century idea, based on Lyell's geological researches, "of an 'evolutionary' process." "The earli "remains of man and of his tools are equally old "Clay vessels," agriculture and cattle breeding, hu building, graves, indications of travel, appear as a

"mutation" somewhere in the fifth millennium B.C.: apparently, also, speech had its catastrophic origin at about the same time. We are foredoomed, since "the "lord of the World ['Nordic man] is becoming the "slave of the Machine," and since we have fatuously broadcast knowledge and machinery amongst lower races with a lower standard of living, who can undersell us. Hence our "Faustian Culture" will go the way of the older civilizations—"all the great Cultures are "*defeats*."

It is obvious that the author, throughout the book, is looking something in the face, but this is more often a distorting mirror than objective fact. His assurance is provocative, and if we are constantly reminded that he is a thinker by profession, we are not convinced that he has a monopoly of pure reason. As a prophet of woe it is indeed his faith in his own gospel that guides him to his gloom. H. S. HARRISON.

Medical Aspects of Old Age. *By Sir Humphry Rolleston, Bart., G.C.V.O., K.C.B. Macmillan & Co. Pp.* 205. *Price* 7*s.* 6*d.* **333**

This work of Sir Humphry Rolleston certainly interests the anthropologist, though not so much as it does the physician. One very important point which he proves is that longevity is hereditary and that though an individual may lengthen his span by careful attention to diet, exercise and avoidance of worry, excitement and jealousy, he is unlikely to make 'old bones' if he comes of a short-lived stock. He instances the Eskimo as a short-lived, though healthy and happy people, and cites them as an exception to the rule that people in a cold climate live longer than those in the tropics. The Jews, on the other hand, he points out, are distinctly long lived.

Otherwise race seems to interest him little and one wonders whether there is any association between longevity and the Nordic physical and mental traits of the inhabitants of the colder parts of Europe, traits contrasting so markedly with those of the Eskimo.

One would gladly pick out many of the interesting details with which this book is filled, but they are written for the physician and, perhaps, the man in the street; and doubtless will be fully noticed by reviewers elsewhere. The literary style, of course, is excellent, though uncorrected slips of the pen, inevitable in first editions, are to be found. One occurs on p. 52, where "man's last occupation" should be "his *lost* occupation": and perhaps another is on p. 176, where appendicitis is said to cause pain in the left, instead of the right, iliac fossa. F. G. PARSONS.

A History of Experimental Spiritualism. *Vol. I. Primitive Man. By Caesar de Vesme. Translated from the French by Stanley de Brath. Pp.* 286. *London: Rider & Co.* (1931). *Price* 10*s.* 6*d. net.* **334**

This book claims to demonstrate that the origins of magic and religion are to be sought elsewhere than is commonly supposed. With Andrew Lang the author is inclined towards the hypothesis that it was through the observation of what are termed 'supernormal' facts that primitive man began to form theories which eventually were woven into the fabric of religious speculation.

The importance of so-called supernormal phenomena in anthropological studies has been stressed by Bastian, Haddon and Lang, yet nowadays the subject is again falling into disrepute, mainly owing to the puerilities of spiritualists and psychical researchers. Mr. de Vesme has succeeded, however, in showing that the occurrence of these alleged supernormal phenomena is not rare among primitive peoples. Indeed they are recorded from widely-separated parts of the world and similar narratives can be found both in ancient and modern times. Nor is there any reason to doubt that they played their part in the formation of religious ideas and practices.

Although we doubt if Mr. de Vesme's thesis can be fully sustained, the book is a useful attempt to persuade anthropologists how one-sided their learning must be as long as they neglect the study of these odd occurrences. Much of the evidence adduced by the author in this book is poor: much would have to be discarded on expert examination, but such is the case in every attempt to evaluate second-hand material of an obscure nature.

The book is described as volume one of the author's 'History of Experimental Spiritualism,' the last word being interpreted in "its philosophical sense." It lacks an index, which will, we hope, be included in the second volume when this appears. The translation is well done, the printing clear and the binding neat. Although it is but a sketch of the subject in dispute, we hope that anthropologists will not be put off by the author's somewhat naïve theories, but will be tempted to pursue the path he has indicated and to realize that the literature concerning these phenomena is not wholly to be neglected. E. J. DINGWALL.

A Nova Antropologia Criminal. *By A. A. Mendes Corrêa. Pp. viii,* 330. *Porto.* 1931. **335**

This volume is partly made up from a collection of lectures, memoirs and articles published between 1911 and 1930. Many of the later papers stress the importance of individual psychology in the treatment of criminals, and attention is also paid to such relevant problems as those concerned with endocrinology and hereditary dispositions.

After a discussion of the anthropological problems involved, the author proceeds to deal with the question of delinquency in general, not neglecting those factors which are now being more and more recognized as important to criminal anthropologists.

As proceeding from the Institute of Anthropology in the Faculty of Sciences in the University of Oporto the book is a notable example of the service anthropology can render in clarifying and illuminating social questions.
E. J. DINGWALL.

Moral Vocabulary of an Unwritten Language (Fulani). *By Frieda Fligelman. Reprinted from 'Anthropos,' Bd. xxvii (St. Gabriel—Mödling bei Wien,* 1932.) **336**

Miss Fligelman, after studying Fulani (Fulfulde, 'Poular') under the direction of M. Henri Gaden, set herself, inspired by a dictum of the late Manria Delafosse, to explore the possibilities of this language with regard to the expression of mental and moral ideas. She has come to the conclusion that "the moral "vocabulary, as it now exists, is fairly adequate for "living a so-called civilized life in the ordinary Western "sense of the term." This is illustrated by a detailed analysis of the vocabulary under the headings, 'Good Character,' 'Bad Character,' 'Foolish Character,' 'Troubled Character' (including ideas of 'astonishment,' 'sadness,' 'worry,' 'fear,' 'shame,' etc.), 'Judgment,' 'Ideas,' and 'Understanding, etc.' It is impossible, without an inside knowledge of the language to estimate the accuracy of this analysis, or the author's deductions from its data, and the notation adopted necessitates a constant reference to the tables of abbreviations and the 'Key to the Data,' and even then is somewhat perplexing. But it may be said that, on the

whole, Miss Fligelman would appear to have made out her case, and it is extremely probable that her thesis would hold good for other forms of African speech, *e.g.*, the Bantu languages, which are eminently capable, not only of enrichment from alien vocabularies, but of development out of their own resources, equal to any demands likely to be made on them in the future. It may be of interest to note some figurative expressions, which often have a familiar ring, though there can be no question of borrowing from Europe. 'To put one's 'foot on a person'—to treat him without respect. 'To 'have a dry hand'—to be miserly. The notion of dryness lends itself to a number of metaphors, some of which appear to contradict each other, thus 'dry in knowledge' is 'very learned,' but 'dry intelligence,' is 'not very intelligent,' 'dry-eyed' is 'shameless,' which recalls the Swahili idiomatic use of *-kavu*.

'Black in the abdomen'—thoroughly bad. 'Insects 'that gnaw holes in wood'—mischief-makers. 'To 'carry on the back,' as a native woman does her child, is to protect. 'To point with the finger'—to boast of deeds yet to be done. A. W.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Polyandry.

337 SIR,—Mr. Hocart (MAN, 1932, 130) wants me to explain certain points which it was not possible for me to make quite clear in my note on Nayar polyandry (MAN, 1932, 99). When I wrote that fraternal polyandry was the exception among the Nayars and the non-fraternal (McLennan's Nayar polyandry) was the commoner form, I meant to connote by 'brothers' both classificatory and own brothers. Marriage of any sort was strictly prohibited between classificatory relatives. Rules regulating non-fraternal polyandry are not definitely known, nor is it possible, as we are dealing with an ancient institution whose very existence is questioned! It is, however, almost certain they were similar to the rules governing marriages of the present day. There are the various sub-castes within the caste, which are generally endogamous, but inter-marriage is permitted on the *Anulōma* principle, males of a higher caste (*e.g.*, Nampūtiri Brahaman) or a higher sub-caste marrying women lower in gradation. In each sub-caste the *tarvāḍ* (a small clan or kindred) forms the social unit. The Nayars are strictly matrilineal in descent, inheritance, etc.; the *tarvāḍ* is an exogamous group of matrilineal families consisting of people descended from a common ancestress, and hence having kinship also with one another. Kinship is reckoned unilaterally on the maternal line—on the *tarvāḍ* side—only. So classificatory brothers and sisters are kin and cannot be partners in any form of marriage, much less in a polyandrous one. Though the relatives of the father (members of quite another 'family' or *tarvāḍ*) are addressed as though they are relatives, it is easily recognized that they are only very nominally so. To illustrate this point, the instance may be cited of a girl marrying a near classificatory brother of her father's. The word *iṇangu* had better be explained also, especially as its significance is being rapidly forgotten. Dr. Gundert, one of the earliest Malayalam lexicographers gives its meaning as 'relationship' or 'those of the same caste.' I think 'members of the same sub-caste' would be nearer the truth, for every member of the caste is not considered as an *iṇangan*. One of the witnesses examined by the Malabar marriage commission, who was a member of the judicial service, defined an *iṇangan* (*i.e.*, a member of the *inangu*) as a "reconciled member of one's clan. Of one's own "clan, some may be friendly, some not. The former "are *iṇangans*. The division line is apparently drawn "by tradition." *Iṇangu*, therefore, is a local group within the sub-caste. Geographical prejudices make caste men of a different area ineligible for marriage, the *iṇangu* thus becoming mainly endogamous.

Iṇangu and *iṇangan* have now a much more limited signification. Each *tarvād* nowadays has three or four neighbouring *tarvāḍ* as its *iṇangu*, for the performance of certain social and ceremonial duties, *e.g.*, (1) cooking food for the members of the *tarvāḍ* when they are under death pollution and cannot use their kitchen; (2) acting the part of a minor priest at death ceremonies, when he is fed sumptuously; and (3) officiating as the tier of the marriage badge or *tāli*, at the initiatory ceremony known as tāli kettu kalyāṇam (very often misunderstood as marriage). These priestly functions make one doubt whether the *inangan* was not a priest also within the sub-caste, like the barber priest for the entire caste (*see* Visscher's 'Letters from Malabar, 1743').

The following sentence of Mr. Thorne, I.C.S., who was recently Collector of Malabar, may be quoted in support of what I wrote on Nayar polyandry: "However much "the present-day Nayar may dislike the fact, there "is ample authority that polyandry as described "by Barbosa was once common among Nayars." (Barbosa: "Coasts of E. Africa and Malabar," Hakluyt Society, London.—Footnote on p. 41.)

A. AIYAPPAN.

Madras,
28.7.1932.

Couvade.

338 SIR,—Although it has long been known that Couvade was practised by the Miao-tse, the letter of Mr. Chungshee Hsien Liu (MAN, 1932, 288) has supplied important additional information for which all who interest themselves in this strange custom will be grateful, but he is evidently unaware that the picture in the Miao Album, to which he refers, is reproduced as the frontispiece to my *Custom of Couvade* (Manchester, 1929), from the example in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

I have recently heard of a case of the survival of the Couvade in Scotland. A fisherman on the Cromarty Firth during his wife's confinements (for she has had a large family) invariably abstained from going to sea and from all other active employment, and remained within the house, seated by the fireside, for a week or so after the birth of each child.

I would like to take this opportunity of quoting a few lines from a poem by Saccombe, a doctor of Carcassonne, written in 1792, under the title *Luciniade*. This was printed by Dr. Marèvre in the journal *Medicina*, Nos. 11–12, Paris, 1926, p. 27:

"En Amérique, en Corse et chez l'Ibérien,
En France même, encore chez le Venarnien,
Au pays navarrois, lorsqu'une femme accouche,
L'épouse sort du lit et le mari se couche;
Et quoi qu'il soit très sain et d'esprit et de corps,
Contre un mal qu'il n'a point l'art unit ses efforts.
On le met au régime, et notre faux malade,
Soigné par l'accouchée, en son lit fait couvade."

This, I believe, is the earliest known instance of the use of the word "couvade."

WARREN R. DAWSON.

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MAN

A MONTHLY RECORD OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL SCIENCE

Vol. XXXII. JANUARY, 1932. Nos. 1–42.

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ANNOUNCEMENTS OF THE ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE, JANUARY, 1932.

ORDINARY MEETINGS.

Tuesday, January 12. 8.30 p.m. The Knowledge and Use of Iron among the South Sea Islanders. T. A. RICKARD, A.R.S.M., D.Sc. *Library Committee*, 4 p.m. *Executive*, 5 p.m.

Tuesday, January 26. 8.30 p.m. The Rafai Fakeers of Hyderabad. E. H. HUNT, M.A., M.B. *Council*, 5 p.m.

HUMAN BIOLOGY RESEARCH COMMITTEE: Miss M. L. TILDESLEY, Convener.

Friday, January 8, 5.30 p.m. "Prehistoric Remains from a Cave in South Africa." SIR ARTHUR KEITH, M.D., F.R.S.

SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH COMMITTEE: J. H. DRIBERG, Convener.

Friday, January 15. 4 p.m. "The Conception of Stages in Social Evolution": Discussion opened with a paper by Professor GINSBERG. The following books are recommended:—K. BÜCHER: *Industrial Evolution*; R. FIRTH: *Primitive Economics of the New Zealand Maori*, Ch. i.

OPEN PUBLIC LECTURE: SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL STUDIES, FINSBURY CIRCUS, E.C. (*see also Cover p. 3*).

Wednesday, January 27. 5 p.m. Races of Africa. Professor C. G. SELIGMAN, F.R.S.

EDINBURGH AND THE LOTHIANS BRANCH (Tel.: Edin. 24488). Dr. R. KERR, Secretary.

Tuesday, January 19. 5 p.m. The Aborigines of the Andaman Islands. E. M. BUCHANAN. Synod Hall, Castle Terrace.

Tuesday, January 26. 3 p.m. Exhibit of Specimens from the Andaman Islands. E. M. BUCHANAN. Royal Scottish Museum.

Tuesday, February 16. 5 p.m. Some Points in Scottish Origins. Prof. T. H. BRYCE, M.D., F.R.S. Synod Hall, Castle Terrace.

Friday, March 18. 3 p.m. Recent Excavations in England. Dr. R. E. MORTIMER WHEELER, F.S.A. (Joint Meeting with Edinburgh League of Prehistorians.) Department of Prehistoric Archaeology, 16, Chambers Street.

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Articles published in MAN should be quoted by the year and the reference number of the article, not by the page number: for example, the article which begins on page 7 of January MAN should be quoted as MAN 1932, 5.

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ANNOUNCEMENTS OF THE ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE, FEBRUARY, 1932.

ORDINARY MEETINGS.

Tuesday, February 9. 8.30 p.m. Excavations at Thermi in Lesbos (lantern). Miss W. LAMB. *Library Committee*, 4 p.m. *Executive*, 5 p.m.

Tuesday, February 23. 8.30 p.m. Social Mechanisms in Primitive Education. T. A. YATES, Esq. *Council*, 5 p.m.

SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH COMMITTEE: J. H. DRIBERG, Convener.

Friday, February 12. 4 p.m. (1) Memorandum on the method of exhibiting genealogical data. Mrs. SELIGMAN. (2) Is it correct to regard all Australian tribes as on the same economic level? C. W. M. HART.

OPEN PUBLIC LECTURE: SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL STUDIES, FINSBURY CIRCUS, E.C. (*see also Cover p. 3*).

Wednesday, February 3. 5 p.m. The Development of Native Education in Kenya. C. W. HOBLEY, C.M.G.

Wednesday, February 10. 5 p.m. Hausa Poetry. R. S. RATTRAY, C.B.E., D.Sc.

EDINBURGH AND THE LOTHIANS BRANCH (Tel.: Edin. 24488). Dr. R. KERR, Secretary.

Tuesday, February 16. 5 p.m. Some Points in Scottish Origins. Prof. T. H. BRYCE, M.D., F.R.S. Synod Hall, Castle Terrace.

Friday, March 18. 3 p.m. Recent Excavations in England. Dr. R. E. MORTIMER WHEELER, F.S.A. (Joint Meeting with Edinburgh League of Prehistorians.) Department of Prehistoric Archæology, 16, Chambers Street.

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ANNOUNCEMENTS OF THE ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE, MARCH, 1932.

ORDINARY MEETINGS.

Tuesday, March 8. 8.30 p.m. Anthropological Observations in Central and Northern Australia (lantern). W. D. WALKER, Esq., B.Sc., M.B. *Committees:—Library*, 4 p.m.; *Executive*, 5 p.m.

Tuesday, March 15. 8.30 p.m. Common Problems in Psycho-Analysis and Anthropology. Dr. E. GLOVER. *Council*, 5 p.m.

HUMAN BIOLOGY RESEARCH COMMITTEE: Miss M. L. TILDESLEY, Convener.

Friday, March 4. 5.30 p.m. General Discussion of the Purposes, Scope and Procedure of the Committee: *Chairman*, Prof. G. ELLIOT SMITH, F.R.S.

AFRICAN RESEARCH COMMITTEE: T. J. A. YATES, Esq., Convener.

Tuesday, March 1. 5.30 p.m.

SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH COMMITTEE: J. H. DRIBERG, Esq., Convener.

Friday, March 11. 4 p.m. Stages of Economic Development in Melanesia. Miss C. H. WEDGWOOD. *With tea.*

OPEN PUBLIC LECTURES: SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL STUDIES, FINSBURY CIRCUS, E.C.2.

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Wednesday, March 2. 5 p.m. The Place of Folk-Tales in African Life. Rev. E. W. SMITH.

Wednesday, March 9. 5 p.m. The Craft of the African Potter. H. J. BRAUNHOLTZ, M.A.

Wednesday, March 16. 5 p.m. African Systems of Education. J. H. DRIBERG, M.A.

EDINBURGH AND THE LOTHIANS BRANCH (Tel.: Edin. 24488). Dr. R. KERR, Secretary.

Friday, March 18. 8 p.m. Recent Excavations in England. Dr. R. E. MORTIMER WHEELER, F.S.A. (Joint Meeting with Edinburgh League of Prehistorians). Department of Prehistoric Archæology, 16, Chambers Street.

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ANNOUNCEMENTS OF THE ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE, APRIL, 1932.

ORDINARY MEETINGS.

Tuesday, April 12. 8.30 p.m. The Significance of African Folk Music. H. T. TRACEY, Esq. *Exec. Comm.*, 5 p.m.
Tuesday, April 26. 8.30 p.m. Chieftainship in the BaBemba tribe, N.E. Rhodesia. Miss AUDREY I. RICHARDS, Ph.D. (lantern). *Council*, 5 p.m.

AFRICAN RESEARCH COMMITTEE: T. A. J. YATES, Esq., Convener.
Tuesday, April 5. 5.30 p.m. Subject: Culture Distribution Maps for Africa.

SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH COMMITTEE: J. H. DRIBERG, Esq., Convener.
Friday, April 15. 2 p.m. Economic Stages of Development in Africa. J. H. DRIBERG, Esq.

HUMAN BIOLOGY RESEARCH COMMITTEE: Miss M. L. TILDESLEY, Convener.
Friday, April 22. 5.30 p.m. Subject: Present knowledge concerning Blood-Groups. Prof. J. B. S. HALDANE and Dr. LIONEL PENROSE will be present by invitation to contribute to this discussion.

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ORDINARY MEETINGS.

Tuesday, May 10. 8.30 p.m. The Pre-history of Kharga Oasis (lantern). Miss G. Caton Thompson.
Tuesday, May 24. 8.30 p.m. Tribal Intermixture in Northern Nyasaland. Rev. T. Cullen Young.

AFRICAN RESEARCH COMMITTEE : T. A. J. Yates, Esq., Convener.

Tuesday, May 3. 4.30 p.m. Methods of Study of Culture Distribution in Africa.

SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH COMMITTEE : J. H. Driberg, Esq., M.A., Convener.

Friday, May 13. 5.30 p.m. Economic Stages of Development in Africa. J. H. Driberg, Esq., M.A.

HUMAN BIOLOGY RESEARCH COMMITTEE : Miss M. L. Tildesley, Convener.

Friday, May 27. 5.30 p.m. Discussion on the Standardization of Anthropometric Method. To be opened by Dr. G. Morant, Miss M. L. Tildesley, and Mr. L. H. Dudley Buxton.

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ORDINARY MEETINGS.

Tuesday, June 7. 8.30 p.m. The Sagittal Section of the Human Skull, Part II. Palæanthropic Skulls. Professor W. J. SOLLAS, Sc.D., F.R.S. (Lantern). *Library Committee*, 4 p.m. *Executive*, 5 p.m.

SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH MEETINGS. J. H. DRIBERG, Esq., M.A., Convener.

Friday, June 10. 4 p.m. Discussion on the Preliminary Report to Council. Opened by DR. FORTES.

Tuesday, June 21. 8.30 p.m. The Oldoway Expedition. A. T. HOPWOOD, Esq., M.Sc. (*Lantern*). *Council*, 5 p.m.

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ORDINARY MEETINGS.

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Tuesday, October 25. 8.30 p.m. Some Early Migrations in the Far East (*specimens and lantern slides*). Dr. P. VAN STEIN CALLENFELS.

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MAN

A MONTHLY RECORD OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL SCIENCE

NOVEMBER, 1932. Nos. 207-232

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Tuesday, November 22. 8.30 p.m. Life in the French Congo (*film and lantern slides*). Madame GABRIELLE M. VASSAL. *Council*, 5 p.m.

Tuesday, November 29. 8.30 p.m. Huxley Memorial Lecture. Professor C. G. SELIGMAN, F.R.S.

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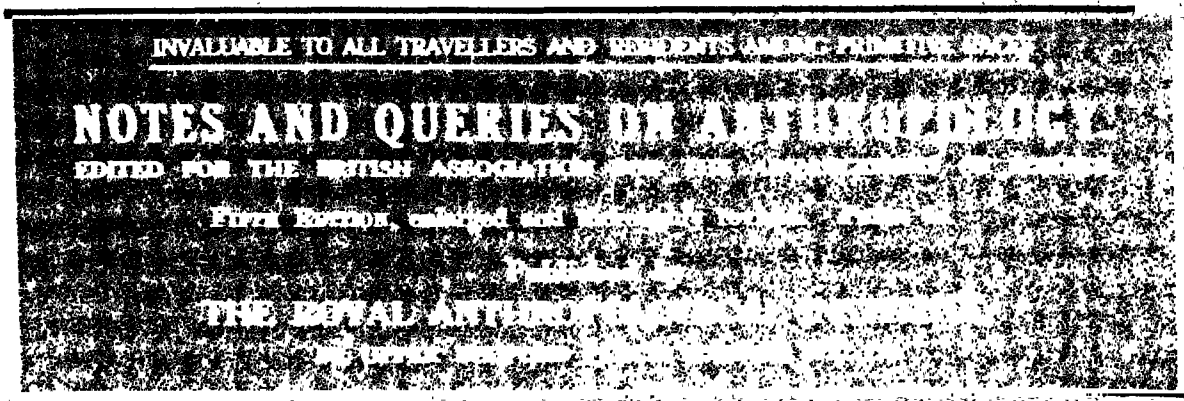
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Tuesday, December 13. 8.30 p.m. The Vast Sudan. Captain H. S. BLUNT, M.A. (*lantern*). *Council*, 5 p.m.

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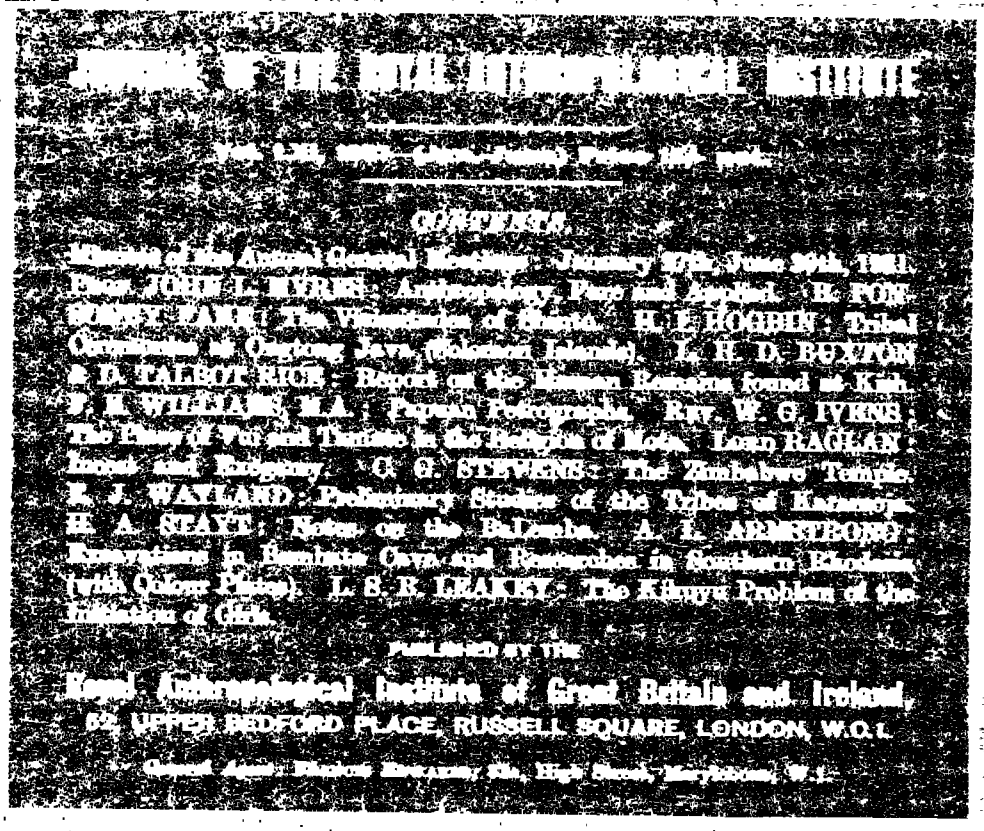
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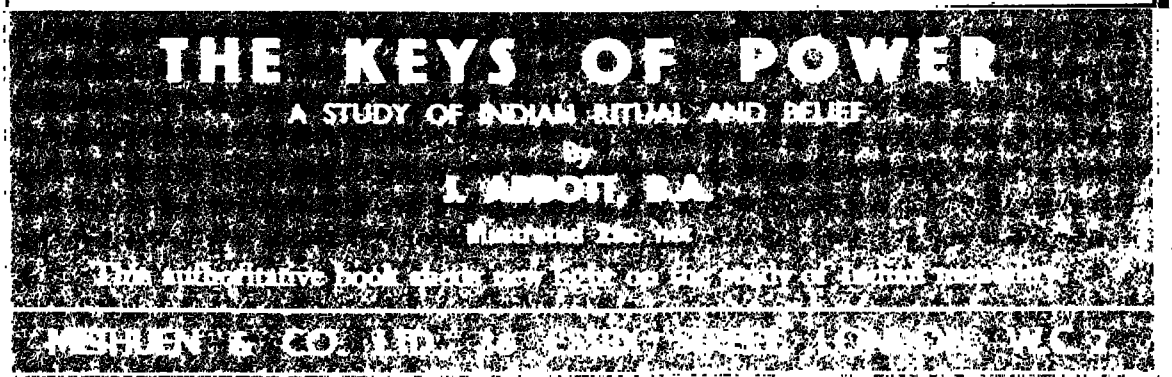
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